STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA
main,stks 205Ev13
Lutheran quarterly.
v.37 1907 Lutheran quarterly
0 0001 00658539 0

REFERENCE

COLLECTIONS

04-79-845-0

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
This project is made possible by a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

https://archive.org/details/vol37lutheranqua00luth

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

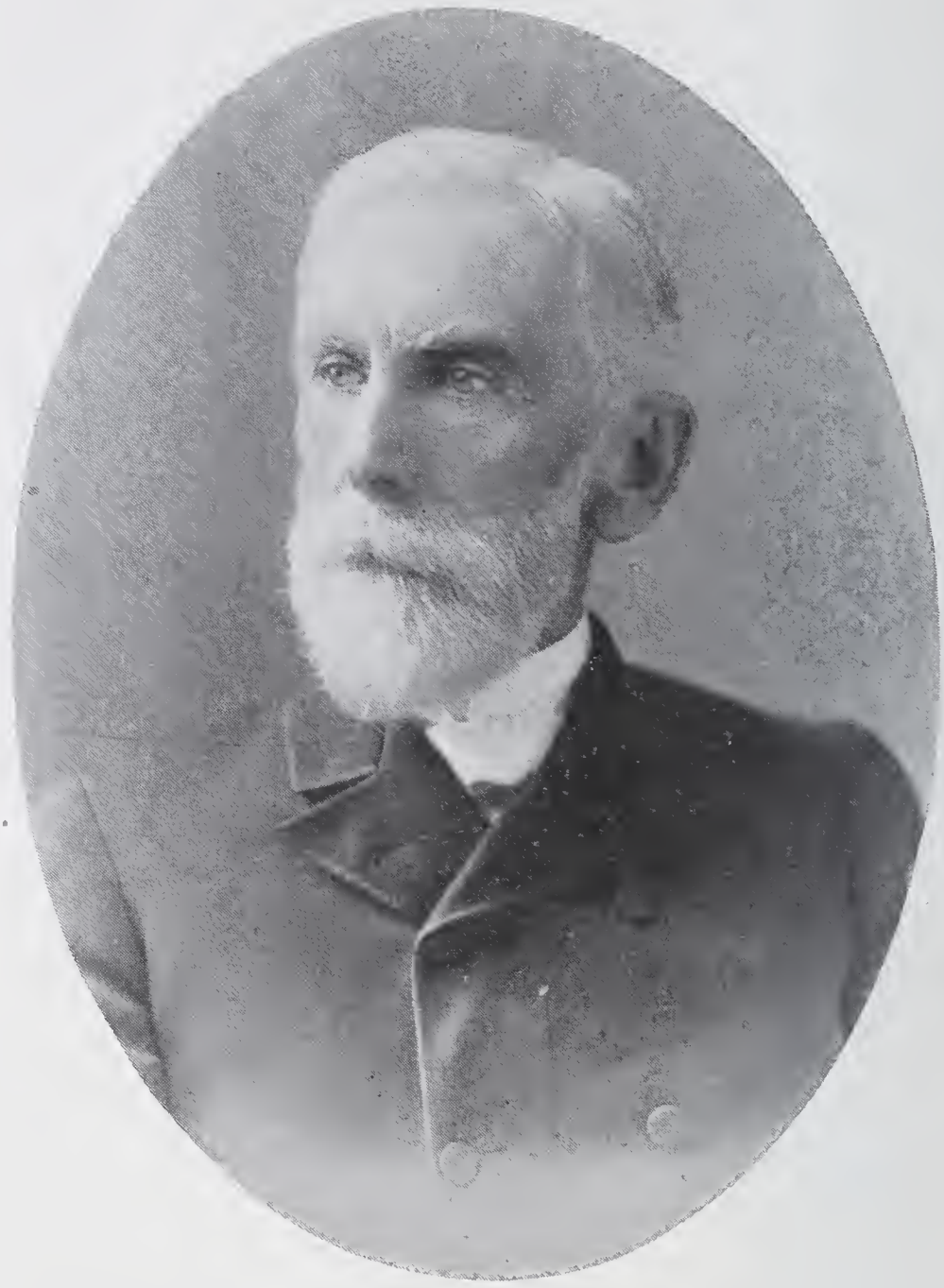
JAS. W. RICHARD, D.D., LL.D. J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.
FREDERICK G. GOTWALD, DD.

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

PROF. S. A. ORT, D.D., LL.D. PROF. F. D ALTMAN, D.D.
PROF. ALFRED HILLER, D.D. PROF. F. P. MANHART, D.D.
PROF. J. L. NEVE, D.D.

NEW SERIES—VOL. XXXVII.

GETTYSBURG:
WILLIAM B. HAMMOND, PRINTER
1907



Rev. Milton Valentine, D.D. LL.D.

PENNSYLVANIA
STATE LIBRARY

THE
LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1907.

ARTICLE I.

MILTON VALENTINE.

By D. F. Garland, D D.

When Milton Valentine, D.D., LL.D., passed out from the shore of time into the sea of mystery, a prince and a great man fell in the Church of God. He was an elect soul, one of those rare spirits that now and then touch this mortal life with peculiar force and grace. Emerson speaks truly when he says: "The world is upheld by the veracity of good men; they make the earth wholesome. They who lived with them found life glad and nutritious. Life is sweet and tolerable only in our belief in such society; and actually or ideally, we manage to live with superiors. All men are commanded by the saint." It must be profitable therefore to read the life story of a great man, to inquire into the secret of the unusual success and the crowning glory of his achievements. For as Carlyle declares: "He is a living fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near. The light which enlightens, which has enlightened, the darkness of the world—a flowing light—fountain of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness, in whose radiance all souls feel it is well with them." Dr. Valentine was a great man, great in all the chief elements which mark the exceptional man. He was endowed with a strong intellect, a well-balanced judgment, large sympathy and unusual heart-power and gentleness. If unselfish service be made the test of greatness he stands preëminent He literally gave himself for fifty years to the service of the Church he loved, and on whose altar he laid the best and richest treasures of his life.

199800

If he be judged from the standpoint of native goodness he will bear the test however rigidly applied.

Milton Valentine was born January 1, 1825, near Uniontown, Carroll county, Maryland, a section of country that for natural beauty is unsurpassed. He was the son of Jacob and Rebecca Valentine. He was one of a number of children, and his early years were spent in an uneventful manner on his father's farm. They were years of toil, and close application to the duties of the life he lived. Here on these beautiful hills of Maryland he lived the "simple life," acquiring health of body, health of character, clear vision of duty, sane views of life, and sound principles of right living. Though he always impressed one as being frail in body, he had a strong constitution, which stood him well through fifty years of unremitting, severe mental labor. The summer for toil in those far off days was long, and the winter for school work was short. Yet, however brief the term, the young lad grew year by year in knowledge and laid solid foundations for his future remarkable career in the educational world. There was an Academy in those days in Taneytown, a small village then as now, some five miles from the Valentine home. He became a student in this Academy and thus secured his preparation for entrance into College. The Rev. Solomon Sentman, of precious memory, a most earnest and faithful preacher and minister, was his pastor, who directed the young student and encouraged and helped him in his early struggle for an education. Already during his catechetical study the noble desire to preach the Gospel of Christ was born in the young lad's soul, and his pastor encouraged him in this worthy ambition. Rev. Sentman also offered him funds for his support in College, to supplement that secured by his own labors. This entire loan he afterwards repaid in full. As Rev. Sentman declined to be reimbursed the money was turned into the treasury of one of the educational funds of the Church. Already in his boyhood he gave evidence of an aptitude for philosophical and apologetic studies, borrowing from his pastor, Paley's *Evidences* and other like works, all of which he read appreciatively and studied with great care. He took leadership at once in the Academy and high rank as a student.

He was painstaking and thorough in everything he did, and hence, while perhaps his career could not be regarded as brilliant, it was always upward towards perfection.

HIS COLLEGE LIFE.

In 1846 he entered Pennsylvania College and was graduated in 1850. During his College career he saved the life of a fellow student whose clothing had caught fire by the explosion of a lamp. He was most severely burned through his heroic effort to rescue his friend. During an epidemic of typhoid fever at one time he was also near the gate of death. Rev. S. L. Hankey in his *College Reminiscences* says: "I called at a private house to see Milton Valentine who was very low. When I saw him I well nigh fainted. It must have been almost a miracle that he was restored." In his college work he was ever the close, careful, diligent student. He never did anything in an indifferent or slovenly manner. He was never known to go into the class-room without the most careful preparation. The quality of the work he did in those student days is indicated by the fact that at graduation he was assigned to deliver the Greek oration, the valedictory being delivered by his now only surviving class-mate, Judge J. F. Crocker. Judge Crocker, who at the age of 78 years still serves as presiding judge of his district in Portsmouth, Va., gives an interesting pen picture of his recollections of Milton Valentine, the student, in a recently written letter to him. He writes:—

"It was a great pleasure, my dear old friend and class-mate, to hear from you, and to receive from you such a heartfelt, kind letter. It brought back the old times. Once more I am sitting with you and the other sixteen of the dear class of 1850, on the benches in the lecture room. Then you are in my sight—I see you so plainly—I see that ever benign face, that gentle, good man, who always knew his lessons, and who recited his Latin and Greek in most exact style, and the cast of his mind was decidedly philosophical. That young man was certainly the father of the man of years, as described to me by Prof. Hefelbower, sitting daily at his desk writing books of philosophy and illuminating the Divine will and purpose of

his Creator. Think of it! you will be 81 and I will be 78 in January. It is a long journey you have travelled counted by the mile-stones of years. But what of that other journey—the life—the fuller life from the lisping boy to the sage of the Seminary? But Ah! I am now intruding within your own province, so finely developed and illustrated in the magnificent sermon, a copy of which you have sent me and which I have read and re-read with increasing interest and admiration. My term of office expires Feb. 1907. Hold on till then, and you may see me making a special visit to see my old class-mate. Believe me most cordially your friend,"

J. F. CROCKER.

His careful student habits, his thoroughness in all his work, his native ability, attracted the attention of the authorities to him and he was chosen, at the end of his course, to serve as tutor in the Preparatory Department of the College. So that his educational career in the church began immediately after his graduation, and continued, except for the interruption of a few years of service in the active ministry, for more than half a century. Upon graduation he at once entered on his theological course in the Seminary, which was completed in 1852.

IN THE ACTIVE MINISTRY.

His first work in the ministry was done at Winchester, Va. He served here as a supply for one year from 1852–3. The next year he labored as missionary pastor at Pittsburg, Pa., after which he became settled pastor at Greensburg, Pa. He was priviliged to serve here but one year on account of trouble with his throat, which compelled him to suspend the active work of the ministry for a time. Although these pastorates were of brief duration, yet such was his power to win the love and confidence of his people, that he was held in enduring affection by the members of his flock. The only pastorate of any length of service was at Readlng, Pa., where he ministered with conspicuous success from 1859 to 1866.

Dr. Valentine was a most faithful pastor. "As ye go, preach," said he who who was the perfect prince of preachers, and this ministry of an humble godly life, Dr. Valentine rendered in the service of his people. Some men are great

preachers while the work of the pastorate is repugnant to them, and its duties irksome. Beecher, for example, was the great preacher of America in his day, but failed as a pastor. Dr. Valentine was equally gifted in tact and gentleness and in knowledge of the truth and power to present it, so that he excelled as a true shepherd of the flock. He knew what it meant to the last limit to have the "Cure of souls," and he went about among them always "doing good." The result was that he bound his people to him through his pastoral relations with bands of love which neither time nor distance could sever. He knew his people, their struggles and their victories, their sorrows and their joys, and

> "In his duty prompt at every call,
> He watched and wept, he prayed and felt for all."

It is said of Bushnell that when he preached his first sermon, some one who had been in the church remarked after the service, "There is more where that came from." Bushnell's justly celebrated sermon, *Duty Not Measured by Ability*, was preached in the first years of his ministry, and it might, so far as intrinsic merit is concerned, just as well have been the product of his last years. When Milton Valentine preached his first sermon those who heard him must have felt as did the man who heard Bushnell's first sermon. The writer recalls overhearing some one remark that a certain powerful sermon which the Doctor preached on a special occasion was a sermon that he had prepared more than forty years before, while pastor at Reading. Whatever came from his pen from the beginning of his ministry to the end, bore the unfailing mark of his best qualities, clear vision of the truth, admirable arrangement of the argument, power and beauty of statement. He never went into the pulpit without the most careful and prayerful preparation, and hence when he preached the people felt that God had a message for them that day. He always dealt with the deep truths of God which touch life on this side eternity and on that, directing to things unseen and eternal, pleading ever with men to yield themselves to God and the mastery of His Son Jesus Christ. He always sought to win the consent of his hearer—the intellectual and moral sympathy of the whole man. He

never played tricks with truth to catch the popular ear. He felt that to him had been entrusted the divine oracles of God and he that "must stand aside and let them speak through him warmed by his heart and verified by his experience." To the flock hungering for the bread of life he never doled out stones instead of bread. And there is a touch of tenderness and affection for his hearers that ever runs through all his sermons. He never berated, but ever exhorted with noblest urgency of the truth of God; and those who heard him were always impressed with the divine beauty of truth, and were made to feel how easy it was to sacrifice all to it.

His sermons were never narrow types of religious truth, but broad, earnest and faithful presentations of the great abiding verities of the eternal word of life. He always spoke in the language of reality without the accent of the mere theories of the dogmatist, and in a way which revealed men to themselves and sought to lead them to accept the truth as in harmony with what they already knew. And over all he cast the spirit of all Truth, and through all there ran the fire and the glow, the purifying energy of a soul that is touched with the spirit of God.

He was preëminently a scriptural preacher. He digged deep in the word of God for its hidden truth and he believed with all the strength of his soul that that word is the sufficient rule of faith and practice in the lives of men. He welcomed truth from every source, never rejecting the old, if it were true, and never accepting the new except it were true. He held unswervingly to the old faith of the Book of God and had no particle of sympathy with any effort at depreciation of the authority of the Scriptures. He preached with unquestioning assurance and with great authority, for he felt that the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Nothing crude ever fell from the lips of this saintly servant of God. He was always dignified and full of grace and sweetness and impelling force as an ambassador of Jesus Christ. He was able to sound the deepest depths of human experience and he carried his hearers up to the loftiest heights with his message of solemn warning, urgent appeal, and divine mercy.

AS TEACHER AND THEOLOGIAN.

In 1866 Dr. Valentine was called to Gettysburg to begin his great work as teacher and theologian. He was then 41 years of age and in the very prime of life. He was first called to the chair of Ecclesiastical History and New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary. This engagement began the long term of conspicuous service in our educational institutions at Gettysburg, which continued without interruption and in ever increasing usefulness for forty years. Although his service in the Seminary at this period was of short duration, yet it was so efficient, and gave such promise of large success, that upon the death of Dr. H. L. Baugher, Sr., he was at once chosen to become acting president of the College for the remainder of the college year, continuing his work at the same time in the Seminary. When the College Board met at the end of the year he was elected unanimously as president of Pennsylvania College. He declined the call for the two fold reason that his work in the Seminary was most congenial, and his relations with Drs. J. A. Brown and C. A. Hay very happy. But the Board a second time elected him to this position. In view of this reiterated call he felt it his duty to heed the summons, and he accepted the presidency of the college and began his work in 1868. Here he served the Church for sixteen years. His work in college was characterized by remarkable fidelity to his duties, conspicuous success as a teacher and administrator of the affairs of the institution. While he secured a considerable sum of money for the college, yet it was not in this line of work that he excelled. He was too much of a scholar to admit of conspicuous success in purely financial affairs. His mastery lay along the line of development of the curriculum of study rather than in the growth of endowment and the addition of new buildings. His hand was fitted to handle the internal affairs of an educational institution, rather than the things external. Here, as always, Dr. Valentine gave himself up to patient, earnest, and thorough preparation. He mastered the theory of education and he centered his strength on securing for his students the best possible results during their course of study. He gave the College, through his eminent

ability as an educator and writer of note, equal standing with the best colleges of the land. He commanded the confidence and esteem of the entire faculty and never once during his long period of service as president was the essential harmony of the institution destroyed.

The secret of his eminently successful service in the College lay in what Mr. Moody once termed the triple elements of power, consecration and concentration. When he accepted the call to the presidency he felt compelled to it by a sense of duty, and he consecrated himself to that one thing, and to that one thing alone. He allowed nothing lying on the circumference of his field of labour to woo him from the task to which he had devoted himself with entire singleness of aim, viz., to fill with all his ability and strength his chair in the teaching force of the College, and so to administer its affairs as to secure for the students the largest mental, moral and spiritual results. And so it was that while he collected considerable money for the College he never missed a recitation to do it—always making them up on his return. He had his library in the college building and here he was always at work from eight in the morning until ten at night, at any and all times accessible to the students. He had remarkable foresight and system in his work, and his body and mind were trained under rigid discipline to effect his noble purposes. His desk never lay piled up with unfinished work. He was never seemingly driven, but, always at his post, and hence he was never unprepared when the hour struck.

He was unselfish in his work. He never asked for an increase in salary, and during sixteen years of occupancy of the president's house he never allowed a penny to be spent on it from college funds. He was a wise disciplinarian, his conception of discipline being governed by the idea of saving the boy. As in his ministry, so here also, he proved himself also a true shepherd, going after the straying sheep of the flock that he might bring him safely into the fold. His tender, personal interviews with many a young man saved him from shipwreck of soul, and reclaimed him for a successful and noble future. He always conducted the morning chapel services,

and thus secured a strong personal hold on the students by which he was enabled to guide and influence them to holy living and exalted service. His baccalaureate sermons are models of excellence, and they reveal the character and scope of his blessed influence on the young men under his charge. Many a young man was led by his gentle hand into the ministry of the glorious Gospel of God. And scores of young men were brought, through his wise, fatherly and sympathetic oversight, into that path of life which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

In his class-room he did his best work. Here he was the master. His students had absolute confidence in him as their teacher. He wrote independent lectures in all departments of his work, both in the college and in the Seminary. These lectures he annually revised, and so kept his work up to the very highest possible ideal. He was a born teacher. He was endowed with rare mental gifts, power to think clearly and logically, and to think through the subject to the end. Then too he had a perfect command of such speech as would readily convey his thought. With all he had a vivid imagination, and such qualities of heart as made him an attractive teacher. In spite of his great and profound learning he was never, in the slightest degree, dictatorial in the class-room. And yet he was masterful, though there was never about him the semblence of the magisterial air. It was the mastery of truth, and every student felt the force of it, as he sat day by day under the sound of his voice. He had come into place of power by his own wide reading, and severe thinking and logical reasoning. The text, therefore, for each day's recitation was merely a text for the larger and wider presentation of the subject under the skilful leadership of the teacher. Through his masterful presentation the student had a new appreciation of the truth and of the text, and he went out from his class-room convinced by the array of fact and logical argument, and satisfied that the final word had been spoken. There was no skimming of the surface of truth in his class-room. He went to the depths. He was never busy flitting here and there about the circumference of things. He led us to the centre, and with the sure

step of one who knew the way. We never found him wanting in readiness to clear up any point that baffled us. He never answered any man's question with a "show of learning" and an effort to becloud the issue with mere words. But in transparent, and concise terms, he went straight to the issue and from his own clear apprehension made the matter perfectly plain. And yet, in spite of his great learning, and evident grasp of the subjects he taught, he respected every man's individuality and right to think and reason for himself. He was never coldly dogmatic in his teaching, but was sympathetic, warm-hearted and inspiring. He encouraged independent search after the deep and hidden things of God and man. He wanted every man to investigate for himself, to think with his own mind, to make the tests himself, and so to make the truth his own. He himself as a teacher sought to establish before his class great, sound, comprehensive principles, leaving with the individual the non-essential things on the circumference.

His splendid success in the class-room must appear from what has already been written. Every student loved him and trusted him absolutely. As Dr. Coover has so well said of him: "Dr. Valentine educated by his personality; he was the ethical gentleman, and made his students feel the exalted excellence of gentlemanly character and conduct. He not only trained minds, but impressed morals, and his influence made young men moral factors for good." Above all it should be said that he taught as "one sent of God" to teach. He felt this to be his heaven-ordained work. Every day, therefore, found him busy in the preparation for his great life-work, and that daily preparation was kept up to the very last. He spent every available moment of time in solid work for his class. He read the best books in theology, philosophy, apologetics, and ethics, read them with discrimination and deep insight, read only the best, and kept ever in the van of the thinking world. He was therefore fitted to speak in the language of authority and to bring to his class-room the results of his own perfect mastery of the latest and best thought touching the problems of the day. Here in the class-room he did the great

work of his life, that work which will abide long after the teacher has fallen on sleep, that work which will bear richest fruitage through the years that are yet to come. As he himself so beautifully said in the concluding words of his sermon to the graduating class of 1892: "There is no grander work beneath the stars than to save men and build them up into perfect manhood and blessedness divinely intended for them in both creation and redemption. God Himself has no higher aim for the outcome of things on earth. Things on lower range than this may pass away and fail to be counted in at the great consummation. But this is the gold that remains when all dross has perished. Your labors for this cannot be lost. Every atom of its influence, as it falls from your teaching or holy example, passes into the current of God's moving purpose, an unfailing contribution, becoming eternal in the new earth and the new heavens in which righteousness shall dwell forever."

Dr. Valentine was a theologian. When the beloved Dr. Charles Stork died, the eyes of the Church at once were turned to Doctor Valentine as the man best qualified to take his place. He had already proved his fitness for this position of great responsibility through his two years of regular service as a professor and five years of special work as an instructor in the Seminary. Besides, his whole life had been spent in special study along theological, ethical and philosophical lines. The expectations of the Church were more than met in the splendid service which he rendered during almost twenty years of teaching in the chair of Systematic Theology in the Seminary. It was here that he did his crowning work for the Church. In the field of theology he has had no superior in the Lutheran Church in America. He stands preëminent as a Lutheran theologian. His colleague, Dr. Richard, who knew him so intimately, and who is so well qualified to estimate his worth as a Lutheran theologian, said of him in his funeral address: "He not only taught theology, but he also *theologized.* He thought out a system of Evangelical Lutheran theology that is his own. For while his mind was receptive of the truth thought out by others and incorporated into other systems, his

own system is penetrated and irradiated from center to circumference, and from circumference to center, by the Lutheran conception. He was a Lutheran theologian in all that is fundamental, and generic, and catholic in the Lutheran theology.

"(a) He held that the Word of God is the only infallible rule of faith and practice, that it alone can determine all articles of faith; that it alone is the standard by which all teaching and all teachers are to be tried and judged. This principle he grasped in the fullness of its meaning as final in its authority for the intellect and as energizing upon the will and as consolatory for the heart, entering into and normating the whole life of the Church. On the one hand, in accordance with the conservative cast of his mind, he had profound respect for the fathers, and for the creeds, and for the institutions of the Church. On the other hand, in accordance with the independence of his spirit, he did not regard these as infallible, or as incapable of improvement in form and in expression, or as legally and literally binding upon the Christian thinking and practice of to-day. He held that God had a message in His Word for every age, and that the message for our age had been only partially apprehended, and only imperfectly uttered, by the ages that had had another and a different need, as they had each another and a different environment.

"Thus loyal to the formal principle of the Reformation, and applying it as the Reformers themselves applied it, in superordination to the logical and the historical formulas of individuals and of the Church, his is a theology of the heart—*cor theologum facit*—a theology that can be preached from the pulpit, as it was expounded from the chair, because it has in it the marrow of the Gospel, and because it breathes the spirit of Christ. Hence Dr. Valentine might have adopted as his own the motto of Philip Melanchthon—and the two preceptors were strikingly alike in qualities of mind and heart—*I have taught theology for no other purpose than to save men.*

"(b) *Justification by faith alone.* This is the central principle of Lutheranism. Or, in Dr. Valentine's own words, This is the pivot on which the entire system turns: Justification by faith alone, out of grace alone, for the sake of Christ alone.

Of this principle he wrote: 'It expressed, and forever expresses, the essential and decisive thing in God's way of saving men.' No man ever grasped this principle more clearly or held it more firmly than did Dr. Valentine. In it he found all that God had decreed in eternity and executed in time for the salvation of men. For him it expressed God's love before the world was, and Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, and the Spirit's activity in the hearts of men. For him it was the end of God's love, the end of Christ's sacrifice, the end of the Spirit's activity—that God might be just and the justifier of them that believe on His Son, and the sanctifier of them that are justified —God's work for man, that stands before and makes way for God's work in man.

"This is the genuine old Lutheran theology, the article of a standing or of a falling Church, for so long as the Church holds this article, she will stand; but when this article falls, the Church will fall, By his holding of this article in its genuine Lutheran significance, Dr. Valentine placed himself in the true succession of those heroes of the faith who subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, out of weakness were made strong. But he grasped this principle, not as dogma for the understanding; not as a proposition subject to the rules of logic; but as a living gift of grace in the heart, that brings the joy of salvation and overcomes the world. It was the logic of experience in the will that subdued the logic of intellect and brought into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. So Dr. Valentine held and so he taught. And so held and so taught his predecessors in office: Schmucker, Brown, Stork, Valentine, a noble, loyal, valiant quartette. Alike they conceived the purpose of our Seminary, alike they breathed its spirit, the spirit of the evangelical Lutheran Theology, which aims to save men from sin and to build them up in a holy faith in Christ."

AS AN AUTHOR.

Dr. Valentine accomplished a great service for the Church and the world with his pen. It would require several printed pages merely to enumerate the titles of his contributions to papers, magazines, reviews, encyclopedias and learned publi-

cations of various sorts. In addition to these incessant contributions to current theological and philosophical literature, he was author of the three volumes, *Theoretical Ethics*, *Natural Theology* and *Christian Faith and Life*. These books are masterpieces in their particular fields. Into them he put his best effort, and the results of a ripe scholarship. In these he will live and through these he will speak to yet unborn generations. As John Milton has said, " A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond." These volumes give evidence of the wide range of his culture, his deep scholarship, and of the firm grasp and vigor of his intellect. In them we have the life-blood of this master mind. In these books he laid deep emphasis upon the true relation of Christianity to modern thought and to modern life; and in a most truly conservative manner set forth the old faith in the new light of present need. The volumes on Natural Theology and Ethics are the outgrowth of his class-room work in the College. They were first given to the students in lectures and annually revised, until, finally, after years of careful preparation and revision, they came forth from the press, finished, masterful. Both these volumes have received the very highest praise of scholars and thinkers in the English speaking world. His volume on Natural Theology, first published in 1885, has been especially well received, having been accorded an unusually ethusiastic reception on the part of educators all over the land. It " is the product of clear discrimination between undesigned evolution, mere blind upward movement in nature, and a rational purpose in the development of the material world." It is a subject that " leads through a mass of conflicting metaphysics, and traverses most varied and antagonistic speculation." It is a topic on which at the time of its publication and previously thereto the thought of the age was focused. New scientific theories and varied hypotheses tended to excite peculiar interest in this incomparably important theme, and there was no work covering the various forms of the theistic evidences adjusted to meet the issues raised by modern scientific and philosophical speculation. It remained, therefore, for Dr. Valentine

PENNSYLVANIA STATE LIBRARY

to undertake the difficult task of "bringing together the various approved evidences and furnishing a compendious statement of them as they stood in the best accredited thought and knowledge of the times." So successfully was this done that his work was hailed with highest enthusiasm and approval, and the book was adopted as a text book in more than fifty of the leading institutions of the country. It has gone into its ninth edition, and after two decades of testing it is still in active demand, for it is the standard manual on Natural Theology. One of the reviewers declared of it: "It reminds constantly of Butler's Analogy, not only in the subject treated, but in learning, consciousness, and force of the argument."

Another volume or set of volumes will soon issue from the press of our Lutheran Publication House, a Christian Theology. We feel no hesitation in venturing to predict that when it comes into our hands we will find it to be the product of his whole life of deep contemplation and profound research into the everlasting truths of divine revelation. It will represent the ripe fruitage of all his years of study and it will embody, through incorporation with the *Outlines of Theology*, the results of his intense thought and research year by year. As Dr. Richard has said, "He thought out a system of Lutheran Theology that is his own." So far as we know this will be the only Lutheran Theology in the English language which is not a translation or a mere restatement of the Lutheran faith according to the concepts and terminology of the old dogmaticians of three hundred years ago. From what we have seen of the work and from what we learned to know of Dr. Valentine's theology in the class-room, we are assured that this work will be an exposition of the true inwardness of the Lutheran faith, written in cordial and hearty sympathy with what is vital and determining in Lutheran theology, and yet not written in any spirit of servile submission to seventeenth century dogmaticians. Whatever is good in them will be recognized, but their views will not be made of final authority; they must stand or fall on their own intrinsic merits for they can claim no prescriptive right to determine questions for the Lutheran Church for all time. It will be a finished work. His *Outlines*,

which have formed the basis of this enlarged and completed work were rewritten and revised many times during his long experience as teacher of theology in the Seminary. The final touch was given this work in the last years of life, after he had laid aside the active duties of his chair and had leisure for this great task. He was at the closing pages of the last chapter when the shadow fell across the page on which he wrote. The Master had called. His work was finished. This work will come as his rich bequest, an immeasurably rich bequest, to the Church he loved and served with such fidelity, and signal honour and success, for more than half a century. As he stood ready to enter through the gates into the presence of the great teacher of mankind he who had sat so humbly at His feet to learn the Truth, handed to the Church these rare volumes, his last testimony to the glorious Gospel of God as the world's chief need, and to the honour of Christ as the world's divine-human Prophet, Priest and King.

We bring this tribute of affection and reverence to one we loved as a father. We think of him as a successful minister of the great Gospel of Christ; we think of him as the strong, scholarly president of the college; we think of him as the masterful teacher of the science of philosophy, ethics and theology; but above all else we think of him, now that he is gone, as the man of God whose life was hid with Christ in God. As students, we loved him, we trusted him, we clung to him with a beautiful fondness because we saw in his soul a passion for righteousness that was overmastering. It seemed to us always that to serve God and the Church was the one passionate longing of his life. We felt his goodness then. We realize it better now as we stand by his closed grave. In him the love of God was daily being perfected, and it was "the gentleness of God that made him great" in his splendid ministry among men. Through all his writings, his letters, his newspaper articles, his pamphlets, his sermons his books there runs the line of goodness which is God. The love of God was the habit of his soul. His beautiful Christian life above everything else, stands forth an abiding witness to the glorious fact that

the religion of Jesus Christ will meet and satisfy the demands alike of brain and heart and aspiring spirit.

How triumphantly he has gone up to his place of power in the kingdom of God! And now we see him no more with earthly vision. A veil hangs between us and him. But the eye of faith can pierce the veil. We know that he lives. Death is only the interruption of a visible method of life. The life goes on in the sphere of immortality and these immeasurable moral and spiritual forces which he set in motion here will continue to stimulate to everything good and noble until time shall be no more. The life which gathers into its sweep the imperishable riches, the life, which, reaching up, receives the impress of the eternal and, reaching out, touches humanity with all its need, that life is the life that endures, which neither death nor the grave can touch, boundless and limitless as eternity.

ARTICLE II.

TEACHING THE BIBLE.*

By Alonzo J. Turkle, D.D.

My Brother:

I count it a privilege to be delegated by the Board of Education to deliver the charge to you at your inauguration as Professor of Exegetical and Practical Theology in the Western Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America.

You were unanimously elected to this position, and have signified your acceptance of the office and duties, and have entered upon your work. We are here to-night to inaugurate you according to the form and order of our Church.

I am thankful that circumstances have permitted me to accept the appointment of the Board of Education to deliver the charge to you on their behalf. Our personal relations for a score of years makes this a very pleasant duty. My participation in the inauguration services when the first honored professor was inducted into office, and my abiding interest in the splendid work that has been done during all the years of the existence of this institution, give me joy to be present on this happy occasion and to note the marked progress of our educational interests in the West.

The need of assistance for the overburdened professors, and the desire for an augmented teaching force has long been a source of solicitude to the Board of Education. And it is a matter of great gratification to the Board that the increased gifts of the Church have made it possible to add another professor to the Western Theological Seminary.

I am sure you recognize in your call to this position, the opportunity for the highest service for your Master, or you would never have left your prosperous Church in the model city of the greatest industrial center of our country.

* Address delivered in St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Atchison, Kansas, at the inauguration of Rev. Holmes Dysinger, D.D., as Professor in the Western Theological Seminary.

The Theological Seminary is the chief of all educational institutions, the glory of the Church which sustains it, the reward of that section of the Church which sends its sons for training, and the most beneficent influence to the city which is so fortunate as to secure its location in its midst.

The chair which you formally assume this evening in this Seminary is a most ancient and honorable one, and has a most distinguished history. We know that the prophet Samuel taught in a Theological Seminary. From that time until now, his successors have doubtless been teaching Exegetical and Practical Theology. In the instruction given in connection with the Jewish Synagogues, and in the later schools of Alexandria, and Antioch, in the cloisters of the Middle Ages, in the universities of the Reformation time, and in the schools and seminaries of modern days, the study of the Scriptures has ever been preserved. Sometimes philosophies, and the traditions of men partially obscured the light of the Word, but ever since Luther restored to the Church the sacred Scriptures, the professor in your department of theological education has held an exalted position.

You are to deal with the whole Bible in your teaching; and that will be a decided advantage in many respects. There are not two Bibles, though there are two testaments; the Old Testament and the New are one Bible, and between them there can be no conflict or disparity of truth. God is one, God in Christ is one; and there are not two revelations any more than an apple-tree in blossom and the same when laden with fruit are two. And you will have special opportunity to emphasize the unity of the Scriptures.

You will teach the old Scriptures that formed our Lord's Bible, and which was the source whence the apostles drew their proofs of the divine mission of Christ. You will study the words and ministries of our Lord as recorded in the gospels. You will trace the work of redemption through type and shadow, through prophecy and fulfillment, and consummation on Calvary. You will teach the history of the people who were the custodians of God's revelation and from whom sprang the World's Redeemer. You will direct the thought

of your students to the planting and training and development of the Christian Church, as revealed in the Acts and Epistles.

You will, of course, as the first step, without which the hidden riches can never be discovered, give your students a thorough training in the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages. This means for you, and for them, labor, even drudgery. But as you will see some of them rightly appreciating the strength and simplicity of the Hebrew tongue, which was honored of God in being made the medium for the revelation of himself in the grand old Hebrew religion; and note how others grasp the hidden meaning of the Word when they dig it out of the original Greek, which the inspired writers used, your reward will begin to come. These you will lead the deeper into the mystery and power of God's thought. And so, whatever progress any may make in the several fields of exegetical study, you will put into their hands an instrument whereby in after years they may for themselves enter in and explore the mines of wealth, and bring forth for themselves and their people precious things from the great storehouse of God's marvelous revelation.

In your department of instruction you will be compelled to face questions which reach to the very heart of revelation. The Bible has been put in the prisoner's box by hostile enemies, and all the witnesses have been summoned to convict it of error and imposture. They have attacked the authorship, the text, the contents. But the validity and authority of the sacred Scriptures still remain. Not a single discovery of Archeology disputes a biblical statement. All the laborious painstaking and unappreciated work that has been endured in unearthing and deciphering manuscripts, stones and inscriptions, is bringing its reward in bearing testimony to the authenticity of the Bible. Witnesses are multiplying to confirm the integrity and authority of the Scriptures. The fierceness of the attack on the New Testament, by the critics, is over. We do not know what may be ahead of us, but we may be assured that God will open up to light all possible sources of confirmatory evidence from new manuscripts, new stones and new inscriptions, whereby ultimate certainty may be had as

to all questions relating to the Hebrew writings. The marvelous light thrown on these subjects in recent years, each time confirming the Scriptures, gives us ground for assured confidence that the history of the New Testament Criticism will find its repetition in that of the Old, and that every attack upon the genuineness and truthfulness of the record will be triumphantly overthrown.

With all these questions, you, my brother, are thoroughly familiar, through long years of devoted study. It is now your joy and delightful priviledge to guide the students under your care in the quest of truth, so that they may not be enamored and satisfied with an unproved theory, however new and attractive, nor frightened by the critic whose assumptions are caught up and widely heralded. You are so to buttress their faith by evidence, that their faith will become an assurance, and send them forth with the clear and unequivocal message of "thus saith the Lord."

Your successful work in the pastorate gives us the assurance that you will teach correct principles of Practical Theology. Let it be known how you did your work.

The Western Theological Seminary has for its doctrinal basis the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, namely, "We receive and hold, with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God, as contained in the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word, and of the faith of our Church founded on that Word." It is the abiding purpose of this Seminary to educate men for the Christian ministry and to provide our Churches with pastors in harmony with this basis.

I charge you to work together with your associates to maintain this thoroughly evangelical and conservatively Lutheran position. May you conserve the unity of the Seminary curriculum by your mutual sympathy and coöperation, as divine co-laborers in moulding minds for Christ and eternity. Remember the words of St. Paul, to "Stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel."

It is a lofty mission to which you have been called. In a little while you will begin to preach to many congregations, through those who go out to preach the riches of God's grace from your instruction.

Help them to attain the ability to preach, interpret, illustrate and present the truth, in such a way that it will be understood and find lodgment in the heart.

May you be guided and kept in your work, the most important, perhaps, to which God calls his ministering servants. And the prayers of the Board and the friends of the Seminary go with you.

THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES: THEIR PLACE AND FUNCTION IN MINISTERIAL TRAINING.

By Holmes Dysinger, D.D.

Mr. President, Members of the Board of Education, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is not for me to discuss at this time the significance of the creation of a new Chair, and the appointment of an additional professor to give his whole time to the work in the Western Seminary. What it should mean, however, to the Institution, no less than the Lutheran Church, especially in the Middle West, cannot fail to press itself upon the attention of one called to occupy the position, if he enters upon his duties with high aims and a sense of the seriousness of the responsibility he assumes. Even a cursory survey of the field to be occupied reveals the extent and importance of the work entrusted to me. The feeling accordingly that is uppermost is that of humility and insufficiency. One can well ask, "Who is able for these things?"

"Exegetical and Practical Theology" includes a wide range of different, but related branches of one general subject. The specific aim of this Chair can be briefly summed up as the training of young men to interpret the Scriptures accurately, and to present and apply the principles and precepts of God's Word in the pulpit and pastorate successfully. The greatness and the difficulty of the task are at once apparent. The spirit

of the times is strongly set against all phases of distinctive theological culture. In our large universities religion may be investigated as any other natural phenomenon of interest; but in many circles, to claim for the Bible that it is a special revelation of God to man, and is accordingly, authoritative for conduct, is to expose oneself to silent contempt, and not infrequently to the shafts of ridicule. Indeed, theology, once the queen of the sciences, occupying the central place in the temple of knowledge, is in many quarters relegated to the limbo of exploded superstitions, and its claims are dismissed with a wave of the hand. The man who attempts to teach any branch of theology as a matter of supreme value to humanity is laughed out of the court of learning as having no case. Nor are these ideas confined to the schools. Through the daily press they have gained wide currency; and they are entertained very generally among all classes of people who are not directly identified with the Church.

The commercial spirit of the age militates strongly against the higher type of theological culture and practical Christianity. Men are absorbed in the material and sensuous. Life is summed up in getting and enjoying. The mad race for wealth crowds out everything else. Men are not interested in ideas except as they may be transmuted into gold. They care naught for New Jerusalem, unless they have reason to believe that they will be able to convert its streets of gold into coin, and turn the stream of yellow metal into their own coffers.

The exclusion of theology in its ripest product from the curricula of our general scheme of education, and our rapid material development with its opportunities for amassing colossal fortunes have lessened interest in theological pursuits and reduced the number, and in some respects changed the personal of the candidates for the Gospel ministry. Theology in the minds of many superficial thinkers of our time is discredited. They care for none of these things. They assume an air of indifference, if not cynicism, toward all religious matters.

In the past the Gospel ministry gave special opportunity for honorable preferment, with leisure for study, and the com-

panionship of books and cultured society. Today other professsions, and especially commercial enterprises, furnish so many more and greater opportunities for advancement, that all that numerous class who entered the ministry from motives of personal advantage have been drawn into other fields of activity. Their places have been taken no doubt in many instances by others of less natural ability and fewer of those qualities that are derived from a long line of cultured ancestors. But the history of the Gospel ministry bears ample testimony to the fact that consecration has often more than compensated for the lack of ability and training; that the world is won for Christ, not by those who seek the ministry for the sake of ease and honor, but by those who put ambition, wealth and all worldly advantages behind them, that they may preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to men—those who have counted all things loss that they might win Christ.

The obligation resting upon those who are charged with the responsibility of training men to meet these conditions, and counteract the influences hostile to the Gospel, is accordingly great. One eucouraging fact can very properly be a source of satisfaction, viz., that the Lutheran Church has been least affected by the currents and counter-currents of skepticism, that now and again seem to be sweeping everything into the ocean of Agnosticism or materialistic pantheism. Neither the ebb nor the tide has wrenched her from her moorings. Others have been wrested from their anchorage; but not so, the Lutheran Church. Drawing her inspiration from the Divine Word, and resting upon its authority, linked to the past by a history of continued and faithful service; loyal to that history and mission in the present, and with a wide outlook for the future, she is moving forward conquering and to conquer.

Such in broad outlines is my conception of the work assigned by the Board of Education to me, as the first incumbent of the Chair of Exegetical and Practical Theology in the Western Seminary. To discuss a theme that would embrace all that the Chair includes, would be obviously impracticable under the circumstances. Allow me, therefore, to direct attention to but one of the branches of study, which it is my

duty to teach, viz., THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES: THEIR PLACE AND FUNCTION IN MINISTERIAL TRAINING.

Familiarity with the contents of the Bible is one of the essential qualifications of a minister of the Gospel. It is universally conceded that whatever contributes to that end should receive consideration. It may not always be required that candidates for the sacred office be able to read the Scriptures, in the original tongues, with ease and intelligence. Yet it is presupposed. Theological Seminaries always make some provision for instruction in Hebrew and Greek, however inadequate in many instances for the end in view. All include these studies in their curricula, from the mastery of the principles of the grammar to the critical word for word interpretation of the text called Exegesis. All our Colleges teach Greek, and not a few offer Hebrew as an elective. It is reasonable to suppose that all College graduates, when they have completed, in addition, a three year's Seminary course, ought to be able to read the New Testament in the original Greek, and the easier portions of the Hebrew Bible at sight. Not to be able to do so, argues neglect somewhere.

"The Formula of Government" of the General Synod, contains the following: "The examination (of candidates for the ministry) shall embrace, at least, the following subjects, viz., Personal Piety, and motives for seeking the office of the ministry, the original languages (Hebrew and Greek) of the inspired Scriptures, Theology, Church History, Pastoral Theology, Homiletics, and Church Government." The clause "at least as well as the explanatory terms, "Hebrew and Greek," show that these are not matters of indifference or choice on the part of the candidates or examiners. Some knowledge of Hebrew and Greek is required by the fundamental law of the Church, at least the General Synod. Moreover, the district synods, composing the General Synod, have incorporated this section into their constitutions, and each has its examining committee, one member of which is charged with the duty of examining candidates in these branches to test their fitness for the work of the ministry. Such provision assuredly presupposes a fair reading knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures.

The facts in the case, however, hardly justify the expectations raised by the courses of instruction that are provided for the students, and the tests they are supposed to be subject to before they are recommended for ordination. An experience as examiner, covering a period of more than fifteen years, furnished but one individual who could with any show of truth be said to possess a working knowledge of Hebrew. In most instances the subject was dismissed with one or two questions that revealed almost total ignorance of the principles of the language and inability to translate the shortest paragraphs with any degree of accuracy. Often too the knowledge of Greek, even in the case of College graduates, was surprisingly meagre. As for reading at sight in the Greek what had not been memorized in the English, it could rarely be done. It is not surprising, therefore, that few read their New Testament in the original, after they leave the Seminary, and that only the regular house-cleanings, and the migrations from charge to charge disturb the dust that accumulates on the Hebrew Bible.

The reason for this state of things is not far to seek. It is found primarily in the failure to appreciate the value and importance of possessing a sufficient knowledge of the original Scriptures to use them intelligently in discovering the exact meaning of a given passage. Many regard the Hebrew as lowest in the order of values among the subjects pursued in training for the ministry. They, therefore, give the matter little or no serious attention. There are so many other subjects of more immediate interest and practical value that the time spent upon Hebrew is regarded as worse than wasted. As soon as we realize that the temple of Theological Culture rests upon the foundation-stones of the original Seriptures, we shall begin to appreciate the value of the Hebrew, and the Greek as well. Then men will no longer build their structures on the sand while they embellish the interior with beautiful frescoes and mosaics that soon crumble and fall because the foundation has given way. The necessity of a solid foundation is doubtless more frequently overlooked and minimized in the building of

intellect and character than in the construction of palaces and temples.

Those responsible for the arrangement and coördination of courses of study in our Seminaries, are often seriously at fault in this matter. They throw the weight of their influence in favor of the reduction of this part of the curriculum to the minimum. It is but natural that the professor magnify the importance of his own specific work. If he did not, his place should be filled by some one who would. The numerous subjects that can be studied with profit, and should be investigated sooner or later by one who would be well equipped for the ministry, make the arrangement of the courses of study a work of peculiar difficulty. What should be included and what omitted, what should be done in the Seminary, and what left for subsequent investigation, in what order and to what extent the different subjects should receive attention, are matters to be settled in harmony with sound pedagogical principles, and the primary needs of the pulpit of the time. The coördination of studies should rest upon the principle of educational values, and should not be governed by use of acquisition and merely practical ends.

The depreciating remarks concerning the Hebrew made by so many ministers in the active work, the incredulous smile with which they acknowledge their ignorance on the subject, and the way most members of examining committees will avoid it, attest a serious lack of appreciation of the real worth of a fair working knowledge of the Old Testament original. Under the circumstances it is more of a wonder that the subject receives any attention than that it receives so little.

The fact need not be concealed that it requires close application to master the principles of a language; to acquire a command over a foreign tongue, either as literature or as a means of communication. Most men are entirely averse to undertaking such a task. It is a principle of universal application, that men tend to follow the line of least resistance. In the Seminary such a vast field of easy acquisition spreads out before the vision of the student, that the temptation becomes

strong to indulge his inclination for ease, and neglect that part of the course which requires the closest application. He forgets or ignores the fact, that our mental acquisitions develop power in us, just in the proportion that they call forth effort. Reading is easy, indeed, may be a luxury, dissipation requiring no conscious exercise of the mental powers; but to study requires work and calls into play all our mental faculties. Even those who have held high rank as students in College, who have taken the prizes and honors, often show a strange indifference to the mastery of difficult subjects in the Seminary course. Their ambition seems to have been satisfied in the paltry distinctions acquired in their College days. The special incentive that served as a spur to effort is lacking. In consequence, they often take their ease. Instead of setting before themselves as the goal of endeavor, disciplined minds that would give the mastery over ideas and perfected character that wins the mastery over self, they would seem to leave out of the account, accurate scholarship, trained mental powers, and self-direction in harmony with the principles of truth and duty. That the shortlived popularity of the shallow pulpiteer, and the gratification of small ambitions through Synodical preferment, should arrest the attention of the student, is a prophecy that should be a danger signal. A reason for the limited attainment of the clergy in the Hebrew Scriptures is very evident. Acquisition by absorption under compulsion, instead of by conscious voluntary effort, is likely to be very superficial and meager.

Poor teaching is justly responsible for a part of the discredit into which the Hebrew has fallen in student and ministerial circles. A sleepy and perfunctory professor cannot arouse interest much less enthusiasm. Besides, antiquated methods discourage students, lessen interest and do not produce results commensurate with the effort put forth. The last place in the world for a pedagogical fossil is a chair in a Theological Seminary. In truth, our civilization has no place for fossils, except the museum. The successful teacher must be master of his subject, master of his method and master of himself. What-

ever may be said of the first and last, it will hardly be seriously questioned that theological education has suffered materially because of ignorance or the neglect of the best methods of teaching. By many it does not seem to be a matter of sufficient importance to receive special attention. Without faithful application on the part of the students the best methods will not bring large results; but instruction given in harmony with sound pedagogical principles, will add immeasurably to acquisition whether it be estimated in terms of power, or information. That poor teaching is in part responsible for the meager knowledge of Hebrew, possessed by the rank and file of the ministry today is firmly believed.

The thesis we maintain is that the graduate of a Theological Seminary ought to possess a working knowledge of the Hebrew. This would require a sufficient acquaintance with the grammar and lexicography to read the original with ease, and interpret with intelligence and accuracy. If such a knowledge is to be acquired, more than a beginning must be made in the Seminary. If the minister must use his lexicon, for every verse he attempts to translate, he will soon discontinue the effort. Occasionally we find a man who has persevered, and gained in after years what he should have acquired in the Seminary. But the instances are rare, very rare. A beginning has been made by many; but the frequent interruptions and the press of other duties have interfered so much that the spasmodic efforts are soon given up entirely. Hence the necessity of doing more than merely preliminary work in the Seminary. Indeed the aim should be to read large portions of the Old Testament in the original; and, in the case of those who have studied the grammar and acquired a vocabulary of several hundred words before they enter the Seminary, it should not be scouted as an impossible task to read the whole of it. To do this would require time and work. So be it. Seminaries are not founded and endowed to encourage idleness or indulge laziness in students or professors. They are, or ought to be, hives of industry. It requires much less time to do this than is generally supposed. Half the time usually given to

Latin or Greek in College will enable a faithful student under a good teacher to gain such a mastery of the Hebrew as to read the historical and narrative portions of the Bible at sight. The ability to do this cannot be acquired in fifty or sixty lessons only half mastered. Indeed it is conceded that a course of that extent is too brief to be of any value, and the time might be spent to more advantage along other lines. Sufficient time and attention however should be given to the subject to enable the faithful student to acquire the facility already indicated as the objective of the Seminary course.

This is put on the ground that the minister is in duty bound to master his Bible as thoroughly as is possible for one of his ability. He should know it from beginning to end—thoroughly, critically. He should master its facts, and its history. He should be familiar with its principles and its precepts. He should be acquainted with its literary and linguistic peculiarities. It is not merely the history of particular events in the life of a particular nation. It is universal history, that is the history of human life as it is expressed universally. It is the true philosophy of history, because it is history with the Divine interpretation of human conduct. Moreover it is God's will communicated to men through the medium of language. Hence its authority is supreme.

It is the source of knowledge not otherwise discoverable by man. It furnishes him his loftiest conception of Diety. It reveals to him his origin, his duty and his destiny with a clearness and a fulness not dreamed of elsewhere. It deals with the largest ideas known to the human mind, or that find embodiment in language. Its first page opens before us the limitless vista of time and space and challenges the effort of imagination's utmost stretch. By creative fiat numberless worlds set out on dress parade. On our own little planet, mountains rise, valleys descend and old ocean rolls to his appointed place. The last page of the sacred volume tells of the new heaven and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. Between these pages is the story of Redemptive grace and love, exhibiting forces in operation that far outrank all the physical might

necessary to create numberless worlds and swing them in their orbits far out in the infinite reaches of space. This priceless volume, the Word of God, it is the special duty of the minister to interpret and apply to the life and conduct of men. What more imperative duty rests upon him than that of understanding what he interprets?

Possibly few would claim that the medium of a translation is sufficiently accurate for the teachers of the Church. Yet many can, and do, go no further. The study of the English Bible in our Seminaries has had many advocates for a quarter of a century or more. Special chairs for instruction in this line have been established in many Colleges as well as Seminaries. We are in hearty sympathy with any movement that aims at the most thorough knowledge of the English Bible. But these advocates have done much to make the study of the original unpopular and bring it into disrepute. Those who are so earnest in their advocacy of the English Bible, should always keep in mind two facts, first, that, when this study is not based upon an accurate knowledge of the original, it always furnishes second-hand information, and is always more or less superficial, and, secondly, that the best possible way of getting an accurate and thorough knowledge of the Bible is through the original languages in which it was written.

Anyone who has had any experience in translating the conceptions of one language into the idioms of another, knows how nearly impossible the task is. Each word has its own distinctive qualities, that are connoted in its definition and give it its peculiar meaning. An exact equivalent in another tongue is far from being as common as might be thought. Besides every tongue has its own shades of meaning, that are characteristic and idiomatic, and which defy exact reproduction in another tongue. Ideas are permeated by shades of feeling that are untranslatable. They can only be felt, not expressed. The English Bible in point of fidelity to the original is a masterpiece in translation. All thoughtful readers of the Bible know, however, how difficult it is to discover the meaning of many passages, and that it is necessary to turn to the original to

clear up many obscurities. This alone can give the exact thought.

If he who discovered a few of the laws that control the physical universe could with any truth exclaim, "I am thinking God's thoughts after him," with how much more reason can he claim this distinction who reads the divine message to man in the language in which it was originally given! If a messege direct from heaven came to us in our mother-tongue, with what interest and delight would we spell out its exact meaning! Why should we show less interest in the message committed to the men of old for the instruction of all the ages. He who would know the exact meaning of the Divine Word, who would get as near the source of truth and inspiration as is possible in our day, will go to the original in which God's revelation to man is imbedded.

The disciplinary value of the Hebrew justifies its claim to the place we have assigned it. In all true education the course of study must be arranged with two primary objects in view, viz., knowledge and power. There are other possible results of the education process that are of incalculably more value to the individual than these. Among them may be mentioned inspiration, sympathy, love of truth, and the power of self direction. But these center in the character, not in the intellect; they are primarily the teacher's contribution to the development of the personality. On the other hand the claim of a subject for a place in a course of study must rest upon its value as a source of information or as a means of discipline, or both. The Hebrew serves both these ends in a marked degree; but it is specially valuable as a disciplinary study.

Most of the time in a Seminary course is given to studies which are properly classed as informing branches in our education programs. Those of a distinctly disciplinary character are at a discount. But few find place in the Seminary curriculum. All branches of study that require the exercise of any of the powers of mind have disciplinary value. But some much more than others. History is capable of being taught in such a way as to call into exercise the constructive imagina-

tion, the reasoning faculties, and all the higher powers of the mind; as it is generally taught, it disciplines only the memory, and that often imperfectly. Systematic theology, that collects the truth from all spheres and arranges it in a system, with all the parts properly correlated, one to the other, furnishes one of the most valuable disciplines found in any educational program. It calls not only for the systematic arrangement of truth in its logical relations, but that it be buttressed by philosophical arguments and Scripture proofs. It therefore demands the exercise of the logical faculties as well as the memory, and to some extent the constructive imagination. But if the system is only adopted and not wrought out, and verified to the students' own consciousness by an exhaustive study of the Scripture proofs in their historical setting, and a mastery of the arguments by which its principles are established, its disciplinary value is not great, exercising only the lower powers of the mind, and them to no great extent.

If there were no other reason for the careful study of Hebrew in the Seminary, the fact that the earlier part of the work is chiefly disciplinary, would justify giving much more time to it than is generally done. The fact is it is the only study in the course whose value as a discipline is greater possibly than its value as a source of information. He who wishes to possess a trained mind must continue disciplinary studies. The notion is quite common that these can be discontinued as soon as the end of the College course is reached. But not so if one wishes to possess a well trained intellect. How soon men who are reputed to be well educated, lose the power of accurate recollection and exact statement, when they cease exercising their memory in the mastery of ideas and correct modes of expressing them. The fact that the Hebrew requires the exercise of the mental powers in accurate observation, ready and retentive memory, and close reasoning, entitle it to more consideration than it generally gets.

Every reason that can be given for the study of Latin and Greek in the College can be adduced in behalf of the Hebrew in the Seminary. The mastery of the art of transferring

thought from mind to mind by means of clear and simple speech is the primary aim of all purely linguistic study. How rare this art is, and yet how necessary! Notwithstanding our numerous schools and extensive courses in English, one has but to note his correspondence, read our daily prints and listen to the average public speaker to realize the painful lack of clearness, directness and accuracy in the thought and speech of men. Much of our professional literature is marred with un natural forms and exaggerated expressions indicating a straining after effect on the part of the writer. Incalculable harm has been done to the development of pure, idiomatic, chaste, clear and simple English, by men whose business is literature, no less than those whose aim is to advance a cause or sum up the results of investigation along special lines. A sentence from a recent publication on Theology will illustrate our point. It is as fallows: "The ideal of naturalism is the mathematico-mechanical calculability of all natural connections and sequences, the remainderless rationalization of reality, the transparency and explicability to the intellect, of all that is and takes place." No doubt this definition is intelligible to its author and could be made so to others; but to the average hearer or reader it is closely akin to nonsense.

Nor is this straining after originality and display of learning confined to the few. The man who aspires to the distinction of being scholarly is expected to clothe his ideas in such recondite terminology as to make it intelligible to the initiated alone. But a casual glance within almost any theological periodical will make the truth of this statement evident. The assistance, the careful study of Hebrew, will afford the minister in expressing himself in clear and idiomatic English, is sufficient reason for giving it a prominent place in the Seminary course. There is no pursuit in which men on this continent do not need to use English easily and well. What is true of men generally is preëminently true of the minister in particular. If there is any man who should be perfect master of the art of draping the graceful "garment of language around the firm body of an idea," that man is the preacher. He should be able not only

to follow out a line of sustained and close reasoning to its conclusion, but to express his thought clearly, accurately and concisely. To the development of "a free and joyous flow of language, the subtle ceremony of marrying words to ideas so that they forever go hand in hand as one," the Greek excepted, nothing in the curricula of our Seminaries contributes so much as the Hebrew. The former excels in flexibility, delicate shades of meaning and adaptation for abstract and philosophical disquisition; but the latter in simplicity, directness and vigor. It is therefore an invaluable discipline for the minister whose audience is made up largely of those not familiar with the terminology of the schools. The limited time given to the work and the mechanical way in which it is done often leave the student on the threshold of the temple without once getting a glimpse of the marvelous interior, with its wealth of beauty, or experiencing the depth and richness of feeling that entrance within its portals would beget.

The chief value of linguistic pursuits is not found in the study of language for its own sake, nor yet in a discipline of the mental powers, and training of correct forms of expression; but in that they introduce the student to the literature which embodies the history and crystallizes the thoughts and feelings, the aspirations and achievements of a nation. He who is master of the language, through the power of the creative imagination, can re-people a dead world, reconstruct the perished civilization of by-gone ages, and enter sympathetically and appreciatingly into the life and hopes of a long forgotten people. When that people expressed in its life and embodied in its literature the deepest longings and the highest hopes of the race, surely the claim of its language to adequate recognition in ministerial training cannot be lightly set aside. It is a matter of too great moment to be dismissed with a significant smile or good-natured banter.

The mastery of a foreign tongue, and especially acquaintance with its literature, is calculated to break down provincialism of thought and feeling. It introduces to the life and experiences of other peoples, broadens and deepens our sympathies and re-

moves the barriers of prejudice, national and racial, religious and social, and prepares for the full recognition of the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man. The last place in the world for prejudice to have a stronghold is where men are trained for the Gospel ministry. The Seminary should give a wide outlook not only upon the field of learning, but upon the feelings and hopes, the experiences and aspirations of man. Something of the breadth of vision, and the cosmopolitan feeling that extensive travel gives, should be possessed by those whose life-work is to win men to Christ. The Seminary course limits investigation to comparitively few branches, and all these interrelated. But they are subjects that deal with man's highest interests. Accordingly the student should leave the Seminary not only with his moral and religious convictions fixed, but with wider and deeper sympathies, and with purer and nobler aspirations than when he entered. He ought to be able to enter more fully into the experiences of other men, making allowance for their prejudices and indulging their foibles, whether they be white or black, yellow or brown; whether they come from Asia or Africa, Europe or America, while he is personally in bondage to Jesus Christ to live in harmony with the principles of truth and righteousness. If he goes out, however, living in the miasmatic lowlands of small prejudices and belittling personalities, instead of dwelling upon the sunny uplands of inspiring thought and kindly feeling, where the wide horizon of truth enables him to see men and things in the right perspective, he has failed to secure the most valuable possession within his grasp. If this failure has been due to personal limitations, unfavorable environment, or indifference and neglect, a serious blunder has been committed. No more important duty rests upon the teacher than that of leading the student into a sympathetic investigation of the aspirations and achievements of the past; and no more serious blunder can be made by the student than to neglect the opportunities afforded him for such acquisition. With such an objective the study of Hebrew ought to commend itself to the favorable consideration of student and pastor.

The Hebrew Scriptures are of great value as a means of informing the mind as well as disciplining it. Apart from the fact that they are the oracles of God and have religious value, what contribution can they offer to our rich and varied modern life? Details cannot be presented now; but a few facts may be noted. We do not look for our modern twentieth-century conception of God as love, of social morality as embodied in the Golden Rule, and the principles of natural and physical science, as discovered and formulated in recent times, any more than we expect to find Darwin's theory of Natural Selection, Marconi's system of wireless telegraphy, and the formula for mercerized cotton. But they do teach us, what is of incalculably more value, viz., the consciousness of God, the sense of his nearness. The Hebrew saw God in everything. The thunder was his voice, the lightning his fiery dart. At his bidding the earth quaked, the heavens rained fire and brimstone, and pestilence stalked through the land. With such notions it was not difficult for the Hebrew to realize most fully the presence of God, and to have communion with him. It is not so with us. Men have discovered that the world is governed according to law. God is far off, apparently receding farther and farther every year. This is the tendency of modern thought. We are in danger of being caught in the current and swept into the cesspool of sodden materialism. How can this be prevented? By entering into the life of the Hebrew, grasping his thought and feeling of God, his consciousness of his reality and nearness. It will prove of material help in turning the stream of modern thought and feeling into channels of faith and service.

Another message that the Hebrew Scriptures have for our time is that of righteousness as the governing principle of individuals and nations. The triumph of wickedness in high places, sometimes leads to doubt as to the ultimate victory of right; whether it pays to be true, to be upright, to be unselfish. One of the chief lessons of the Old Testament as well as the new, is that righteousness has the power of victory, of life; that unrighteousness fails, and drags ruin in its train. That "righteousness exalteth a nation;" and that "the right-

eous shall flourish like the palm tree," are not isolated effusions of poetic fancy. They are the very essence of the Hebrew Scriptures, and find illustration in the lives of many whose faith and achievements are here recorded.

The minister's reputation for scholarship, and the reasonable requirement that he possess a modicum of this commodity, calls for more than a superficial knowledge of Hebrew Grammar and lexicography. The time was when he was the representative scholar of the community. But that time is no more. The numerous schools, the wide diffussion of knowledge through the multiplication of books, and the enormous output of the daily and periodical press, have brought the opportunities for securing a liberal education within the reach of all who have the ability and are willing to pay the price required in the current coin of personal self-denial and application. A vast army avail themselves of these opportunities every year. Accordingly, the proportion of well-educated men is much larger today than ever before. This fact alone makes a high standard of scholarship among ministers a necessity. While the attorney may devote his time to precedents and decision, and the medical practitioner to diagnosing cases and writing prescriptions, the minister of the Gospel dare not degenerate into a Church functionary who is occupied with everything except his chief business, that of studying God's Word, mastering its teachings that he may bring out things new and old for the edification of the people to whom he ministers. He must be a thinker. He proclaims and interprets a message that must be made his own, through that scholarly mastery of the sources and that living embodiment of the truth, which enables him to speak with authority. If he fails to do these things, he must take his seat with the crowd. What belongs to him by right, he yields to others by default. It is the minister's privilege and duty to speak with the authority of the Divine Word; but only he can possess that authority who has mastered the content of the Word, so that he can interpret it with fullness of knowledge and accuracy of statement. If a Theological Seminary does not meet the demands for accurate scholarship, if she does

not send forth men of scholarly tastes and habits, she is in so far failing to fulfill her mission and bringing discredit upon her cause. Her graduates will soon degenerate into exhorters, and possibly men of affairs, while their pulpit utterances consist in mouthing wornout platitudes and empty sentimentalities. The man who is the professional leader and teacher of the Christian religion must possess the training to comprehend, the heart to feel, and the earnestness to put forth effort to fathom the depth, measure the height, and compass the breadth of Divine Revelation. The grade of scholarship that the possession of this power presupposes is surely not too much to be expected in the minister of the Gospel today. The more complete his mastery over the original, the stronger is his title to scholarship; the greater his ability to interpret the Scriptures with freshness, originality, accuracy and authority; the readier does he win a hearing and command a following.

The fundamental character of the original Scriptures, the Old Testament as well as the new, in their relation to all other departments of theological culture, can receive only brief mention. To omit exegesis from the Seminary course would stamp the institution as false to her mission and unworthy of the confidence of the Church. The short time usually given to Old Testament exegesis is due no doubt, in part at least, to the inability of the average student to pursue the study with satisfaction and profit, because of his lack of familiarity with the Hebrew. For how can it be of value to him unless he have insight into the genius and structure of the original, and understand the meaning of the terms used.

Biblical Theology is derived from, and rests exclusively upon, the Bible. It recognizes no other source of information, no other source of authority. To understand its terminology, to grasp its fundamental principles, to follow its historical development requires an accurate and detailed knowledge of the original Hebrew.

In Dogmatics, a voice is raised once in a while for the recognition of modern scientific and philosophical conclusions. In the light of modern discovery, there may be need of revising

our interpretation of a few passages of Scripture. But in the field of Christian Dogmatics the Bible is the final appeal now, as it always has been in the Lutheran Church. Whatever revision is made must come about after profound study of the original sources, such as was given the Scriptures by the early Reformers and their immediate successors, if the conclusions reached are to be authoritive or even valuable. Our system of theology must not be constructed by *apriori processes* of reasoning, but from an inductive study of the whole body of Scriptures.

In the departments of historical and practical theology the Hebrew renders invaluable service. The former must go back to the original records for its starting point, and the latter for much of its material. Mastery over the sacred tongue will supply the preacher with a vast amount of material not accessible to others; will enable him to interpret with independence and accuracy; will free him from bondage to commentaries, or the last book he has read; will help him to find himself and gain the victory over the revolutionary forces that are devestating his intellectual domain; will give the sense of reality to what he utters, increase his earnestness, and lessen the pulpit echoes at least by one.

In reference to these critical problems concerning the origin, history and authority of the Bible, a recent writer says: "A knowledge of the Greek is considered absolutely necessary for the clergy; but in the present state of theological controversy, a thorough knowledge of Hebrew is even more necessary. On almost every point of biblical criticism, the man who is not a Hebrew scholar is at the mercy of the man who is." The literary and historical criticism of the Bible has thrust into the foreground a question of incalculably more value than that of the origin or authorship of the Scriptures. Their inspiration, their authority is the vital question. If the conclusion is reached that they are of no more authoritative significance than the writings of men who do not claim special divine inspiration, and this becomes the conviction of the masses, their value in shaping the life and character to the mold of eternal realities is

gone. The inspiration of the Scriptures is the most serious problem demanding satisfactory solution today. It cannot be solved by philosophical speculations. The solution of this problem, as well as the others adverted to, must be furnished by the Scriptures themselves and in the form in which they were originally given to men.

MORAL.—Consistency requires that our Seminaries give the opportunity, and that the student avail himself of it, to acquire such a knowledge of Hebrew as to be able to use it readily in understanding and interpreting the Scriptures. As long as the supreme law of the Church requires of candidates for ordination that they be examined in this subject, every consideration of sound morality demands that the examination, as well as the previous study, be removed from the sphere of the farcical. Without deterioration of character no man can wilfully neglect to meet an obligation that he has voluntarily assumed; nor afterwards smile incredulously at the failings and pretense of those who have imitated his example.

It is not contended that ignorance of the Hebrew should necessarily exclude a man from the ministry. Our contention is that the young man who does not improve his opportunity to the extent of his ability, and then asks for ordination in spite of deficiency caused by neglect, lacks that sense of moral fitness necessary for the Gospel ministry. He in effect asks his examiner to falsify the facts and violate the law, he is under obligations to uphold, or stultify himself by raising such a standard of attainment as is tantamount to zero, and brands him as incompetent. It is not intellectual attainment that I plead for so much as it is a high standard of moral obligation. If this is kept up, the intellectual will take care of itself. When once the rank and file of the ministry, the students in our Seminaries, and the Faculties charged with their instruction, realize the moral significance of the question at issue, it will no longer be necessary to argue that the Hebrew Scriptures have an important place in ministerial training.

The declared purpose of the Western Seminary is to train men for the Gospel ministry. This training is first, though not

chiefly, intellectual. In one department of the work that is assigned to me, my aim has been included in what has already been stated. The result of the work as a whole should be for student and professor, an ever-heightening sky for thought, an ever-widening horizon for knowledge, and absolute sincerity in the expression of the truth as it is revealed to us in the Divine Word, as well as in the life and activities of the world about us. These are the aspirations with which we gird ourselves for the work that is set before us.

The ultimate goal of all training is manhood, character. Nor can this be made secondary in the Seminary. The aim must be to develop men, large men, broad men, true men. These will be her glory. To train men as scholars, and nothing more; to train them to see humanity in the abstract, or as in a vision, cannot be even a subordinate aim for a school of the prophets. Scholarship must always be subservient to the ends of character. The student who in thought has been communing with those of old, who walked and talked with God, who realizes in the ideals the Bible holds before him what a glorious thing it is to be a man, who by his knowledge of the past and the possibilities of the future sees the duties of the present in their true perspective, who opens his nature so that he may come into sympathetic touch with his fellowmen, has a pathway stretching out before him illumined with heavenly light and léading to the palace of perfect manhood. Whatever else the Western Seminary may accomplish, she will fail of her true mission if she does not send forth into the service of the Church, earnest and consecrated young men who in their student days have acquired a sense of the seriousness of life and an enthusiasm for noble living that will never desert them.

But this Seminary has a particular mission. It appeals chiefly to a special constituency. It is distinguished from other institutions of like purpose by the term Lutheran. It stands for a certain conception of truth, a particular "mode of viewing, receiving and living the truths of Christianity." If the institution is to be loyal to the name she bears, the faith she professes, the treasures she inherits, and the history she per-

petuates, her professors must not only accept, but teach, the Lutheran apprehension of Christianity, not with an exclusive, uncharitable, Pharisaical spirit; but with clearness and conviction, untinctured by equivocation. Such is my conception in brief outline of the work of the Seminary, and of the duty of a professor. That the Board of Education has chosen me to fill a position of such grave responsibility, I regard a high honor and a sacred trust; and would publicly thank them for the confidence they have reposed in me in my election. I pledge my most earnest efforts to justify that confidence, and merit the support, not only of the Board but the whole Church, for whose interests I shall labor.

As one to the manor born, who inherits the distinction of being a true son of the Lutheran Church; who recognizes all who confess the Lutheran faith as justly entitled to the name and a share in the common inheritance; who accepts no particular type as embracing the entire content of Lutheranism, whether on the one hand it would eliminate from our doctrine and cultus everything distinctive of the Lutheran Church, or on the other, would reject all development and accept as final for all questions the conclusions of a bygone age; who believes that the Lutheran Church has a mission as important, and a message as distinct and clear in our age, against error in doctrine and life as in the days of the Reformation; who holds the conviction that the Western Seminary has a work to do in the interest of the Lutheran Church in general, and here in the middle west of our great country in particular, I accept the trust committed to my charge reverently, as one who recognizes its importance and the sacred responsibilities involved; I give myself to the work enthusiastically, as one who finds it congenial and believes in the greatness of its possibilities; and, finally, as I have already declared in the obligation I have taken, I pledge myself to serve my Church loyally and faithfully, as becomes one of her sons.

ARTICLE III.

THE OLDEST REDACTION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

By Professor J. W. Richard, D.D., LL.D.

Die aelteste Redaktion der Augsburger Konfession mit Melanchthon's Einleitung zum erstenmal herausgegeben und historisch gewürdigt von D. Theodor Kolde, O. Prof. der Kirchengeschichte in Erlangen. Gütersloh. Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1906.

The researches and labors of Weber, Förstemann, Bindseil, Brieger, Tschackert, and Kolde, during the last one hundred and twenty-five years, have enabled us to know much more about the genesis and early history of the Augsburg Confession than was known by those Lutheran theologians who fought over it within less than fifty years after it was composed, signed and delivered to the Emperor, Charles V., June 25th, 1530. And had those theologians who undertook to give an official explanation of the Augsburg Confession known as much about it as we now are enabled to know they would not have invented the phrase: *The original and unaltered Augsburg Confession*; for they would have known that they did not possess such a document, and that such a document did not exist, and indeed never had existed, since twenty-four hours after the Confession had been signed, the signers refused to deliver it to the Emperor on the plea that they wished "to revise and correct it because they had been hurried," * and since Melanchthon continued to revise and change it up until the last hour before the official reading,† that is, even after it had been signed, Thursday afternoon, June 23rd. They would have known that the German copy which they placed in the Form of Concord was an inaccurate transcript from a manuscript "without authen-

* *C R. II.* 129.

† Kolde: "Changed and filed up to the last moment," *Augsb. Konf.*, p. 8.

tic value," * which had been made before the Confession received that shape in which it was signed and delivered. †

They would have also known that Melanchthon's *editio princeps* (first edition), though edited, as he declares, *ex exemplari bonae fidei*, differs in some articles, not only verbally, but also materially, from the copies delivered to the Emperor, as is clearly shown by authentic manuscripts, and that even the editions of the *editio princeps* differ from each other. ‡

* Von Ranke, *Geschichte der Reformation*, Ed. Seventh, vol. III., p. 175.

† The texts in the Form of Concord are commonly called *Textus Receptus*.

‡C. R. XXVI. 252 *et seqq;* Brieger, *Zur Geschichte des Augsburger Reichstages von* 1530, p. 22 ; Tschackert, *Die unveränderte Augsb. Konf.* pp. 1, 61.

The *editio princeps* published at Wittenberg in *quarto* in April, 1531, "is commonly called the *invariata*," C. R. XXVI. 335, 336. Later in the same year, perhaps in September, Melanchthon, "not for himself and in secret, but in communication with his friends, Myconius, Brentz, Camerarius, Luther and others" (Weber, *Krit. Geschichte*, II, 86), published the Latin Confession, in *octavo*, still further changed. This *editio octava* soon so far supplanted the *editio princeps* that it was taken into the Jena Edition of Luther's Works (vol. iv. p. 191 *et seqq.*), and into the Acts of the Naumburg Convention (1561), and into the first Latin edition of the form of Concord, under the impression that it was the *editio princeps*, that is, the so-called *invariata:* "A proof of how little the theologians of that time knew of Melanchthon's editions, and of how little they were able to distinguish them from each other" (Weber *ut supra*, pp. 98 *et seqq.*). In 1533 Melanchthon published a new German edition of the Confession, in *octavo*, very much varied. This varied German edition of the Confession was taken into the Wittenberg edition (German) of Luther's Works, vol. IX. Bindseil declares that this edition was used by the theologians assembled at Schmalkald in 1537 (C. R. XXVI, 699). In 1540 appeared a second German *variata*, in *octavo*. At the Diet of Worms, Nov. 30th, 1540, this edition was presented to the Catholics (C. R. XXVI. 705). The title page of this edition holds two insignia of Luther; on the left, a banner bearing a lamb ; on the right, a white rose in the center of which is a cross. The titles of these two German *variatae* declare each alike that it is the Confession that was delivered to the Emperor at Augsburg anno 1530. (C. R. XXVI, 695, 702). These German *Variatae* had so far supplanted the German *editio princeps* that the editors of the Jena edition (1555–1558) of Luther's works were unable for a long time to find a copy of the German *editio princeps* and give that as their reason for printing the *editio princeps* among the writings of 1536 and not in its proper chronological order. See vol. VI.,

Nevertheless, there are yet *disiderata.* We do not have all

Jena edition (German) of Luther's Works, p. 361 : ("So hats die Zeit an exemplaria erster edition gemangelt)." Hence in view of these facts, and of others that might be adduced, it is purely gratuitous for Dr Krauth to say: "Luther knew no other Augsburg Confession in the German than this," meaning the *editio princeps. Conservative Reformation*, p. 251.

In the year 1540 Melanchthon, acting under authority, published also a new Latin edition of the Confession. This edition is commonly known *via eminentiae* as the *Variata*, or the altered Augsburg Confession. It is quite probable that this edition had been prepared as early as 1535. This edition also was officially presented to the Catholics at the Diet of Worms in 1540, and at the Diet of Regensburg in 1541, and was publicly defended by the Lutherans as their Confession, and was called by Luther "the dear Confession." No Lutheran raised any objection to it so long as Melanchthon lived, and it was very much praised by John Brentz, a strict Lutheran. It was published under a title verbally and literally identical with that of the Latin *editio princeps* and of the Latin *editio octava* (1531): Confessio fidei exhibita invictiss. Imp. Carolo V. Caesar Aug. in Comitiis Augustae Anno M.D. XXX. (C. R. XXVI. Feuerlin ed. Riediger, pp, 42, 46. Also, THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Oct. 1898; C. R. XXVI. pp. 335–338: Köllner, *Symbolik*, I. pp. 235 *et seqq.*: Kolde, *Augsb. Konf.* p. 11).

In 1541–2 Melanchthon published another varied Latin edition, known as the *tertia variata*, "because it began to be printed in the year 1541 and was finished in the year 1542." Its title is verbally and literally identical with the titles of its Latin predecessors (C. R. XXVI. pp. 345, 346). This is *prima facie* evidence that Melanchthon meant to speak the truth when he said at the Diet of Worms: "The meaning is the same," (C. R. IV. 34, 37). The fact is, all these *varied* editions passed unchallenged among Lutherans as the Augsburg Confession that was delivered to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.

The following propositions may be laid down as historically indisputable:

1. All of Melanchthon's editions, the so-called *invariata*, the two German *variatae*, and the three Latin *variatae*, were published while Luther was living.

2. There is not in existence a single line of documentary evidence or a single syllable of authentic evidence of any kind, that goes to show that either Luther or any Lutheran theologian ever expressed a word of dissatisfaction with any of these *variatae* until Flacius launched his fabrication against the *variata* of 1540 during the Weimar Disputation, in August, 1560.

3. The *Variatae* had so displaced the so-called *Invariata* that for a long time the last named had become an almost forgotten, and an almost unobtainable book. Hence the editors of the Jena edition of Luther's Works (Latin) excuse themselves for having placed the Latin Augsburg

the data that we need in order to gain a full and accurate knowledge of the genesis and primitive history of the immortal *Augustana.* We know that "originally the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, as it then was called, consisted of what today is the second part: 'The Controverted Articles,' or the 'Articles about which there is dissension, where the Abuses are recounted which have been changed.' 'The Articles of Faith and Doctrine' were added by Melanchthon himself at

---

Confession, not in its own place with the writings of 1530, but with those of 1538, and that the Latin *editio octava* (1531), as above we have learned—excuse themselves with these words: "Exemplaria hujus primae editionis defuerunt." Vol. IV. p. 191.

And as to the nature of the changes introduced into the Confession by its author with the knowledge and approval of his colleagues and friends, this may be said as demonstrable: All the changes introduced by Melanchthon are in the direction of clearer definitions, of a better Lutheranism and of a purer Protestantism, for even Art. X. in the Latin *Variata* of 1540 conforms *verbatim* (*vere exhibeantur cum pane et vino*) to the Apology, and to the Wittenberg Concord (*exhiberi cum pane et vino*), wherein, Monday, May 29th, 1536, twenty-one persons "profess that they want to hold and teach according to the Confession and Apology of the Princes who profess the Gospel" (C. R. III., p. 76), and is rendered incapable of being approved by the Catholics, who did approve Art. X. of the so-called *invariata.*

"The Confutators interpreted Article X. in the sense of transubstantiation (Ficker, p. 40), and Melanchthon so far from contradicting them even introduced into the Apology a citation containing the expression 'changed (*mutari*) into flesh.'" Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, Eng. Trans. II, p. 342.

And if it be said that Article X. in the *Variata* omits the *Rejektorie*, then we reply in addition to the above in the language of another whose orthodox Lutheranism will not be questioned, who says of Article X. of the Confession as it was delivered to the Emperor: "They (the confessors) conformed their doctrine of the Lord's Supper as closely as possible to the Catholic doctrine, without expressing dissent in regard to transubstantiation." Kawarau, *Kirchengeschichte*, Zweite Auf. vol, III, p. 98. Also Loofs, *Dogmengeschtichte*, 4th ed. p. 820.

Finally, it must never be forgotten that the *Variata* was authorized and ordered in its preparation, and that the so-called *Invariata* was not. See Gieseler, *Eccle. History*, Eng. Trans., vol. IV, p. 433, and *The Lutheran Quarterly* for Oct. 1898. Loofs. *ut supra*, pp. 864–866. *Justitia fiat, coelum ruat.* Nevertheless, the *Variata* was not admitted into the Book of Concord, and it is not today the Symbol of any body of Lutherans, whether in Europe or in America, and we know of no one who desires to give it symbolical authority.

Augsburg on account of Eck's malicious slandering of the Evangelicals before the Emperor. Already, May 11th, the 'Confession' (only now did the Apology merit this name) was so far finished that it could be sent to Luther for his approval. It was not yet so comprehensive as it came to be later. Aside from the elaboration and wider development of some articles of the second part, about the middle of June a large addition was made to the first part. This enlargement was confined wholly to the 'Articles of Faith,' as the article 'Of Faith and Good Works,' which came to be numbered as the twentieth; whereupon what had been the twentieth (and last) Article ('Of the worship of the Saints) was shifted to the twenty-first place. In this form the Confession has come down to us in the oldest of all the manuscripts—from the hand of Spalatin in the Weimar Archives."*

So much in general, and no more, could Brieger tell us in 1903, about the genesis and *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the Augsburg Confession. He could not tell us anything *definite* about the form and contents of the Confession, June 1st, or May 11th when "it was so far finished that it could be sent to Luther for his approval." He knew, of course, that, May 4th, Melanchthon had written to Luther: "I have made the exordium (Preface) of our Apology somewhat more finished in style than I had written it at Augsburg."† But neither he nor anybody else living could have told us at that time exactly what Melanchthon meant by "exordium." He knew also that May 11th, Melanchthon had written to Luther: "Our apology is sent to you, although rather it is a confession. For the Emperor will not have time to hear long discussions. Nevertheless I have said those things which I thought would be most profitable or proper. With this end in view I have embraced almost all the articles of faith, because *Eck* has published the most diabolical slanders against us. Against these I wished to afford a remedy."‡ But just what these articles of faith

* Brieger, *ut supra*, pp. 11, 12.
† C. R. II, 39, 40.
‡ C. R. II, 45.

were, how many, and in what form, no man could tell, since we had no manuscripts of the Confession of or near those dates, and since, May 22nd, Melanchthon wrote to Luther: "In the *Apology* we are daily changing many things," and had said of the Articles of Faith: "They must be changed and adapted to the occasions."* Thus much was still uncertain; and much is uncertain and even unknown to this day.

But by means of a recent discovery we are enabled to take an immense step in the direction of the knowledge of the genesis and *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the fundamental Lutheran Confession. On the eleventh day of July, 1905, Dr. Karl Schornbaum called the attention of Dr. Theodor Kolde, of Erlangen, to the existence in the Nürnberg Archives of an untitled and undated manuscript, which he described as "agreeing remarkably with the *editio princeps* of the Augustana, though it speaks always only of the Saxon." Nine days later Dr. Kolde examined the manuscript *in loco*, and found that the writing in question has no connection whatever with the *editio princeps*, but that it is a redaction of the Augsburg Confession in its inchoate condition which had remained hitherto entirely unknown.

Dr. Kolde obtained a copy of the document and published it, with an introduction and an historical estimate, under the title which stands at the head of this article.

Of the importance and value of this manuscript as illustrating a certain *status quo* in the genesis and composition of the Augsburg Confession, there can be no question. Not only does it show us the compass and form of the confession at a stage much more primitive and inchoate than that represented by the Spalatin manuscript † (about the middle of June), but it gives us matter not previously known to exist, and it opens deep vistas into the political and ecclesiastical situation at Augsburg, and it enables us to answer questions which have been hitherto subjects of speculation.

Of the origination of this *the oldest redaction of the Augs-*

* C. R. II. 60.

† Given by Förstemann in *Urkundenbuch*, I. p. 312 *et seqq.*

burg Confession, the story is brief and is quickly told: May 31st the Nürnberg Commissioners to Augsburg, Christopher Kress and Clemens Volkamer, received a copy of the Saxon Confession in Latin, but "without the preface, about which there was still the greatest doubt." * This confession, that is, "the articles," they had transcribed by Jerome Ebner's sons for the purpose of sending a copy to the Nürnberg Senate. Subsequently they received a copy of the preface, and, June 3rd, they sent a copy of the Confession, including the preface, in Latin to the Senate, but say: "It lacks an article or two behind, and also the conclusion, on which the Saxon theologians are still working." † They request that the Senate shall lay the Confession before their learned men and ministers for examination and counsel. They report in this correspondence that the German copy of the Confession is "daily undergoing improvement." They request that their Latin copy be sent back to them, together with any suggestions that might be made by the Nürnberg learned men and preachers. ‡

Already, June 4th, the Confession as sent was in the hands of the Nürnberg Senate, and on the same day it was resolved to lay it before the clergy of the city. June 15th the Senate informs its commissioners at Augsburg: "Meanwhile we have had your writing, the Latin Apology of the Elector of Saxony, translated into intelligible German," § and on the 10th already they had appointed the celebrated Hieronymus J. Baumgartner to translate this Confession, and that he might give himself wholly to the work, had excused him for three days from the sessions of the Senate. || Says Kolde: "A comparison of this manuscript with other manuscripts known certainly to have been written by Baumgartner, proves that he was in reality the writer of our manuscript. Hence there can be no doubt that the present Augustana text—*I name it henceforth* Na—is

* C. R. II. 78.
† C. R. II. 83.
‡ C. R. II. 84.
§ Vogt, *Mitteilungen*, p. 13.
|| Kolde, p. 33, *note*.

the *translation of the Latin Confession* which had been sent home by the commissioners, June 3rd, and was made in Nürnberg for the use of the Senate. That the Latin original text is, alas! not obtainable is easily accounted for from the fact that the Senate did not place it among its Acts, but, June 15th, sent the Latin articles back to the commissioners—'to use them as they might have need.' However, in this manuscript, though only in a German translation, the Augustana is found as it existed at the end of May, 1530, and, hence, as it will appear, it is the oldest redaction of the Confession up to this time, and—which gives to the discovery yet a special value—it has Melanchthon's Preface, which was supposed to be lost." *

We now turn our attention to the manuscript itself.

1. *The Preface.* This is "long and rhetorical." It covers seven printed pages, *octavo*, and is of the nature of an oration addressed to the Emperor, Charles the Fifth. It speaks wholly in the name of the Elector of Saxony, and is sycophantically apologetic in tone and in contents. "It begins," as Dr. Kolde says, "with a very evident captatio benevolentiae." It declares that the Elector places his hope and trust, next to God, on the mildness and goodness of the Emperor, who has always sought the peace of Europe, and that too without showing a trace of pride or of arrogance, or of desire for blood. It declares that nothing could be more acceptable to God than that the Emperor should employ his power for the unity of Christendom, as formerly had been done by Theodoric, by Charles the Great, and by Henry II, since the Holy Spirit admonishes princes to take an interest in the Faith. The Electors of Saxony, Frederick and John, have never favored new doctrines, and have always been loyal to the Roman Emperors, and have sought the peace and unity of Germany. When indulgences were preached in Saxony, "Martin Luther spoke in opposition through a few small treatises in the school, and not before the people and without abusing and maligning the Pope." But Luther's enemies attacked him in both languages and compelled him to reply. The Anabaptists had raised various disputes and had

* Pp. 33, 34.

opposed the secular government, denied the rights of private property and had declaimed against the preaching of the Word, and against the Sacrament. These had been opposed by Luther. The ceremonies are not abolished, "but much rather are they observed with the true fear of God, and in truth it may be said that not in all Germany is the Mass held with greater fear of God and with a better understanding on the part of the people than among us."

"The Sacrament is received by the people with greater reverence and more frequently than heretofore," etc.

"Confession is still maintained, and the power of the Keys is much praised in preaching, and the people are admonished in regard of the great power of absolution."

"The preaching is pure and intelligible, and this is unquestionably the chief sacrifice before God."

The useful ceremonies are still maintained, and also the festival days. The ordinances in the electorate of Saxony "are, for the most part, according to the old usages and customs of the Romish Church as shown in the holy doctrine."

The Preface closes thus: "We will now speak of doctrine, and will first recount the chief articles of faith, from which the Emperor can see that the Elector of Saxony has permitted nothing unchristian to be preached in his dominion, but has with all diligence held fast to the common pure Christian faith."

We must say of this Preface that it is apologetic from beginning to end. It proposes to place the settlement of the whole dispute and contention in the hands of the Emperor. It makes no reference whatever to the Emperor's promise (in his letter in which he summoned the Diet) that the "Opinion and meaning of every one should be taken up and considered." It proposes to make the Emperor arbiter. It denies that any new doctrines have been introduced in the churches of the Electorate of Saxony. In a word it evades the whole issue on which the Reformation justifies and forever must justify itself, namely, the matter and question of *Doctrine*, for if the Reformation be not a *doctrinal* protest and a *doctrinal* revolution as over against the *teaching* of the Roman Catholic Church (and

no other Church was at that time in the purview), then it had not in the beginning, and never has had, a right to exist, since upon its own principle, laid down in article VII. of the *Augustana*, the unity of the Church consists in *purity of doctrine*, and not in "uniform ceremonies instituted by men." Indeed, the Lutheran Church might tolerate every *ceremony qua* ceremony in the Roman Catholic Church, were it not for the *doctrine* that lies back of, informs, determines, and expresses itself through the ceremony, for, as Guericke has well said in speaking of the Church: "Its external phase or constitution and worship is, for the most part, the necessary fruit and effect of the inner principle of doctrine and creed." And as a matter of fact the Lutheran Reformation took its start in antagonism to the doctrinal teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. The *Ninety-five Theses* attacked the *doctrine* of Indulgences. Luther's *Three Great Reformation Writings* of the year 1520: *The Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, *On Christian Liberty*, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, which together contain the promise and potency of the entire Reformation, are attacks on the most fundamental principles and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. He had called the Pope antichrist; he had set forth a new doctrine of Private Confession; he had enunciated the doctrine of justification *by faith alone*, and had reiterated it a thousand times and in a thousand forms; he had taught a new doctrine of the Sacraments, of the Church, of the ministry; he had revolutionized the service of worship, both in its fundamental conception and in its forms. All this had he done before the year 1530. Melanchthon had written the *Loci Communes*, which Luther had endorsed as "an invincible book," and had prepared the *Visitation Articles*, which had been approved by Luther and Bugenhagen, and had been accepted by the Elector of Saxony as a basis for the reformation of the churches in his dominions.

And now Melanchthon writes, and the Elector accepts, and Luther endorses, this "long and rhetorical preface," which, in our judgment, is an evasion or a renunciation of the fundamental principles of the Reformation; and it is not too much

to say that had it been adopted, and signed and delivered by the princes assembled at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, there would have been no Reformation, and there would be no Lutheran Church today, for reconciliation would have been easy on the basis of this "Confession," had the Lutherans been able to convince the Emperor, and the Pope, and the bishops of "the Romish Church," that this Preface was a true representation of the affairs of the Church in Germany, that is, that the Lutherans had attacked no doctrines of the Romish Church, and had only abolished a few abuses in ceremonies which had been introduced without the consent of the Church.

2. *Die artickel des glaubens*, that is, "the articles of faith," which in the Preface are mentioned as "all the chief articles of faith." These cover five printed pages, *octavo*, that is, two pages less than the Preface. They are numbered regularly from *one* to *eighteen*, though there is no article 14 appearing between "Zum 13" and "Zum 15." Professor Kolde thinks that the Article XIV. was accidentally omitted by the translator. But it is more reasonable to suppose that the translator made a mistake in numbering than that he omitted an article. But, however it may be accounted for, there are in reality only seventeen articles all told. There is no article on *Church Government.*

Of the specific characteristics of "the chief articles of faith" in this "the oldest redaction of the Augsburg Confession," it is not easy to speak in precise terms. Suffice it to say that in form, in phraseology, in content and in extent, they differ as a whole, *widely* from the doctrinal articles of the Confession, as a whole, as "it lies in the form which was presented, June 25th" (Kolde). Article IV. treats of the giving of the Holy Spirit, but in a manner not only verbally, but materially different from the phraseology and the matter of Article V. as "it lies in the form which was presented, June 25th." Article V. in our redaction treats of *justification*, but with verbal and material differences. Articles VII. and VIII. of the later form, are here united in Article VII. Of Article VIII., on Baptism, Dr. Kolde says: "Art. 8 (later 9) has manifestly a purpose en-

tirely different from that of the article which subsequently took its place. Hence originally it was not the intention of Melanchthon to treat generally of Baptism in the confession, but of the *necessity of infant baptism.*" * The Article in a literal translation reads as follows: "8. That little children should be baptized, and that by baptism they are presented to God and are received into grace. Here, again, are rejected the Anabaptists, who say that baptism does not profit children, and that children are also saved without baptism." The article on the Lords's Supper reads as follows: "9. That the body and blood of Christ are truly ["in the Supper among those who" is interlined] and dispensed in the Supper, and those are rejected who teach otherwise." Dr. Kolde thinks that *vescentibus* was in the original, and was omitted because of the difficulty of translating it.

"10. That private (sonderlich) absolution should be held in the Church, although in confession it is not necessary that all sins be enumerated, for that is impossible."

In the articles on *Civil Polity*, on *the Return of Christ to Judgment* and on *Free will*, the differences between our redaction and the later Confessions are great and striking. Of the article on the *Return of Christ to Judgment*, "the construction is entirely different," says Kolde.

In general it may be said of "the chief articles of faith" in our redaction that they are more or less ambiguous, vague and evasive, and that they incline much more to the traditional doctrine than does the Confession as it appears later.

There is nothing in our redaction that corresponds to Articles XX. and XXI. in the form of the Confession as signed and delivered. "We already knew that the later article 20, *Of Faith and Good Works*, which Melanchthon first wrote in German and which first appeared in German on June 15th, does not yet exist, and so of Article 21, *Of the Worship of the Saints.*"†

3. *The Articles on Abuses.* These are seven in number. They cover nearly fifteen printed pages, *octavo.* They treat the

* P. 51.
† Kolde, p. 48.

same subjects that are treated under the head of Abuses in the later Confession: but the treatment is, in many particulars, very different, and in extent the Articles are scarcely more than two thirds of what they are in the later Confession.

Thus, taken as a whole, we see the very great difference between the Augsburg Confession as it existed May 31st, and the Augsburg Confession in what has been termed "its most finished shape," though it is impossible to determine with precision what "its most finished shape" was, unless we agree to accept Melanchthon's *Editio Princeps* * as "its most finished shape," though it is an established fact that the *Editio Princeps* does not reproduce the Confession in the "shape" in which it was delivered, June 25th, "but rather is it a private work of Melanchthon." †

But now what is precisely the historical value of our redaction? In addition to the fact that it gives us a deeper look into the political and ecclesiastical situation than we were able previously to gain, it brings the answer to certain important questions.

1. It tells us exactly what Melanchthon meant when he wrote, almost at the beginning of the Torgau Articles:

Inn hanc sententiam prodest preponere prefacionem longam et Rethoricam.

It was this Preface, which was written originally at Coburg, that was made "somewhat more rhetorical" at Augsburg.‡ or possibly while the Electoral party was journeying thither. This Preface, we now know, was, up to May 31st at least, a material part of the Augsburg Confession. That later it was thrust aside for the diplomatic preface written in German by Dr. Brück,§ arises from the fact that when it was agreed among the princes to deliver "a common confession," this Preface, "which speaks always only of the Saxon," was no longer *apropos.* In all probability there were other reasons arising from the very nature of the Preface itself.

* C. R. XXVI. pp. 335, 336.
† Tschackert, *ut supra*, pp. 1, 61.
‡ C. R. II., 40.
§ However, see Loofs *ut supra*, p. 819.

Between this Preface and the Articles on Abuses, Melanchthon, incited by Eck's slanders, inserted Articles of Faith, as he tells us in his letter to Luther, May 11th: "I have included almost all the articles of faith."* This gave the Apology more the character of a "confession," as Melanchthon himself judged. Prior to the inclusion of the Articles of Faith the Apology consisted of a "long and rhetorical preface" and the Articles on Abuses. Of the Articles of Faith Luther knew absolutely nothing until he saw them in the copy of the "Confession" sent him by the Elector, May 11th.†

2. Our Redaction furnishes documentary refutation of the theory that the "exordium" (Preface) mentioned by Melanchthon in his letter to Luther, May 4th, meant, not the Preface, "but the whole first part of the Confession."

This theory was elaborately defended by the late Dr. C. Porterfield Krauth.‡ We now know that by "exordium" Melanchthon meant the "long and rhetorical preface" which he had written originally at Coburg, and which Luther knew, as is clearly implied in the letter of May 4th. This "exordium" had been elaborated more fully at Augsburg. It was regarded as a material part of the Apology, and it was not dropped immediately upon the inclusion of the Articles of faith, which were accidental and incidental, and were not embraced in the original concept and purpose. They were called out by Eck's slanders. Hence it is obviously an error to say that "the articles of faith were designed as a preparation for the second part." They were designed to meet a specific emergency, which had not been contemplated either at Wittenberg or at Coburg. The "Exordium" was "designed to furnish a preparation for the second part," that is, for the Articles on Abuses.

3. Our redaction enables us to answer with approximate certainty the question, In what form and with what contents was the Apology, *verius confessio*, sent to Luther, May 11th. Dr.

*C. R. II., 45.
†C. R. II. 45, 47.
‡*Conservative Reformation*, pp. 223, *et seqq*.

Krauth has declared: "The form of Confession sent to Luther on May 11th was the Augsburg Confession, substantially identical with it as a whole, and in all that is really essential to it, verbally identical."* And again: "It was on the 11th of May the Confession was sent by the Elector to Luther, and it was not read in the Diet till the 25th of June; so that *six weeks elapsed* between the time of its completion and of its presentation. Every touch after that time, was simply that of the file, the result of Melanchthon's striving after absolute finish of style."†

Our redaction furnishes a complete refutation of these bold and unhistorical, rather should we say, anti-historical declarations about identity and completion. Even the Spalatin manuscript, made at least a month later than may 11th, refutes these declarations about "the 'form of Confession.'" And it is legitimate to infer from Melanchthon's letter of May 22nd —"We are daily changing many things in our Apology"— that the "confession" was in a more crude and inchoate condition, May 11th, than it was May 31st, that is, the "form" could not have been, May 11th, so near "the Augsburg Confession in its most finished shape," as it came to be, May 31st, when our redaction was turned over to the Nürnberg commissioners, at first, "without the preface and conclusion, about which there was the greatest doubt," and while the German copy was still undergoing daily improvement.‡ And since our redaction shows conclusively that neither the "form of Confession," nor the content and extent of the Confession was neither substantially or "essentially identical with the Augsburg Confession in its most finished shape," it is perfectly legitimate to inquire, What must they have been, May 11? Certainly not in a more finished shape than they came to be twenty days later.

Now, long ago the German investigators had declared that the Confession, as sent to Luther, was *der erste Entwurf, der*

* *Conservative Reformation*, p. 226.

† *The Augsburg Confession*, by C. P. Krauth, D.D., P. XLI.

‡ C. R. II. 78.

fertige Entwurf, prima adumbratio. Our redaction confirms their conclusions with tremendous emphasis. If we may judge by our redaction we must conclude that the "form of Confession" sent to Luther—and we must lay emphasis on the fact that there is not one iota of evidence that it was ever sent but this once until after it had been delivered—was in form, and in content, and in extent, widely different from "the Augsburg Confession in its most finished shape;" and we hazard nothing in saying that Dr. Krauth would have been one of the last men to sign our redaction—including the Preface, which was a material part of it,—at least according to its "true, native, original and only sense."

4. Our redaction adds the weight of its testimony to the Melanchthonian authorship of the Augsburg Confession. Ever since Weber published his *Kritische Geschichte der Augsburgischen Confession*, 1783 u. 1784, there could be no doubt, except in the minds of these who wrote to maintain a thesis rather than to make known the truth, that Melanchthon was the author of the Augsburg Confession, as his contemporaries knew and acknowleded even to the extent of inscribing on his tombstone: *Autor Confessionis Augustanae.* The researches of later writers like Brieger, Tschackert and Kolde, who cannot be accused of *Tendenz* have shown the correctness of Weber's conclusions. But our redaction, both *per se* and by the new light which it throws on Melanchthon's letters, and on the letters of the Nürnberg commissioners, comes as a demonstration. Hence it is absolutely unhistorical and anti-historical to maintain that Luther is the author of the Augsburg Confession in any accepted sense of the word *author*, "as one who composes or writes a book; the composer of a work as distinguished from a translator or compiler," *Webster.* We know that Melanchthon wrote the "Exordium" at Coburg and revised it at Augsburg. We know that he introduced "the chief articles of faith" without the knowledge of Luther. The conception was his, and the reason for their introduction was Eck's slanders. To be sure, in numerous instances he used the Marburg and Schwabach Articles, which had been written by

Luther. But those used were so changed, and adapted, and made over, that in most instances they became virtually new articles. Besides, several articles, and those among the most important and fundamental—the VIII, XII,* XIV, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI—are entirely new, and have no antecedents in the Marburg and Schwabach Articles; and together they compose nearly one half of the entire Confession, so that to play Augsburg Confession and leave out these seven articles, would be worse than to play "Hamlet with Hamlet left out." † And as regards the Torgau Articles scholars are unanimous in the judgment that they must have mainly, if not entirely, proceded from the pen of Melanchthon, though Luther no doubt, assisted with his counsel; but there is not a single syllable that goes to show that Luther wrote a single paragraph of the Torgau Articles, which in all *probability* formed the *basis*, and only the *basis* of the second part of the Augsburg Confession. Hence it was purely gratuitous on the part of Dr. Krauth to write that "Luther was the chief author of the *Torgau Articles proper.*" ‡ Dr. Knaake is quite right when he declares that Luther's part in the Augsburg Confession was confined to the Marburg and Schwabach Articles.

And now in view of the epistolary and documentary evidence in regard to the genesis and composition of the Augsburg Confession, how strangely gratuitous, unhistorical, antihistorical, and imaginary in their main aspects, purpose and intent, are the following paragraphs as touching the Augsburg Confession as it was sent to Luther, May 11th, and as it existed, constantly undergoing changes, for weeks thereafter:

"It is called '*form* of Confession,' in the Elector's letter to Luther, because the *matter* of the Confession had been prepared by Luther himself. Melanchthon's work was but to revise that matter, and give it 'form,' which revised form was to be subjected to the examination of all the Lutheran authorities and divines at Augsburg, and especially to Luther.

* With the exception of a few words.

† See THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1898.

‡ *Cons. Reformation*, p. 219.

"As to the articles of faith, and the abuses to be corrected, the matter of the Confession was already finished and furnished —much of it direct from Luther's hand, and all of it with his coöperation and approval. It was only as to the "form," the selection among various abuses, the greater or less amplitude of treatment, that all the questions lay. The 'form of Confession' sent on May 11th was the Augsburg Confession, substantially identical with it as a whole, and, in all that is really essential to it, verbally identical. We have copies of it so nearly at the stage at which it then was as to know that this is the case. Melanchthon's letter expressly declares that nearly all the articles of faith had been treated, and the Augsburg Confession, in its most finished shape, only professes to give 'about the sum of the doctrines held by us.'

"But we need not rest in inferences, however strong, in regard to this matter. We have direct evidence from Melanchthon himself, which will be produced, that Luther did decide, before its presentation, upon what, in Melanchthon's judgment, was the Augsburg Confession itself. His words prove that the changes which Luther did not see were purely those of niceties of style, or of a more ample elaboration of a very few points, mainly on the abuses; in fact, that Luther's approval had been given to the Confession, and that without it the Confession never would have been presented.

"The Elector's letter of May 11th was answered by Luther, who heartily indorsed the Confession sent him, without the change of a word. Nothing was taken out, nothing was added, nothing was altered. He speaks admiringly, not reprovingly, of the moderation of its style, and confesses that it had a gentleness of manner of which he was not master.

"As the Emperor still lingered, Melanchthon used the time to improve, here and there, the external form of the Confession. He loved the most exquisite accuracy and delicacy of phrase, and never ceased filing on his work. What topics should be handled under the head of abuses, was in the main perfectly understood, and agreed upon between him and Luther. The

draft of the discussion of them was largely from Luther's hand, and all of it was indorsed by him.

"The main matters were entirely settled, the principles were fixed, and the questions which arose were those of style, of selection of topics, of the mode of treating them, or of expediency, in which the faith was not involved. In regard to this, Luther speedily hears again from his son in the Gospel." *

How entirely different is the following from the pen of Dr. Kolde, who draws his conclusions from the documentary facts, and writes on the genesis and history of the Augsburg Confession, not for the purpose of defending a *thesis*, but for the purpose of exhibiting the exact course of events and of presenting the facts connected with those early days of the *Augustana*. Dr. Kolde, near the close of his historical estimate says: "Since Melanchthon liked better to write Latin than German, and as since from many indications it may be concluded that the Latin recension was relatively finished earlier than the German, it is quite probable that Luther saw only the Latin. However, against this speaks the consideration that it was the Elector who sent the Apology to him, and must have first read and approved it. Accordingly, so long as no opposing proof can be adduced, it is *probably* to be concluded that Luther saw both recensions, in so far as they were finished.

"But what was at that time really finished? As regards the number of Articles seen by him, my investigations have anew established only this, namely, that articles 20 and 21 were yet wanting. More important is the inquiry about the content and shape (Fassung) of the articles, as they were laid before him. On this subject nothing can be said with absolute certainty, but we will be justified in holding about the following as the facts:

"The comparison of Na [our redaction] with A [the Confession as delivered] proves conclusively that the Articles underwent great changes during the last two or three weeks before the delivery. We cannot prove that Luther saw the form

* *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology.* By Charles P. Krauth, D.D., pp. 226, 227.

(Fassung) in Na; much more does everything go to show that the text sent to him underwent manifold changes already before Na was finished. Finally, in the correspondence between Augsburg and Coburg there is not an iota of evidence that Luther exerted any influence on the later changes, or that any one of the later recensions was sent to him. Hence the *direct* participation of Luther in the composition of the Confession—about which there has been discussion from time to time, finally again forty or fifty years ago more in confessional than in scientific historical interest—is relatively small. Luther did help to draw up the Torgau Articles,* and did also, as is certainly evi-

* Förstemann discovered six essays in the Weimar archives and published the same in 1833. These he regarded as the hitherto missing Torgau Articles. Subsequent critical investigation has excluded from such consideration all except the first, which Förstemann designated as A. Of this essay Brieger, who is the highest authority on the subject, says in conclusion after a most elaborate and penetrating examination: "We have found that the Essay A as regards the date of its origin could have been used in the Confession. We have found further that as a matter of fact it was used. "We have seen that A agrees with the title of the Articles in the 'red box,' and also as a consequence meets the Elector's order of March 14th. "These facts justify us in the conclusion that in A we still have the '*Catalogue of the Articles that were controverted about religion*,' which was drawn up by the Wittenbergers. This Catalogue, according to the testimony of the Elector, Melanchthon worked over in the Augustana" (*Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, p. 307).

It is with this understanding that Kolde has introduced "*The Torgau Articles*" complete in his *Die Augsburgische Konfession*. See pp. 2 and 128 *et seqq*. These articles cover ten pages in print, *octavo*, whereas the Articles on Abuses in the Augustana are more than twice as extensive, while in content, in substance, in meaning, they are so entirely different as to be a new and almost an independent discussion of the Abuses which have been changed. The most that can be certainly said is that the articles classed by Förstermann under A were used in composing the Articles on Abuses.

And as regards the authorship of the "Torgau Articles," Brieger says: "It cannot be decided with certainty. Only Luther as such is excluded by the manner in which he is here spoken of. Next we naturally think of Melanchthon. Various characteristics of the Essay seem to confirm this supposition, especially the irenic attitude of the section, 'Of Ordination'. But on the other hand it is evident that he is not alone the author. What he wrote down may be regarded as the common work of the Wittenbergers on the basis of their preceding deliberations. It is possible that Melanchthon was able to use notes furnished by them in-

dent, counsel with Melanchthon before the Diet on all else that could come into consideration; and he even raised no objections to what he saw in May. But that also is all."*

So, then, Luther was not the author of the Augsburg Confession; nor did he ever claim to be its author. On the contrary more than once did he declare that Melanchthon was its author.† Melanchthon, one of the most modest of men, did claim to be its author.‡ So long as he and Luther lived no

* Pp. 73, 75. Kolde, *Augsb. Konf.* note 6, p. 5. Brieger, *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, p. 278. Von Bezold, *Geschichte d. Deutsch. Reform.* p. 619: "The Confession was not at all his (Luther's) work in the proper sense of the word. He had only given his approbation to the work of Melanchthon."

†De Wette, IV., 62; 68, 110.

‡C. R. IX. 929, 1050.

"In the strictest sense we do not know the wording of the 'Augustana,' and the numerous copies made at the time of the Diet, show, not often in essential matters, but in expression, so many differences, that the hope of establishing an authentic text, is very small." Kolde, *Die Augsb. Konf.* p. 10.

Since Dr. Kolde wrote the above in 1895, Professor Tschackert, of Göttingen, chiefly by means of "authoritative codices"—five German and four Latin—has constructed and in 1901 published a twofold text of the Augustana that is now regarded by scholars as reproducing the "authentic text" with a high degree of accuracy. But this text deviates from the *Textus Receptus* in more than 450 instances in the German and in about 150 instances in the Latin. The vast majority of these deviations are purely redactional, but not a few of them, as in articles IV., XIII., XVIII., XXVII., XXVIII., in the German *editio princeps*, and in articles XIII., XVII., XXI., XXIV., XXVI., XXVIII., in the Latin, are material. (The *editio princeps* is more *Protestant* and *Lutheran* than the text that is here restored, that is, than the "authentic text"). Hence the restored text effectually destroys the claim that the Book of Concord contains "*the original and unaltered Augsburg Confession*," so that truth now

---

dividually: We meet with sentences so compactly expressed as to suggest the assumption of help from Luther; and the several references to the Canons Jonas, the canonist, may have handed in. Yet these are only suppositions." *Ut supra*, p. 310. According to the conclusion of this the highest authority on the "Torgau Articles"—a conclusion based on the most acute critical examination—there is absolutely nothing to justify the assumption that "Luther was the chief author of the *Torgau Articles proper*." Loofs, the most recent, and one of the most competent writers, says of the Torgau articles: "Not composed by Luther." *Dogmengeschichte*, 4th ed. p. 818.

man disputed that claim. The facts prove beyond all question

---

compels us to say again that there is no such thing known to exist as *the original and unaltered Augsburg Confession*, except in so far as it may be redacted from the so-called "authoritative codices." Those who tell us that they subscribe the unaltered Augsburg Confession should lay down the document *in verbis ipsissimis*.

The situation is most awkward. Do those who are constantly sounding out "*Unaltered Augsburg Confession*," mean the Confession, in *verbis ipsissimis*, as delivered to the Emperor, June 25th 1630? Then they must be reminded that they do not have the Confession in that "shape," and well do they know it. Do they mean for the German the text in the Form of Concord? Then they must be told that that faulty copy was faultily made from a manuscript that is without "authentic value," and that had not received the signatures of the Confessors. Do they mean for the Latin Melanchthon's *editio princeps*? Then they must be told that "the Latin text of Melanchthon and the Book of Concord is thus beyond doubt not the *Confessio invariata*, delivered June 25th, but a private work of Melanchthon." Tschackert, p. 61. The dilemma is very distressing, but it is of their own making, and it becomes the more aggravating in that "Confessions * * * must be accepted in every statement of doctrine, in their own true, native, original and only sense," and in that "those who set them forth and subscribe them must not only agree to use the same words, but must use and understand those words in one and the same sense." We cannot refrain from asking which words? The words of the *Textus Receptus* or the words of the text redacted from the "authoritative codices?" The question is not an idle one, but one of material import, as may be seen from Tschackert's *Die Unveränderte Augs. Konfession*, pp. 60-62, where the author brings together the results of his collation thus:

Wir fassen zuerst den dentschen Text des Konkordienbuches ins Auge. Da stellt sich bei der Vergleichung mit „Mainz" zunächst heraus, dass die Veranstalter des Konkordienbuchtextes den Mainzer Text aus der oberlanändischen Mundart in die obersächsische umgewandelt haben. Das wird niemand tadeln. Sie haben aber weiter den Text vielfach willkürlich verändert und zahlreiche neue Schreibfehler dazu begangen. An vielen Stellen, wo der Konkordienbuchtext von Mainz abweicht, folgt er ausserdem dem deutschen melanchthonischen Originaldrucke; an anderen Stellen hat er endlich Lesarten, die sich weder in „Mainz" noch im Drucke Melanchthons finden, also frei erfunden sind. Der deutsche Konkordienbuchtext der Konfession ist also durch und durch ungenau. Alle die Stellen, wo er vom kritisch gesicherten Texte abweicht, sind unten mit gesperrter Schrift gedruckt; es sind über 450 solcher Stellen; die Nachweise aller dieser Fehlen stehen in den Varianten. Alle diese Fehler entspringen erstens der Unfertigkeit der Mainzer Textgestalt überhaupt, zweitens der Nachlässigkeit und der Willkür der Schreiber und woul auch der Drucker des Konkordienbuchtextes.

Anders steht es mit den Varianten des lateinischen Textes. Hier ist nicht das Konkordienbuch, sondern Melanchthon verantwortlich. Er

that his claim was a just one. It was only when a dogmatic

hat, wie wir oben erfuhren (S 4) mit Benutzung der Handschrift Philipps von Hessen ein Manuskript für den Druck zurechtgemacht; die Abweichungen seines Textes vom handschriftlichen Texte sind von ihm absichtlich hergestellt. Man wird nicht leugnen dürfen, dass diese Anderungen an vielen Stellen eine redaktionelle Verbesserung der Gestalt des Textes sind; aber in zahlreichen Fällen sind diese Anderungen nicht mehr blos redaktioneller Natur, sondern verändern sachlich den handschriftlich sicher bezeugten Text. Der lateinische Text Melanchthons und des Konkordienbuches ist also ganz gewiss nicht die am 25. Juni übergebene Confessio invariata, sondern eine Privatarbeit Melanchthons.

Fassen wir die von Melanchthon im Herbste 1530 in seinem Manuskript angebrachten Veränderungen des am 25. Juni übergebenen Textes näher ins Auge, so ergiebt sich, dass ohngefähr neunzig dieser Anderungen rein redaktioneller Natur sind; an allen diesen Stellen hat Melanchthon die Form der Sätze bessern wollen; aber zahlreiche andere Stellen zeigen sachliche Anderungen des Textes, sei es dass Melanchthon scharfe Stellen milderte, sei es, dass er einige ihm nicht deutlich genug erscheinende Stellen verdeutlichte oder aber Ergänzungen hinzufügte und Auslassungen vornahm. Die wichtigsten sachlichen Anderungen sind folgende:

	Handschriftlicher Text:	Melanchthons Editio princeps:
In Art. XIII, § 2.	Der Artikel schliesst mit dem Wort „Ostenduntur."	Melanchthon fügt die Antithesis „Damnant igitur illos etc." hinzu.
In Art. XVIII, § 7.	Der Artikel schliesst mit dem Worte „homicidium etc."	Melanchthoh fügt die Antithesis „Damnant Pelagianos etc." hinzu.
Nach Art. XXI, im Epilog § 2.	Tota dissensio est de paucis quibusdam abusibus.	Sed dissensio est de quibusdam abusibus.
In Art. XXIV. § 3.	Ad hoc praecique opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant imperitos.	Ad hoc unum opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant imperitos.
In Art. XXVI, § 25—27.	Hier folgt auf „die festo" sofort „Act. XV."	Hier ist zwischen „die festo" und "Act. XV" der ganze Absatz „Item etc." (§ 26) eingeschaltet.
In Art. XXVI, § 21.	aut satisfacere pro peccatis	aut iustificari.
In Art. XXVI, §30.	christianismus.	christiana iustitia.
In Art. XXIII, § 41.	quod ieiunia sint opera etc.	quod ieiunia non naturae, sed afflictiva sint opera etc.
In Art. XXVIII, § 76.	ecclesiis imperare.	ecclesias cogere.

and polemic temper began to prevail in the Lutheran Church, that that claim began to be denied. But:

> "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
> The eternal years of God are hers,
> But error, wounded, writhes with pain,
> And dies among his worshippers."

It is true that Luther endorsed the "confession" as it was seen by him in May, and also on other occasions after it had been presented; but his approval was not without qualification. There is a "*leise ironie*" in his letter of May 15th: "I cannot move so softly;" * and a plain expression of dissatisfaction in his letter of June 29th: "More than enough has been already conceded in that Apology," † and a biting sarcasm in his letter of July 27th: "Satan, forsooth, still lives, and knows very well that Apologiam vestram *Leisetreterin* dissimulasse articulos de purgatorio, de sanctorum cultu, et maxime de Antichristo papa." ‡

These things were written by Luther while the Diet was yet in session. They form a part of the history of the Augsburg Confession. They must be neither suppressed nor explained away. It is the duty of the historian to write history, not to manufacture sentiment. The Augsburg Confession stands or falls, not because Melanchthon was its author; and not because Luther wrote words of praise for it, and words of censure against it. It must stand or fall *because* it teaches, and *in so for as* it teaches, in accordance with the intent and meaning of God's Word. Of this every student and subscriber of it must judge for himself. An authority-faith is not a personal faith.

* De Wette, IV., 17.
† Ibid., IV., 62.
‡ Ibid., IV, 68.

Wie an allen disen Stellen, so sprechen in zahlreichen anderen Fällen alle autoritativen Codices übereinstimmend gegen Melanchthon. Es ist also sicher, dass der von Melancnthon im Herbste 1530 in Druck gegebene und 1580 in das Konkordienbuch aufgenommene Text nicht der Confessio invariata ist.

Der Textus receptus hat seine hohe Bedeutung gehabt; aber er war nur ein Notbehelf und wird seine Autorität nunmehr an den kritisch gesicherten handschriftlichen Text abtreten müssen.

It makes no man either a Christian or a theologian, though it may make one a bigot and a persecutor.

The final test of history is truth. Luther's exhortation to all historians was, "intrepidly *to write what is true.*" And long ago Cicero asked: "Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo; ne qua simultatis. Haec scilicet fundamenta nota sunt. Ipsa autem exaedificatio posita est in rebus et verbis." *De Oratore*, II., XV.

ARTICLE IV.

LUTHERAN GERMANY AND THE BOOK OF CONCORD.

By Professor John O. Evjen, Ph.D.

In this article we do not propose to give a history of the Book of Concord, the receptions it has met with in Germany, its victories, it defeats. Nor do we intend to make a plea for or against its dogmatic value, which must needs be high. We desire to indicate the position it holds with each of the twenty-six states of Germany: To show how many of the distinctive Lutheran symbols contained in it are in force, and to what extent they obligate the clergy. Our purpose is best served by taking under consideration the Confessional subscription of the several German Protestant Churches which represent, or claim to represent, the Lutheran type of Confession; and by examining ecclesiastical statutes, consistorial decrees and ratifications, congregational calls and provisos, where the practice of obligating the clergy directly to the symbols does not exist.

It has been claimed by a few Lutheran papers published in our country that the General Synod was not entitled to representation at the *Allgemeine Lutherische Konferenz* which was to be held in Philadelphia, because of its not accepting the entire Book of Concord—as if the acceptance of this is necessary for Lutheran citizenship.* The claim revealed on the part of the

* The *Lutheran* of May 11, 1905, believing that the doctrinal basis of the *Allgemeine Luth. Konf.* is the Book of Concord, states that it has

press an unjustifiable ignorance of certain things at home and abroad. Of things at home, because there are several hundred thousand Lutherans here, with neither German nor English blood in their veins, who would make rigid protests against subscribing to the entire Book of Concord Of things abroad, where millions would make the same protests should the Book of Concord be made the shibboleth of Lutheran faith, and where in fact no *Allgemeine Konferenz* exists which is possessed of so little historical sense as to claim subscription to the Book of Concord as a requisite of true Lutheranism.

---

had, and has, its doubts about the General Synod's coöperating with the Council in inviting, and participating in, the *Allgemeine Konferenz*, because the General Synod has a number of times officially declined to accept any other doctrinal basis than the Augsburg Confession even if its members have perfect liberty to accept the other Confessions in the Book of Concord.

The Iowa *Kirchen-Blatt* of June 24, 1905, protests against the General Synod's participating in the *Allgemeine Luth. Konferenz*. It emphasizes that the main reason for the Iowa Synod's holding aloof from the proposed *Konferenz* is that the General Synod blocks the way. For this body which accepts the Augsburg Confession, it claims, is, on account of its position in 1865 "which is to this day still the same," not worthy of the fellowship of Iowa, whose creed is the Book of Concord.

The Lutheran Church Review, July, 1905, has an editorial where these lines occur :

"Moreover, when the full import of the discovery that all of the Allgemeine Konferenz must accept, not merely the Augsburg Confession, but all the symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church, begins to dawn on some of the more enthusiastic English Lutherans, and, if, perchance, their membership should be afterward interpreted as an acceptance of this Confessional position, some confusion may result, and the last state of union may be worse than the first. This same point will also hold true on the fellowship question. Shall we, for instance, ask General Synod men to come in on the basis of all the Confessions, when the General Synod itself does not stand on them all? If on the one hand, they come in on the basis of all Confessions, is not violence done to the truth? If, on the other hand, they come in on the basis of Augsburg Confession alone, and are recognized on that basis, how can our most strict and conservative German Lutherans participate in the Allgemeine Konferenz, and fail to give such men full recognition afterward, on the basis simply of the Augsburg Confession? If they should in the future fail to do so, will they not be accused of double dealing?"

Allgemeine Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung (April 27, 1906) publishes a correspondence from America which is an echo of the opinion voiced above. The correspondent betrays, moreover, symptoms of "Froude's Disease."

In THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, April, 1906, we showed that the Established Churches of Denmark and Norway do not accept other Reformation symbols than the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism, and that all Norwegian and Danish Lutheran Church bodies in America—not a single exception—are at one with them in this matter. * We further showed that the Lutherans in Sweden are divided on the question whether the Book of Concord is binding in their country. † Nevertheless, Denmark and Norway, positive about rejecting the Book of Concord, as well as Sweden, doubtful about it, were well represented at the *Allegemeine Luth. Konferenz* at Lund, ‡ in 1901. Where does the Confessional basis of the *Konferenz* come in, if it be the Book of Concord, as is claimed by the General Council and the Iowa press? If the opinion of this press had prevailed and the *Allgemeine Konferenz* had been invited, what should have become of the delegation that Norway and Denmark would have sent, or the representatives that the Norwegian and Danish Lutherans in America would have delegated? What would have become of a Lutheran Semi-Danish State like Schleswig-Holstein? Counting these alone,

* We erred in stating that the Norwegian Missourians subscribe to the entire B. C. They, too, subscribe only to the Augb. Conf. and Luther's Catechism, Erroneous was also the statistics given of "Hauge's Synod," the number 12,540 communicants (taken from Dr. Spaeth's article in *P. R. E. XIV. 203*) ought to be trebled, to say the least.

† We note that Hjalmar Holmquist in the art. *Schweden* in P. R. E. XVIII. p. 36 f., which just came to us fresh from the press, independently of our statement, agrees with us. He writes: "This uncertainty whether the entire B. C. is symbolically binding in Sweden has called forth sharp controversies within the Church (especially in 1903); *a final decision has not yet been reached.*" He also quotes the new Ordination vow adopted by Sweden in 1903, in which the clergyman promises (the oath is no longer in use) *to proclaim in its purity, according to his best knowledge and conscience, the Word of God as it is given in Holy Scriptures and testified to by the Confessional books of our Church.* This alteration was proposed by no less a man than Bishop Billings. Compare the rediculous criticism given by *Der Alte Glaube*, translated for *The Lutheran Church Review*, XXIV. No. 1, p. 123 f.

‡ See the list of names in *Deltagarna i tionde allmænna Lutherska Konferensen i Lund*, 1901. In addition, we might add, we were a witness to this, being personally present at the *Konferenz* and the guest of Dr. Skarstedt, emeritus professor of theology at the University of Lund.

leaving out of consideration hesitating Sweden, not to mention many German States, we have a Lutheran constituency, large as that of entire Lutheran America, and no less worthy of consideration.

We are not running errands for the General Synod, but we claim that this body is by no means alone in its ideas about Confessional subscription. To the testimony offered by Scandinavia we now add that of Germany. *

The Empire of Germany, consisting of twenty-five states and of the Imperial territory Alsace-Lorraine, has an area of 208,830 English square miles and a population of 56,367,178 (Census 1900). The Constitution provides for entire liberty of conscience and for complete social equality among all religious Confessions. The relation between Church and State varies in the different parts of the Empire. Germany has 35,231,104 Protestants, 20,327,913 Catholics, respectively 62.5 per cent. and 36.1 per cent. of the population. The Roman Catholics in 1900 were in the majority in only three of the German states (Alsace-Lorraine 76.2 per cent., Bavaria 70.7 per cent., Baden 60.6 per cent.) and formed more than 20 per cent. of the population in only four others (Oldenburg 21.8 per cent., Württemberg 30 per cent., Hesse 30 5 per cent., Prussia 35.1 per cent). In all the other states the Catholics formed less than 6 per cent. of the population. †

Of the total number of Lutherans in Europe, 50,250,000—a quarter of a million more than the Reformed—Germany alone has 32,000,000, her remaining Protestants, 3,000,000 being, Reformed. With the latter are counted also those that represent the Reformed type in the Union, where at least 90 per cent.

* We refer as much as possible to *official* acts and enactments. A valuable summary of the opinions on Confessional subscription held by Thomasius, Kahnis, Sartorius, Palmer, Jacoby, Philippi, Zoeckler, Frank is found in a spirited article by Dr. Hefelbower in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, April, 1901.

† See the *Statesman's Year-Book* for 1906.

are Lutherans.* Those are the general statistics. For details we turn our attention to the separate States: 4 Kingdoms, 6 Grand-Duchies, 5 Duchies, 7 Principalities, 3 Free Cities, and the Imperial Territory of Alsace-Lorraine.

I. PRUSSIA (Kingdom).

The area of Prussia is 134,603 square miles, its population 34,472,509, of which 21,817,577 are Protestants. It surpasses in size and population all the other German States taken together. It consists of fourteen provinces, eleven of which belong to the United Church (17,000,000 members); the other three, Hanover, Hesse–Nassau, and Schleswig–Holstein, which were added in 1866, have their own Established Churches.

1. We shall first treat the group which belongs to the Union.

This is not the place to trace the history of the Union. Suffice it to mention that in view of the opposition it encountered in Silesia, the Cabinet decreed on Feb. 28, 1834: "The Union indicates and effects no surrender of the previous Confession of faith, nor is the authority which has been hitherto enjoyed by the Confessional Books of the two evangelical Confessions destroyed by it. Adherence to it is merely an exhibition of the spirit of moderation and mildness * * * ." That these words are the true index of the Prussian Union is evident, even if we seek no other proof than what is briefly recorded in the following pages about the present status of Confessional subscription in the Prussian Church. These pages must dispense with giving any detailed history of the Union movement, but they cannot afford to dispense with the judgment that a historian passes upon it who is entitled to be heard before any one else: Prof. Hauck in Leipzig. None but an oaf would accuse him of "Unionism." He belongs to the Erlangen School of sound conservative Lutheranism, and is Germany's greatest authority in Church History. He says:

* Kattenbusch in *P. R. E.* XVI. 144 f. Cfr. Schneider's *Kirchliches Jahrbuch*, 1906. p. 292.

J. I. Good in his *History of the Reformed Church of Germany*, 1894, claims 444,006 Reformed in the Union, 750.998 outside of it.

"Those who brought about the establishment of the Union committed no injustice. They acted with the sincere conviction that they were furthering the interests of the Church. The congregations which were fixed upon as recipients of the Union suffered no injustice, for they were just as much convinced of the right of the Union as the leaders were. The injustice began when those who thought differently were denied the right of acting according to their convictions. For in the sphere of religion there exists only a twofold wrong: denial of one's own conviction, coercion against the conviction of another. About this, a difference of opinion is hardly possible.

"It is a different matter when the question concerning the justice or injustice of the Union of the Protestant Churches is taken in the general sense. For over three hundred years the question has been differently answered. It is more than probable that the answer on which all agree will never be given. It would be very superficial to seek the reason for this in the litigiousness and obstinacy of the theologian, in the 'contemptuous unfairness of the denominationalists,' or in the vagueness of the Unionists. The reason is much more this: That every question cannot be answered on the basis of objective facts, but only on the basis of a judgment on the value of uniformity and precision in doctrine. This judgment is naturally fluctuating. It is certain that for every ethical society a certain amount of conviction common to its members is necessary. It is equally certain that a society is not possible when it is required that its members should feel and think alike in each and everything. But there is no objective criterion that can determine how great that necessary amount of common conviction must be, or when the line is crossed, so that what should be a bond of unity becomes an element of dissolution. Much, therefore, is required, as necessary for a Church body, by some, less by others. From this it follows that the friends of the Union as well as the opponents represent a standpoint which is relatively justified. The former testify to the view that Protestant ground is common possession—what had been for a long time almost forgotten. The latter testify to the view that the

Lutheran (or, as the case may be, the Reformed) stamp of Protestantism is perfectly legitimate—what the present is tempted to overlook.

"In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the opponents of the Union were in the majority. This was the result of the conditions of the times: The theologians, amidst sharp controversies directed against those who held opinions differing from their own, worked at the precise formulation of doctrine. How could one do otherwise than ascribe the greatest value to the achievements of this work? The recent past, on the other hand, belonged to the friends of the Union, to them likely will belong also the immediate future. I do not want this understood as if an expansion of the Union, taking in the established Churches which do not belong to it, is to be expected. There is no occasion for that. And any attempt in this direction would meet with the strongest opposition and lead to new schisms. But it seems to me that the friends of the Union have, beyond question, much more the consensus of opinion in their favor than its opponents. This appears prominent in the very districts where the Confessional spirit is the prevailing one: No Confessional Lutheran territorial Church can hold itself, in harsh exclusivism, aloof from the Reformed. Almost everywhere the custom prevails which permits the Reformed as guests to partake of the Lord's Supper in Lutheran Churches. And where this is not sanctioned, the reason is not to be sought in the congregation, which takes no offense at it, but in the views of the pastor, which then conflict with custom. This also is determined by the general conditions of the times. The modern means of communication have caused that the various denominations now come much more in contact with each other than was formerly the case. To this may be added that the historical setting in which the Christianity of our day stands is quite different from that which divided the Protestants of the sixteenth century. It naturally follows that the importance of the issues then at stake are judged in a different light now. Finally the work done by theology—including the confessional—has led to the result that no one regards

the formulation which the dogma received in the sixteenth century as perfectly adequate. Even the most strongly convinced Lutheran admits that the Lutheran Confessional books do not express his convictions in the same sense as the convictions of the authors [of the Confessions] and their contemporaries. The usual distinction between the substance and the form of the Confession is nothing else than the admission of this fact. As a result, it follows that the value of the formula which separates one denomination from another is judged in a manner different from that of a former age. In a nucleus: As much as that which is common to the Protestant Confessions has gained in importance with the general consciousness, so much has that which separates the Confessions lost. Does it now follow from the change that the doctrines and usages peculiar to the Lutherans or to the Reformed—for differences exist even if we leave out of consideration what the two Churches teach concerning the Lord's Supper—must pass away, or have already passed away? That the latter is not the case, even in the Union, is evident to any observer. And who would earnestly desire the disappearance of both types? Such a desire would be nothing else than the mania for uniformity which Schleiermacher criticised; but the realization of such a desire is, as matters still stand, impossible." *

With these words of Hauck in mind, we are prepared to understand the Confessional position of the individual provinces of the Prussian Union. These are East Prussia, West Prussia, City of Berlin, Posen, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia, Saxony, Westphalia, Rhine, Hohenzollern. For all these provinces the formula of subscription is one and the same. It is contained in the Agenda for Prussia, authorized and introduced in 1895. It obligates the ordinandus "to tend the congregation of Jesus Christ, which He redeemed and secured with His own blood, with the pure Word of God, to administer the Holy Sacraments according to the institution of Jesus Christ * * * * ." He is forbidden "to proclaim another doctrine than the one which is grounded in Holy Writ, our only norm of

* Hauck in P. R. E. 2. ed. XVI. 187 f.

faith, and testified to in the three œcumenical symbols and in the Confessional books of our Church (here are mentioned, as usual the symbolical books)."

The words in parenthesis belong to the Agenda. It is from the titles recorded in this parenthesis that each province receives its confessional color. At this place, in the districts originally Lutheran, the Lutheran symbols—the Book of Concord, including or excluding the Formula of Concord—are mentioned; in the districts originally Reformed, the Heidelberg Catechism and sometimes also the Augsburg Confession; in some united districts, the entire Book of Concord (the Formula of Concord excepted), and the Heidelberg Catechism. These statements in general. We must, however, make allowance for many cross-courses.

It is primarily the call (*Vokationsurkunde*) that specifies what symbolical books are regarded as binding. Sometimes the information is given in other instruments. * These are the facts:

a. *East Prussia* (14,284 sq. m., 1,996,626 pop.) with 1,698,465 Protestants: "The Word of God * * * * as set forth in the usual Reformation Confessions, especially in the Augsburg Confession." The Reformed congregations, few in number, add "and in the Heidelberg Catechism."

b. *West Prussia* (9,859 sq. m., 1,563,658 pop.) with 730,685 Protestants: Either the formula of East Prussia or the general obligation to "discharge the duties of * * * * office according to the regulations of the Church." That this does not mean arbitrary pastoral practice is demonstrated by the fact that a minister inclining to Baptist views was deposed, not long ago, by the Consistory for declining to baptize a child.

c. *Posen* (11,186 sq. m., 1,887,275 pop.) with 569,564 Protestants: In the proviso, read to the candidate at ordination, is added to "the Confessional books of our Church" "especially

* The manner in which the symbols are interpreted depends often on the conception of them held by the *General-Superintendent*, or on the Church political attitude of the Consistories and Synods, or on provincial tradition. Sometimes a minister is obliged to subscribe to some statements in theology in addition to the symbols, or to promise to administer the Lord's Supper according to a certain rite, etc.

the Augsburg Confession and Luther's smaller and larger Catechism." The call obligates to "the Word of God * * * * as repeated in the Confessional books of the Evangelical Church, particularly in the Augsburg Confession, 1530." The pastor is asked to work in the spirit of gentleness, not denying Church fellowship to such as hold Protestant doctrines different from his own.

d. *Pomerania* (11,630 sq. m., 1,634,832 pop.) with 1,579,080 Protestants: The proviso expressly mentions the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism. In the call issued by a private patron and in the corresponding document of ratification issued by the Consistory, such an anomaly may occur: The former emphasizes that the Church is confessionally Unionistic, the latter that it is confessionally Lutheran.

e. *Brandenburg* (15,382 sq. m., 3,108,554 pop.) with 2,907,863 Protestants: In the proviso Lutheran candidates are obligated to Augustana invariata. The calls partly contain only general statements. Some of them obligate to the Lutheran Confessions including the Formula of Concord. The documents of ratification mention "the Confessions of the Evangelical Church, especially the Augsburg Confession, 1530."

f. *City of Berlin* (25 sq. m., 1,888,848 pop.) with 1,590,115 Protestants, follows, as far as we can ascertain, Brandenburg. It is well known that Rev. Dr. M. Fischer, in a lecture delivered in 1904, denied the divinity of Christ, and was therefor asked by the Consistory to reconsider his statements and to withdraw from the ministry if he persisted in his heretical doctrine.*

g. *Silesia* (15,568 sq. m., 4,668,857 pop.) with 2,042,583 Protestants: In the call of a (Luth.) country church is stipulated that "the Word of the Lord is to be preached according to the fundamental statements of the Augsburg Confession." Silesia went farthest in opposing the Prussian Union. The

*See documents in Schneider's *Kirchl. Jahrbuch* (1906), p. 60–66. Fischer is perhaps no more heretical than Harnack, professor at the University. But Harnack is not accountable to the Consistory. The University professors in Germany enjoy *Lehrfreiheit*, the clergy do not. Theodor Kaftan (Schleswig) in *Vier Kapitel von der Landeskirche*, p. 39 f. gives good reasons why the *Lehrfreiheit* cannot, should not, be curtailed.

Breslau movement lead to the formation of a new Church, "the Churchly Constituted Lutherans in Prussia" (Altlutheraner). It claims to be *the* Lutheran Church in distinction from the Lutherans who remained in the Union.*

Within the Union in Silesia are two parties: the Confessional-Churchly and the Evangelical-Churchly. The latter desires "the whole Gospel: not fractions of it as the Confessions, no dogmatic straight-jacket." The Confessional party has two divisions. The one, *Lutherischer Verein*, organized in 1848, now consisting of about seventy clergymen, proclaims that it will by every means defend, on the basis of Augustana invariata, the rights of the Lutheran Church in the Union. The other more moderate, the *Liegnetzer Pastoral Konferenz* organized in 1861, numbers about 100 members. This, too, centers around the Augustana invariata. Silesia has over 700 ev. ministers in the Established Church. Of these one-eight adhere to the radical school of theology.† The *rabies theologica* has been active in Silesia like in every other place, but the party fanaticism of the laity, too, has not seldom gone high and ignored the moderation of the theologians.

h. *Saxony* ‡ (9,751 sq. m., 2,832,616 pop.) with 2,610,080 Protestants: In a call issued by the Duke of Anhalt as patron is stipulated that the minister shall instruct his congregation in "the Word of God as it is contained in Holy Scriptures and repeated in the Confessional books of both evangelical Churches, so far as these agree with each other." The University of Halle demands from its professors of theology to hold "*doctrinam christianam sinceram ex scriptura sacra derivatam, cujus testes libros symbolicos ecclesiae evangelicae, Augustanam praesertim confessionem.*"

* This dissenting body had, in 1845, 8,300 adherents in Silesia, to-day 12,000. It subscribes in unmistakable language to the entire Book of Concord. Its congregations, few as they are, have not been able to keep strife from the door. In one town, two of them, both outside of the Union, have carried on a feud which has been nothing less than a spectacle. The total number of *Altlutheraner* in Germany is ca. 55.000. See M. Schian: *Evangel. Kirchenkunde*, II. 237 ff.

† Schian l. c. 65.

‡ Not to be confounded with the State of Saxony.

i. *Westphalia* (7.803 sq. m , 3,187,777 pop). with 1,537,948 Protestants: In the Lutheran congregations all the Lutheran symbols except the Formula of Concord. In a few Lutheran congregations the entire B. C. is in force. In the Reformed districts the creed is the Heidelberg Catechism, either alone or with the Augsburg Confession. A considerable number of ministers adhere to the critical theology. The Provincial Synod voted in 1896 an unanimous resolution of thanks to the Consistory, whose position was clearly defined in a speech of the General Superintendent, delivered when the synod was in session: "By the Grace of God we still have in our province the Confession of the Reformation set forth in one and the same way. I know of no pulpit where the Old and the New Testaments are not proclaimed in truth and purity as the infallable source of Revelation, are not acknowledged as the only norm by which every doctrine is to be tried. I know of no pulpit where it is not testified that Jesus Christ, true God born of the Father from eternity, and true man born of the Virgin Mary, has redeemed, secured, and delivered us with his innocent sufferings and death, and that we through believing in Him, by grace, receive forgiveness, life, and salvation."

j. *Rhine* (10,423 sq. m., 5,749,798 pop.) with 1,663,218 Protestants: Some congregations obligate to what is common to the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions. Some either to the Lutheran or to the Reformed.

k. *Hohenzollern* (441 sq. m., 66,780 pop.) has only 2,847 Protestants, often counted together with those of the *Rheinland* (j).

From the above it appears at first sight that the Book of Concord has a very large constituency in the Prussian Union. But the actual facts are revealed by a closer examination. It is a testimony to Scripture and is accepted as such. The vow made by a candidate does not require him to preach what the Book of Concord teaches in every instance, or even all the doctrines it holds. The provision is negative. It binds him to preach nothing contrary to Scriptures as testified to in the symbols. This formula of ordination was the result of a com-

promise. It leaves room for subjective theological thought, and the words "especially the Augsburg Confession," recurring so often, show the distinction made between this and the other Lutheran symbols. The United Church in Prussia designates itself as "Evangelical." This is no slight to Luther—the name would suit him—but a judicious regard for those who have been trained in the other Confession, which, though not as full as the Lutheran, carries within itself the right of existence and respect. All children are not born of one mother. Only the spirit of exclusivism denies that a Lutheran can belong to the Union. * That the Union of Prussia has contributed more to Church and Theology than the Lutheran Church of Bavaria or Saxony will indeed be advocated by no one. On the other hand, the view that it has lagged behind the others will receive the support of the partisan alone. Lutheranism is too powerful a movement to be checked by the decree of a Prussian Cabinet, even if the decree had been intended as a check on Confessional liberty.

2. The Prussian provinces outside of the Union are:

a. *Hanover* (14,870 sq. m., 2,590,939 pop.) has 2,227,816 Protestants. The established State Church of this province is the Evangelical-Lutheran. The Agenda of 1900 makes

* *The Lutheran Church Review* (July, 1905. p. 600), makes the following remarks about Dr. Kaftan, General Superintendent in Kiel (not to be confounded with Julius Kaftan, Professor in Berlin): "He says no matter how we may judge the situation that has arisen from the Prussian Union, one thing must not be forgotten by us Lutherans, and that is the advantage that has come to Lutheranism from this history: namely, that, within the Prussian Union, in distinction from the other Unions, in spite of the Union, there is a great number of earnest Lutheran congregations and earnest Lutheran pastors. 'I do not believe that I am saying too much when I assert that there are Lutheran Churches untouched by the Union, who, as far as power, clearness and earnestness in the defence of the Lutheran Confessions are concerned, are behind certain Prussian provincial Churches. He who is really concerned for the Lutheran Confession, especially in Germany, can only rejoice with his whole heart, that, in spite of the Prussian Union, so much genuine and true Lutheranism is to be found in Prussia. We Lutherans all have reason to cultivate fellowship with these true Lutherans with a whole heart and without reservation, and in this way really and truly serve the cause of Lutheranism so great to us.'"

stipulations concerning ordination, but the ordination formula contains no express statement concerning Confessional subscription, nor do the calls or documents of ratification. The provisions made about discipline do not define otherwise than in a general way what orthodoxy and heresy are. Nevertheless, the Hanover Lutherans are severely orthodox. It is likely due to this that Hanover has seen very many cases of heresy tried in the last years. The Consistories have often neglected to ratify an election, and have been busy in conducting investigations. The various districts have their own stipulations in regard to symbols. In some, the minister is required to sign the *corpus Wilhelminum*, which contains the Book of Concord and a booklet of Urbanus Rhegius. In some, it is demanded that he sign the *corpus Julium*, which, besides containing two tracts of Chemnitz, contains the *corpus Wilhelminum*, Formula of Concord excepted. Thus the principalities of Kalenberg (pop. 300,000) and Göttingen, the community of Oberharz, the counties of Hohenstein and Spiegelberg, the Bishopric of Hildesheim. Large cities like Hanover obligate also to the Formula of Concord. The city of Osnabrück (33,050 Prot.) accept all the Lutheran symbols except the Formula of Concord, in place of which it subscribes to *Concordia Wittenbergensis*. The *Landkreis* Osnabrück (16,167 Prot.) requires that all preaching be in accord with the Confession of the Lutheran Church. The Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Hanover (3,050 members) and the Evangelical Lutheran Hermannsburg–Hamburg Free Church (2,800) subscribe to the *Corpus Wilhelminum*. These Churches are independent of, and antagonistic to, each other. Numerous schisms in the Free Churches of Hanover have contributed much to retard the Free Church movement in Germany.

b. *Hesse-Naussau* (6,062 sq. m., 1,897,981 pop.) with 1,308,016 Protestants, has three Established Churches with three consistorial districts. These Churches are not subject to the jurisdiction of the Prussian High Consistory, but to that of the

Prussian *Kultusminister.** The three districts are (1) Cassel† (3,889 sq. m.) has 723,277 Protestants. The official creed of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Cassel is the Augsburg Confession and the Apology. (2) Frankfurt-on-the-Main adheres to the Reformation symbols, especially the Augsburg Confession. The Church is evangelical Lutheran and embraces only a few congregations. Frankfurt-on-the-Main and Wiesbaden have one and the same consistoral president. (3) Wiesbaden (2,125 sq. m.) has 584,739 Protestants. The name of the Church is Evangelical Christian, no other symbol than the Apostles' Creed is in force. Some have claimed the Augsburg variata in addition.

c. Schleswig-Holstein (7,338 sq. m., 1,387,968 pop.) with 1,349,297 Protestants, obligates to the Augsburg Confession alone. The oath of the minister that accepts a call in Schleswig-Holstein, whether he is an ordinandus or one already ordained in another province, is: "I, the subscriber, affirm and promise before God and upon the Holy Gospel that by the grace of God, in the office of teaching entrusted to me, I will faithfully abide by the true doctrine of the Divine Word as the same is derived from the Holy Scriptures and is summarized in the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and will preach and teach the same pure and uncorrupted, and with the utmost diligence will avoid all conflicting doctrines, and will administer the Holy Sacraments according to the divine appointment." In Lauenburg, however (51,045 Prot.) the Book of Concord is in force.

We began our survey of the Prussian Churches with some statements from Prof. Hauck. We close it with some statements from Th. Kaftan, General Superintendent of Schleswig. The University professor from Bavaria, the southernmost Lutheran territory in Germany, and the Superintendent from Schleswig, the northernmost, both strong confessional Lutherans without a "taint of Unionism" agree in their views on the authority of

* This applies also to the Established Churches of Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein.

† The consistory at Cassel is one and the same for the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the United Churches in this district.

the Confessions. As Hauck's weighty words are worthy of being considered by those who condemn the Union, so Kaftan's voice should be listened to by those who claim that nothing but an iron clad subscription to the Book of Concord will satisfy the requirements of uncorrupted Lutheranism.

Says Kaftan :* "The Church of the Word could not be satisfied, nor has it ever been, with merely designating the Word as source and norm of her life. It has been a historical necessity for her to express her understanding of the Word in manifold ways. Thus the writings originated in which the Confession is contained. These writings [symbolical books], as such, represent no infallible law of doctrine. Their authors were perfectly aware of this. However much they were convinced that the pure Word of God found its expression in these writings, in their eyes, nevertheless, the Word remained source and norm. But the Evangelical Church, for a time, became engrossed in scholasticism, during which she valued and maintained the Confessions in a manner analogous to that of the Roman Catholics. But when she began to live her own life again, after having gone through Pietism and Rationalism, her most faithful sons —and these in particular—repeatedly emphasized that the symbolical books, as such, are not the Confession, but contain it. The symbols carry deep marks of the theology of the times in which they were written, and this theology is of course no standard for us. The consciousness of this fact is shown e. g., when Walch makes a distinction between the main and the subordinate; or later theologians between the essential and the unessential (Rudelbach),or between the principles and their elucidation (Münchmeyer), or between substance and form (the Erlan-

* Dr. Kaftan, from whom we have already quoted in a foot note, though his Church accepts only the Augsburg Confession was present at the last *Allgemeine Luth. Konferenz* in Rostock. He was present at the one at Lnnd also. In Rostock, he delivered, what the editor of the *Luth. Church Review* (Jan. 1905, p. 90) correctly calls "a splendid address on the subject, 'Is the Lutheran Confession Still Serviceable in the Twentieth Century?' The editor speaks of his glowing optimism :

"Kaftan believed that 'modern' iniquity is no worse than ancient iniquity, and boldly unfurled the Confession, which is not 'theology,' so much as 'Gospel' to the breeze as the banner by which to conquer."

gen theologians). In these distinctions it is documented that the Church of the Reformation is still alive in the Lutheran Church of to-day. On the other hand, a difficulty, by no means insignificant, arises from this state of matters, because the Confession lies before us in no other form than that of the symbolical books. If in practice recourse is taken to the Confession, it cannot take place in any other manner than by falling back upon the symbolical books. Even a man like Rothe who felt most at home in the *Protestantenverein* said: 'Without a symbol of any kind a real Church is inconceivable, and the symbol is no symbol if it does not possess normative authority in the Church.' It is therefore the office of those who have to see that the Confession is not violated to make sure that it is really the Confession of the Church and *only* this that they watch over. To this end three things are necessary: a large heart, a tender conscience, a thorough theological education. * * *

"In a *twofold* way can the Confession be preserved in the Church: On the one hand, *as norm* of *Ministerial Acts, which are obligatory* upon the servants of the Church, on the other hand, as *norm of activity which they engage in as free persons.* With respect to the first point no difficulty worth mentioning could arise. An Agenda is necessary. But an Agenda which offers a quod libet of formulas would be an official dissolution of what it purposes to set forth and insure. The Agenda must contain nothing that is foreign to the Confession of the Church. It may not suit every member or servant of the Church. But no scruples of conscience can arise from this, because no single individual, no minister is personally responsible for the Agenda of the Church to which he belongs or which he serves. Were its short-comings felt by all as by one, something better would be substituted.

"It is different, where the Confession is normative for preaching and teaching, where the minister is not bound to the Agenda. Suppose he holds views that do not accord with the Confession? What is he to do, or what is to be done to him? It is an expressly evangelical principle that the individual acts according to principle, not from com-

pulsion. As the Evangelical Church demands that her members live in their faith, not in the faith of others, she likewise demands especially of her servants that they be, not reporters, not speaking-tubes, but witnesses. This implies that they should not preach anything which they do not believe themselves. If one would raise the objection: 'No, not so. He who does not accept the Confessions of the Church fully and entirely, should stay away from, or leave, the ministry'—we would make the rejoinder: 'You overlook the organic connection between the life of a Church and life as a totality. For to follow such advice would lead to a breaking up of large Church bodies into small ones or to a spiritual moral depression of the ministry. As a consequence, some would obligate themselves to the symbols for the sake of a living, and these would, indeed, be men of inferior character; again, others would leave the Church, and these would, as a rule, be morally and spiritually the stronger men.'

"The fact is: In the evangelical Church individuality must be reckoned with, only of course not farther than the maintenance of the Confession permits without suffering breach. The solution lies in this: The demand should be so formulated that every *servant of the Church should preach and teach according to the norm of the Confession, that he on the one hand only says what he himself believes, that he on the other refrains from controverting, no matter how, the symbolical books.* Thus the minister can be true to himself and, in his preaching, still remain in alignment with the Confession. Accordingly, nothing will be preached in the Church except the Word of God in conformity with the Confession. The preaching of a minister will be commensurable with his appropriation of the Confession. It is presupposed on the one hand that he is actually conscious of standing, and intending to stand, in line with the Confession of his Church, on the other that he does not feel himself called to act the reformer of our symbols."

Kaftan finds that the solution given above does not create ideal conditions. "But these conditions are endurable and must yet for some time be endured. What is to be deplored here is

not a contradiction of the Confession, but that it is not preached in its fullness. Still this can be endured just a much as a shortcoming in fulfilling other matters stipulated in the ordination vow. For the ordinandus is obligated not only to teach correctly but also to be an example for his flock, and to be diligent and faithful in discharging the duties of his office. Yet, how many clergymen are there not who, even if they are orthodox, have no vital interest in the cause of Christ, and are still borne over with? Why more tolerant in the one sphere than in the other?" These words of Kaftan as cited above, partly verbatim, partly in paraphrase, are more than a theory. They receive their endorsement in practice, a practice that is quite general among the consistories not alone in Prussia but also in the other German states,* which shall now receive our attention in the following.

II. BAVARIA (kingdom)

The Kingdom of Bavaria has an area of 29,286 English square miles, a population of 6,176,057, of which 1,739,695 are Protestants. It has two established Protestant Churches: the Ev. Luth. Church and the United Church, the former is in the territory on the right of the Rhine, the latter is in the Bavarian Palatinate, on the left.

The Lutheran Church is by far the larger, numbering (1890) 64 dioceses, 976 charges, 1,292,856 members; the Union has 16 dioceses, 283 charges, 446,839 members. The Lutheran Church of Bavaria is known for its sound Lutheranism. No Church in Germany pays such genuine tribute to the Lutheran Confession as this one. Names like Harless, Thomasius, von Hofmann, Löhe, Luthardt, von Frank, Köhler, Zahn, Hauck, Ihmels, grace the pages of her history. Who knows not of the mighty and blessed influence of the Erlangen school of

* The most recent, as well as the best, works on Confessional Subscription in Germany are H. Mulert, *Die Lehrverpflichtung in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, 2nd ed. 1906; and Geo. Löber, *Die im evang. Deutschland geltenden Ordinationsverpflichtungen geschichtlich geordnet*, 1905. We shall often refer to these valuable works. (M=Mulert, L=Löber). Mulert furnishes also interesting information about consistorial enactments in heresy trials. Löber's treatment of the ordination vows is genetic. The works supplement each other.

theology—conservative, modern, scientific, all in one—to which the Bavarians have contributed so much? Over and against Rationalism which was attacking the Church in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Lutheran clergy in Bavaria stipulated that adherence to the Lutheran christology and Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper was the condition on which a candidate of theology could become a minister and abide in his office. They accordingly instituted the practice, which still exists that each minister every five years presents two sermons and a scientific thesis to the proper ecclesiastical authorities for the purpose of showing whether he remains in line with the Confession. This shows that Lutheran Bavaria is alert on the Confessional question. Her Confessional subscription is not iron clad, however. The ordinandus is asked, "Wilt thou faithfully, according to the will of God, discharge the duties of the office entrused to thee; preach the revealed doctrine of the Holy Gospel pure and uncorrupted in conformity with the Confession of our Evangelical Lutheran Church; administer the Holy Sacraments according to their institution; and with a pious and godly life be an example to those whom God hath committed to thy care? * * * *" The ordinandus answers in the affirmative, adding "So help me God, through Jesus Christ, by the Holy Ghost."

A graduate of theology, before he is qualified to accept a charge, where he can preach, catechize, deliver funeral sermons, without being ordained and thus not authorized to baptize, confirm, etc., must make a similar, though more specific, promise. He promises to abide by the Confessions, and to the best of his knowledge in no wise deviate from or contradict them, nor proclaim doubtful and uncertain doctrines.

Neither of the vows mentions a single Confession by name. The candidate as long as he remains such is bound to the *symbolical books;* but the minister is obligated to the *Confession* (M. 33 f.; L. 50 f).

Kaftan's distinction between Confession and symbolical books noted above also holds good in Bavaria. The Erlangen theologians, as he stated, distinguish between the substance and the

form of the Confessions. The University of Erlangen, as orthodox and progressive as any, has, for the last twenty-five years, refrained from asking its professors of theology to subscribe to the ordinary formula which obligates them to teach and preach nothing that contradicts the Scriptures or the Confessions of the Lutheran Church. (L. 6).

Men like Thomasius, Hofmann, modern Lutheran Kenoticists, virtually departed from the Formula of Concord.* And Frank, the last of the theologians who had really mastered the dogmatics of the seventeenth century and author of the great work on the Theology of the Formula of Concord, was not a slave of the Formula. How much does not theology owe to this trio? Thomasius did it a most valuable service by breaking fully with the old loci method in treating the history of dogma and by inaugurating a new method—the most decisive step of progress made by the nineteenth century † in the treatment of this exceedingly important branch of theology, which has done so much for the objective valuation of dogma and symbol. He also showed the theological world that the Confessions of the Reformation had left at least one great problem unsolved; they had not said all that was to be said about Christ and his person—hence the Kenotic theory. But Hofmann and Frank are no less conspicuous than Thomasius. Says Seeberg: "History will show us that it is, above all, due to the merits of the great Erlangen theologians, Hofmann and Frank, that the restoration of the Lutheran faith and doctrine, which the nineteenth century witnessed, did not sink down to the theology of the Formula of Concord and the dogmatics of the seventeenth century." ‡ That Lutheranism will continue on this path, is in part guaranteed by the work of another trio which Erlangen has produced: Hauck, Zahn, Ihmels. The historical, exegetic, and systematic theology of these would hardly fit into the frame of the Formula of Concord. And the majority of the formula of subscriptions

* Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, I. 318. Cf. Loofs, Art. *Kenosis* in P. R. E. Vol. X.

† Seeberg, *Die Kirche Deutschlands im 19 Jahrhundert*, (1903), 343.

‡ Seeberg, *Aus Religion und Geschichte* (1906), I. 399.

used in Lutheran America, if applied to these theologians, would place innumerable obstacles in their way. So much for the Lutheranism of Bavaria.

In the Bavarian Palatinate of the Rhine the United Church holds sway, the Union being established in 1818. Her creed is the Augustana variata as embodying the consensus between the Augustana of 1530 and the Heidelberg Catechism.

III. SAXONY (kingdom).

The area of this kingdom is 5,787 sq. m., its population 4,202,216, of which about 3,900,000 are Lutherans, served by 1300 Lutheran pastors. Saxony—not Belgium—is the most densely populated country in the world. In proportion to its size, it is the busiest state in Germany, leading also in educational lines. Its cities are many. The *Erzgebirge* alone have 142. On an elevation of 1850 feet are twice as many cities as in the rest of Germany. In forming judgments on the religious life of Saxony, one must consider that density of population is an element which makes religious work with favorable statistics difficult. One must read Drew's "*Das Kirchliche Leben des Königreichs Saxen*" to get a good picture of religious Saxony. He shows that the Church, though criticised, is in no sense on the decline; on the contrary, it is commanding more respect now than it has done for a long time, a fact which the sojourning Puritan is apt to overlook. The University of Leipzig has been, and still is, a stronghold of Lutheranism. Of its ten theological professors, eight belong to the positive school. Men like Hauck and Ihmels are worthy followers of the old trio Luthardt, Kahnis, and Delitzsch. A preacher like Dr. Pank fills the pulpit of the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig, one of Germany's greatest preachers in the opinion of the writer, the ablest pastor pastor he has heard in any creed, land, or tongue.

The name of Saxony is most closely associated with Lutheranism. To mention one thing, it contributed 80,000 *thaler* towards defraying the cost of publishing the Book of Concord and the expenses connected with the writing of such a work. A harsh Lutheranism was for a long time dominant in this

land, but it gave away here, as everywhere else, before the Illumination. Confessional Lutheranism revived, however, when Rudelbach from Denmark—the land that never cared for the Book of Concord, settled in Saxony (1829) Harless, the Bavarian, completed what Rudelbach had begun. The rigid Lutheranism of the confessional school was thus brought to the Saxons by "foreigners." It was continued by Luthardt, Kahnis, and Delitzsch. Here too, however, it was shown that sound Lutheranism is not synonymous with rigid subscriptions to the symbolical books. It was during the sway of the Leipzig trio that Saxony adopted the form of subscription now in use. This form was the result of one of the most notable sessions that is known in the history of the synod of Saxony (1871–1906). On June 7, 1871, the synod, at its twentieth session, after long and heated discussions, where the opposing parties were lead by Luthardt and Zarncke, Prof. G. Baur, of Leipzig, laid before it the form which was accepted by almost everybody present: "I *promise* before God that I will teach and preach purely, according to best knowledge and conscience, the Gospel of Christ as the same is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and is witnessed in the first unaltered Augsburg Confession, and then in the other Confessional books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church" * In commenting upon this, Löber calls attention to the following: (1) "*Gospel of Christ*" is typical, nothing is said about certain doctrines; (2) the phrase, "*according to best knowledge and conscience*," unites evangelical liberty with restraint of conscience; (3) the words, "*contained in the Holy Scriptures*, and, *witnessed* in the * * * * Confession" are of the utmost importance. He regards this vow as one of the classic forms for Confessional subscription "because it is based on a sound view of Scripture and doctrine, and thus cannot burden the conscience." (L.77). He thus agrees with Drews, who says: "It is not too much to claim that no other form could have been found which had harmonized better with the spirit of our Church."

There is one Church body in Saxony, that sprang from the

* Drew's *Kirchenkunde* I. 37.

opposition to this form, which it considered radical to the degree of apostasy. It is the "Ev. Luth. Free Church of Saxony and other States," which (1901) numbered in Saxony 6 congregations, 7 pastors, 2,230 members.* This Church differs essentially from the other Luth. Free Churches in Germany, which were called into existence more or less through the oppositional movement against the Union. She has planted her banner in the midst of the most orthodox Lutheran Church districts that had already, because of the Union, seceded from the Established Church. She is a mockery to her own name. No State Church can be so hopelessly yoked to tradition and legalism as this "Free Church of Saxony," the devoted daughter † of the Missouri Church in America, bitterly opposed to all other Lutheran Churches in Germany, whether free or established. Her press is savagely orthodox. Every fault of the other Churches is made the target of the Missouri battery. The warfare is like that of "*Lehre and Wehre*" ludicrously naive and archaic, filling the air with strange noise and remarkable anathema. She pleads most staunchly for the theory of verbal inspiration and Walther's doctrine of election, rejects as "Unionism" any federation of Churches, every form of open communion, all

* This Church numbered in the same year 8 pastors and 1,550 members, in other German States.

† We can trace the antecedents of this Church back to 1820. Prof. Walther visited his little circle in Dresden in 1860. In 1872 he sent to the Free Church as pastor Rev. Ruhland from America with minute instructions about his work, a man of heedless determination, extraordinary self assertion, varied gifts, who should do so much to mould this dissident body. Ruhland, 1876, in a writing, raises among the objections against the Established Church "the abolition of the good old oath of religion and the introduction of the new promisory form" which he calls a "*bose Verleugnungsformel*," because it leads to arbitrary doctrinal opinions. He brands as heretics Sulze, Kahnis, Luthardt, Delitzsch, Rüling, Kohlschütter, Meier, Ahlfeld, Lechler. He enumerates 28 Scriptural and Confessional doctrines that are publicly denied in the Established Church, which consequently is nothing but "a sect under Lutheran name." He finally "shows" that this Church by her practices is an "apostate Church" (Drews, *Evangel. Kirchenkunde*, I, 299 f.) Cfr. Froböss in *P. R. E.* XII· 17 f., who is friendly to Free Church movements, but in no wise complimentary to this Missouri propaganda in Germany.

exchanging of pulpits. No member of a secret society is tolerated in her midst.*

Her creed is all the symbols of the Book of Concord, "which are the pure and unadulterated explanation and declaration of the Divine Word." The symbols are enumerated, to make the contents of the B. C. doubly sure (L. 28. M. 42). Any "orthodox" Agenda, generally that of Löhe, is followed in obligating the ordinandus. He is obligated to the B. C. not so far as it agrees with the Divine Word (quatenus) but because it agrees with it (quia.) Drews says: "The Holy Scripture is regarded as the highest authority; in reality, however, the highest authority is the Confessional books, to the confirmation of which the necessary *dicta probantia* are taken from the Holy Scripture."

A third Church body exists in Saxony, which, in its relation to the Established Church, is in truth an *ecclesiola in ecclesia:* the Moravian Brethern, with about 1400 members. It is on most matters the very opposite of the Missouri body. It states in the Church orders of 1901 that it acknowledges no fixed Confession of doctrine which would bind the conscience of the individual. It "confesses, in unity with the entire Church, the doctrines contained in the Apostle's Creed and further confesses that the fundamental articles of Christian faith are set forth, plain and simple, in the twenty-one doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, the first and most general Confession of the Ev. Church." In section twenty-one of the same order we read: "Since Holy Writ does not contain a doctrinal system, this congregation does not set up such a one, being convinced that the Divine Mysteries testified to in the Bible, which form the object of our faith, cannot be fully comprehended and declared by any system of doctrines framed by man, according to the word of the apostle, "For we know in part, and we prophesy in part" (1 Cor. 13 : 41).

The Moravian Church stands for a Christianity of the heart.

*This problem does not trouble Germany, which has only 43,447 members of secret lodges. America has 5,400,000; Europe and the English Colonies only 300,000 (P. R. E. VI. 262.)

The stress she lays on personal experience permits flexibility in doctrines. This valuable phase of religious life became a powerful factor in the theology of Schleiermacher, who had received much of his early training in the schools of the Moravians.*

IV. WURTTEMBERG (kingdom).

Württemberg has an area of 7,534 sq. m., and a population of 2,169,480, of which 1,497,299 are Protestants. According to recent official returns there is not an individual in the kingdom, above the age of ten, unable to read and write.

What is the type of Protestantism prevailing in Württemberg?

There are three legitimate factors in Lutheran Protestantism of which generally one, according to the prominence given to it, determines the type of Lutheranism found in the different Lutheran Churches. These are: Scripture, the religious peculiarities of the Reformer, and the Confession of the Church. In the German states already discussed we note that the three factors are most equally proportionated in Saxony. The Free Churches cultivate above all the third factor. In Bavaria it is the third factor in conjunction with the first which determines the type of Church life. In Prussia (the Union) and in Württemberg the first factor in conjunction with the second is the most prominent.† The established Church of Württemberg is the Evangelical. Neither this name nor the fact that she received into her fold the Reformed Churches of the Waldenses signifies that she is a Union Church. Her character is the Lutheran.‡

In Protestant Württemberg we note an activity of the religious spirit in the national life as nowhere else. Pietism and higher criticism have fought for the supremacy. The land that

*In 1903 they numbered 39,280 members, 89,257 converts in heathen lands, and 90,000 wards. See Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon* III. 448; L. 65; M. 40; Drews *Evangelische Kirchenkunde*. I. 247.

†Karl Müller, *Symbolik* pp. 244 f.

‡G. Koffmane, *Ergænzungsband zu Herzog's Abriss der gesamten Kirchengeschichte*, p. 117.

produced Bengel and Beck had also its Strauss and Baur—profound exegesis and biblical realism on the one hand, a theology of the Hegelian Left and the Tübingen school of historical criticism on the other. Compared to its destroying influence in most of the German States, "vulgar rationalism" exerted but little influence in Württemberg, though the rationalizing tendency was strong. The subjective element manifested itself in the Tübingen school as well as in the Chiliasm of Bengel, in the Kornthal colony, in the miraculous cures associated with Blumhard at Boll, and in the conventicle system. Truth was sought, and sought everywhere. Powerful preachers like Gerok and the Hofackers proclaimed it far and wide, in pulpit and postil. The laity sought it in the German Bible of Luther, for the revising of which hardly any state has been so active as Württemberg.

It is self-evident that the Book of Concord was a powerless factor in such a world where the Bible, accepted in whole or in part, rightly or wrongly interpreted, was everybody's creed and manual. The Book of Concord was in force in ancient Württemberg till 1827. Since then the Augsburg Confession has been the creed. A vicar entering upon his duties as a minister promises to adhere, in his preaching and teaching, to Scripture and in no way to permit himself to deviate from the evangelical "*Lehrbegriff*" as the same is contained especially in the Augsburg Confession. In the form prescribed by the Agenda to be used at ordination, no special Confession is mentioned. The ordinandus is exhorted to "preach no other doctrine than that which is grounded in the plain Word and conforms to the Confession of our Evangelical Church." (M. 43. L. 46). * Converts from the Catholic Church promise "to adhere to the Confession of our Evangelical Church, as it is contained especially in the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism." †

* Cfr. Köhler *Lehrbuch des deutschen ev. Kirchenrechts*, p. 185. Schrempf, who, in 1891, refused to make liturgical use of the Apostles' Creed because his conscience would not permit it, was deposed.

† *Kirchenbuch fur die ev. Kirche Württembergs.* 7 ed. p. 280.

[TO BE CONCLUDED].

ARTICLE V.

THE INTERNATIONAL LUTHERAN CONFERENCE AND THE GENERAL SYNOD.

By Professor J. W. Richard, D.D., LL.D.

Doubtless very many of the readers of The Lutheran Quarterly have heard of the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Konferenz.* Its preliminary organization dates back to the year 1867, and was effected under the leadership of such men as Luthardt, Kliefoth, Philippi, Dieckhoff and Uhlhorn, in the city of Hannover, in Germany. Its chief object was to effect a closer union among the members of the Lutheran Church in Germany. Some years ago it was thought desirable to give the *Konferenz* wider significance and to make it international. In accordance with this conception the meeting of the *Konferenz* in 1901 took place in Lund, Sweden. The meeting in 1904 was held in Rostock, Germany, and included representatives from some non-German countries.

The fundamental principles of the *Konferenz*, adopted, September 24th, 1902, are few and simple. Only two of these interest us here:

I.

"The General Evangelical Lutheran Conference stands on the *basis* of the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as the purest exhibition of the biblical truth of salvation, and recognizes in these the norm for its transactions and for its work.

II.

"The *purpose* of the Conference is the strengthening of the whole Evangelical Lutheran Church in all its members, offices and operations, especially the representation and preservation of the confessionally pure doctrine of the Gospel, the advancement and protection of the common interests of the Church,

the cultivation of fraternal communion, and the support of all church work, especially the work of Christian charity.

"The *work* of the Conference is voluntary united labor. In accordance with its ecclesiastical character it attaches itself to the regular activity of the Church and of its properly appointed organs as it has ability."

In recent years some Lutherans in America, and perhaps also some in Europe, have thought that it would be a good thing to have the *Konferenz* meet in the United States of America. Hence in 1903 the General Council declared it "highly desirable that one of the meetings of the Lutheran General Conference in the near future—possibly in the year 1907—should be held in America." At the same time the Council "empowered its Committee to invite the coöperation of prominent Lutherans from other bodies, thus forming, for this particular purpose, a larger executive Committee, which would make the necessary preparations for such a gathering and assume all financial responsibilities." So we learn from an undated circular which came into our hands, December 25, 1904.

From this same circular, which is signed by Wm. H. Staake, Esq., as *President;* A. Spaeth, D.D., LL.D., as *Foreign Corresponding Secretary;* M. W. Hamma, D.D., as *Secretary;* Hon. Chas. A. Schierer, as *Treasurer*, we learn that after some preliminary correspondence, an invitation was issued by A. Spaeth, D.D., LL.D.; E. J. Wolf, D.D., LL.D.; C. A. Blomgren, Ph.D., and Messrs. William H. Staake and William C. Stoever, to a number of representative men from the General Council and the General Synod, to meet in Philadelphia for the consideration of a plan looking to the realization of the desired object, to bring the General Lutheran Conference of 1907 to the city of Philadelphia. From the same circular we learn that a number of gentlemen met in Philadelphia in January, 1904, and resolved to organize a committee who should have full authority to make the necessary arrangements for bringing the General Lutheran Conference to America in 1907.

Personally we had known something of the operations of

the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Konferenz* in Germany, and fully sympathised with its *purpose* and *work*. We could see no reason why an international Lutheran conference might not be held in America with great profit to our churches, provided it could be made ecumenical and would refrain from attempting to bind resolutions upon our American Lutheran Churches, that is, provided it should be made an occasion for free discussion and for the interchange of views on Lutheran doctrine and on methods of work in the Lutheran Church in all parts of the world. But we were not a little surprised when we were informed by the Secretary of the General Executive Committee, the Rev. Dr. Hamma, that we "had been chosen a member of the Executive Committee having in charge the preparations for bringing the next great International Lutheran Conference to Philadelphia in 1907."

We held this invitation under advisement for some days, and considered well the doctrinal "*basis*" of the *Konferenz*: "The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," etc We knew very well how this basis was interpreted in Germany, where the Confessions are not held and subscribed according to the *letter*, but according to their *content* and *substance of doctrine*, and as the intelligence and conscience of the subscriber may permit.* Moreover, we knew that a number of territorial Lutheran Churches in European countries subscribe to the Augsburg Confession alone, and are silent in regard the other Lutheran symbols. But we felt sure that in America the doctrinal "*basis*" of the *Konferenz* would be interpreted in accordance with the terms and methods of confessional subscription that obtain in some Lutheran bodies on this side of the Atlantic, and that emphasis would be laid on the word *Confessions*, that is, on the entire Book of Concord.

Hence, highly approving of the *purpose* and *work* of the *Konferenz*, we made reply to the Secretary's letter as follows:

*See the very scholarly Article by Dr. Evjen on pp. 68-94 of the current No. of THE LUTH. QUARTERLY.

Gettysburg, Pa., Jan. 2nd, 1905.

The Rev. M. W. Hamma, D.D., Secretary,

My Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 24th ult. is before me. I have carefully considered the contents. I accept the invitation to become a member of the Executive Committee which is named by you. I will endeavor to be present in Philadelphia at the meeting of said Committee, 5th inst.

I find the "basis" of the General Lutheran Conference somewhat indefinite. It may mean much or it may mean not very much. I beg to say, therefore, that I shall feel bound to stand by the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, and it is with this undertanding that I consent to become a member of the Executive Committee.

Very truly,

J. W. Richard.

We met with the Executive Committee in Philadelphia, January 5th, 1905. Immediately after the opening of the meeting with prayer and the reading of the Minutes by the Secretary, we arose in our place and asked for an explanation of the doctrinal "basis" of the *Konferenz*, stating:

1. That we had accepted place with the Executive Committee with the written understanding that we would stand by the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, and

2. That we knew positively that several territorial Churches in Germany made subscription (*Verpflichtung*) to the Augsburg Confession alone. We received, as we understood it, the most positive assurance from members of the Executive Committee present, *nemine contradicente*, that inasmuch as the General Synod had never rejected the other symbolical books there could be no objection to the participation of her representatives in the proposed meeting of the General Lutheran Conference with standing and rights equal to those enjoyed by the representatives of other Lutheran bodies. It was neither implied nor said that representatives of the General Synod who desired to participate in the proposed Conference would be expected or required to accept the entire Book of Concord, or any parts thereof, except the Augsburg Confession.

We were entirely satisfied with the answer given to our inquiry, and at once took our seat with the Executive Committee, speaking and voting without let or hindrance on questions that came before the Executive Committee up to the time that we asked and obtained permission to leave the meeting in order to take the train for Gettysburg, where we arrived at nine o'clock P. M., of the same day. The next morning we reported to some of our colleagues and wrote to friends at a distance that the answer given to our inquiry about the doctrinal "basis" of the Conference and about the relation of representatives of the General Synod therein, was satisfactory, namely, that they would not be required to make any affirmations about the later symbols.

However, we were not very sanguine of results when we learned that American Lutherans were expected to raise $10,000.00 to pay the passage of some 40 or 50 delegates across the Atlantic, and that the transactions would have to be conducted chiefly in the German languages, and that many more than half of the Lutherans in America would take no part in the proposed Conference; though we were amused rather than surprised when we read in the *Lehre und Wehre* (Missouri) for April (1905) the following: "The General Evangelical Lutheran Conference is a unionistic body, which not only contains men who deny the Lutheran doctrine of inspiration and other doctrines of the Scriptures, but permits liberal spirits, such as, for instance Klaveness, at Lund, to make themselves heard. It is for this reason that *true* Lutherans cannot identify themselves with it." We smiled and exclaimed, *Semper idem*! Nor was our equanimity in the least disturbed when we read in the (Iowa) *Kirchenblatt* of April 29th, 1905: "The joint effort of the General Council and the General Synod to bring about a meeting of the General Evangelical Lutheran Conference in 1907, at Philadelphia, finds as little approval on the part of Lutherans in Germany who are loyal to the Confessions as it does in this country."

But we were astonished not a little when we read in *The Lutheran* (published "under authority of the General Council,")

of May 10th, 1905, the following editorial: "We are surprised that neither of these influential organs [*Lehre und Wehre* and *Kirchenblatt*] of great Lutheran bodies in this country took any notice of the fact that the General Synod in coöperating with the General Council in inviting the 'General Evangelical Lutheran Conference' to meet in this country, in 1907, has practically accepted the doctrinal basis of said Conference, namely, the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

"But perhaps we are assuming too much, as we are not aware that the General Synod, as such, has taken any action in regard to the matter. However, when we saw the names of such representative men of the General Synod as the late Dr. Wolf, then president of that body, Dr. Hamma and Mr. William C. Stoever approving the circular issued, so as to secure the funds necessary to bring distinguished Lutheran divines from Germany, to take part in the proposed convention, we very naturally concluded, not only that they themselves accepted the doctrinal basis on which the General Evangelical Lutheran Conference stands, but that they were confident of the coöperation of the General Synod. At the same time we had and have our doubts, as the General Synod has repeatedly officially declined to accept any other basis than the Augsburg Confession, however much it grants its members perfect liberty to accept the other confessions that are contained in the Book of Concord.

"It may be, however, that the representative men of the General Synod, to whom we have referred, have received the assurance, from authorized persons, that the doctrinal basis of the General Synod is perfectly satisfactory."

Such "assurance" we had received at Philadelphia, January 5th, 1905, as already noted, viz., that the doctrinal basis of the General Synod "is perfectly satisfactory."

It was suggested that we ought to call attention to these paragraphs of *The Lutheran* in the papers of the General Synod, and ask for facts and explanations. We preferred to remain silent and to await developments, especially as we had become

interested in a discussion that had been going on in Germany about the admission of the Lutherans of the Prussian Union to organic connection with the *Allgemeine Ev. Luth. Konferenz.* We felt sure that a more convenient season for further inquiry into the scope and meaning and application of the doctrinal "*basis*" of the *Konferenz* would be found by and by. But meanwhile we became interested in three editorial articles that appeared in *The Lutheran Church Review* (General Council) for July, 1905. Here Dr. T. E. Schmauk, the editor, who then was and now is President of the General Council, notices the fact that "the General Council did resolve that it was highly desirable that one of the meetings [of the *Konferenz*] in the near future, possibly in 1907, be held in America," and says further: "It is true also that the General Synod in its closing hours [Convention of 1905] passed a resolution brought in by a committee not in touch with the situation, favoring such meeting." Dr. Schmauk discovers, neither in Germany nor in America, any enthusiasm for the meeting of the *Konferenz* in this country in 1907, nor in the near future. In view of the expense involved, of the question of language, and of the "confessional position," Dr. Schmauk declares for himself: "We do not believe that the Lutheran Church in America will be prepared to receive such a body, without harmful results, in 1907."

Cognizant of these facts, namely, that the question of representation had not yet been settled in Germany; that the vast majority of Lutherans in America would not participate in the proposed Conference; that the German language chiefly would be used in the essays and discussions; that there was little or no enthusiasm in the matter; and that the "confessional position" was yet in question, we went to the meeting of the General Executive Committee in Philadelphia, April 3rd, 1906, fully convinced that it was inexpedient to invite the *International Lutheran Conference* to America at the present time; but we were prepared to bring the "confessional position" to a test.

Consequently, immediately after the formalities of the open-

ing of the session of the Committee were over, we arose and stated our understanding of the explanation that had been given us, January 5th, 1905. To this no demurrer was made. Then we called attention to the editorial quoted above. Of this no explanation was offered. Then we declared that we could not and would not accept and subscribe the entire Book of Concord (making reference more particularly to the Formula of Concord) *except as it is accepted and subscribed in Germany: Nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen.* This called forth neither question nor reply. Then we offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, as the sense of this Committee that the General Synod's confessional basis as declared in its constitutional adoption of 'the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word and the faith of our Church as founded upon that Word,' without any affirmations with respect to later Lutheran confessions, fully entitles any representatives of that body to equal standing and rights with representatives of any and all other Lutheran bodies in the proposed General Lutheran Conference for which arrangements are being considered."

This resolution was immediately declared out of order.* Consequently it was not made the subject of debate and of action. But in introducing it we had said that we had shown it to our colleagues in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod, and that each one had approved it, and had declared that he would take part in the proposed Conference only on the basis of our resolution, though perfectly willing that the representatives of other Lutheran bodies should accept all the other confessions of the Lutheran Church.

The offerer of the Resolution believed them and he continues to believe that for him to have taken any other course under the circumstances would have been to betray the General Synod in so far as he might be regarded as a representative of

* When our resolution was declared out of order, we at once announced our intention, as the logical conclusion from our resolution and from the attitude of the Committee towards it, to withdraw by and by, but not that day, from the Committee. We gave reasons for postponement.

that body either in the General Executive Committee or in the proposed International Lutheran Conference. He believes also that such was, and that such is still, the sentiment of his professorial colleagues. He believed then and he believes still that the General Synod is a Lutheran body, and that she can successfully vindicate her Lutheranism on her confessional basis, and that for her to have taken part in the proposed Conference on any other basis than that presented in our resolution, would have been for her to stultify herself at the bar of history, at the bar of her own consciousness, and in the eyes of the entire theological world. Her acceptance of the Augsburg Confession marks and identifies her as *Lutheran.* Whatever prejudice may come to her from that title she must bear. Whatever blessing comes from such a designation she may claim. The acceptance of all the other Symbols will not diminish the prejudice, and it remains to be demonstrated that the blessing will be thereby enlarged.

After our Resolution had been declared out of order the the Committee proceeded to discuss the desirability and the advisability of inviting the *Konferenz* to America in 1907. It was urged on the one side (and if we remember correctly Dr. Spaeth was the only speaker on this side) that great advantage would accrue to all who should participate in a conference of representatives of all parts of the Lutheran Church; that the representatives of the State Churches of Germany would have an object lesson here in America on the condition and development of the Lutheran Church where it exists without support from the state; that questions would be discussed which would be of interest to the Lutheran Church and to Christianity in general; that the money in sufficient amount to meet the expenses had been guaranteed; that the General Council had expressed the wish to have the Conference meet in America; that others who earlier had opposed the holding of the Conference in America had changed their attitude.

On the other side (and here Dr. Schmauk was the principal speaker) it was urged that the Missourians and the Ohio Synod did not want the Conference in America, because it was a

"unionistic" body; that with few exceptions the discussions would be in the German language, and hence could not be followed by many persons present in the Conference; that there was no enthusiasm for the Conference even in Philadelphia; that the Conference would probably be occupied with questions that pertain to European relations, and hence would have very little importance for American conditions; that only a few persons would come from abroad; that in case the number of such were small, the impression made on the American public would not be favorable.

Such were the reasons given *pro* and *contra* on the question of inviting the the General Lutheran Conference to meet in America in 1907, as we find them reported in the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* (published in Leipzig, Germany), of April 27th, 1906, and correctly reported in substance as we now recall the speeches that were then made. But the report is *anonymous*, and it was not authorized by the Committee, which on that day, according to this very report, consisted of "Drs. Jacobs, Spaeth, Horn, Schmauk, Heischmann and Nicum and attorney Staake as representatives of the General Council, and Drs. Hamma, Albert, Richard and Prof. [?] Stoever as representatives of the General Synod." It is self-evident, as will soon appear, that the report was not written by any representative of the General Synod. It must then have been furnished by a representative of the General Council; and since it is put in the most elegant and classic German the readers of this article may be in so far assisted in guessing the name of the self-appointed reporter. But in the third paragraph the reporter goes on to say: "Finally on motion of Prof. [?] Stoever it was resolved to postpone the invitation indefinitely. Some members were sorry. But there was this in addition on which the postponement was especially based. Immediately after the opening of the session Prof. Richard declared in the name of his colleagues of the faculty of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod in Gettysburg, Pa., that the doctrinal basis of the General Synod should be recognized as adequate for participation in the General Council. The

Committee did not take this view. The official doctrinal basis of the General Synod (founded in 1820) is only the Augsburg Confession, and indeed not expressly the Invariata, 'as a substantially correct exhibition' of doctrine, with rejection of the other symbols of the Lutheran Church. The purpose, as it seems, was to make use of the admission to the General Conference for securing recognition of this doctrinal basis in the Lutheran Church. The Committee emphatically declined to have anything to do with the matter. There is a *Richtung* in the General Synod which declares that the other symbols of the Lutheran Church are sectarian. Formerly this party had the upper hand. For some years the conservative party is in the majority. While the Committee did not at all take to the demand of Prof. Richard, nevertheless this proof of internal discord, thus suddenly brought to light, deprived some of the pleasure of recommending the invitation, as they had originally intended. It is hoped that the time is not far distant when we shall greet the members of the Conference on American soil."

Now as regards the allusions to ourself in this paragraph we cheerfully write: *Transeant*, except that it is due to the facts in the case to say that our resolution was offered in *our own name*, with only such reference to our colleagues as we have written above. It is because of the reflections, innuendoes and misrepresentations contained in the paragraph where it touches the General Synod that we write this Article.

1. It is true that the "official doctrinal basis" of the General Synod is the Augsburg Confession. It is also true that the doctrinal basis of the General Synod does not include the word Invariata. And why should it include that definitive word, since such a document as the Augsburg Confession Invariata is not known to exist anywhere in the world? If this anonymous reporter does not know this fact he is not worthy to sit in Moses' seat. If he means to call Melanchthon's *Editio Princeps* of the Augsburg Confession by that endearing name, Invariata, he ought to know that long before the General Synod was founded, it had been shown that Melanchthon's first edition of the Augsburg Confession is not identical with the Confession

that was delivered to the Emperor, June 25th, 1530; and he ought to know, further, that recent investigations and comparisons have demonstrated that in not a few places the *Editio Princeps* differs so materially from the form of the Confession delivered to the Emperor that it has been and can rightly be called a private work of Melanchthon. Does our anonymous reporter mean that there is some Augsburg Confession not so authortative, not so orthodox, not so soundly Lutheran, as the "Invariata," and that the General Synod has adopted this questionable Augsburg Confession—perhaps the *Variata* of 1540, perhaps the *Variata* of 1541–2? If he does not mean this, then there is no meaning in his allegation.

Now this anonymous reporter knows or at least ought to know that the General Synod by official action has placed "*The Augsburg Confession Delivered to the Emperor Charles V., at the Diet of Augsburg, A. D., 1530*" in her Book of Worship, and that she has introduced it with the following note: "This Translation is made from the Latin *Editio Princeps*, of 1530–31, the authority of which, equally with that of the German *Editio Princeps*, surpasses all other known editions. It has been carefully prepared by a joint Committee of The General Synod, The General Council, the United Synod of the South, and the Joint Synod of Ohio, as a common Standard of the Augsburg Confession in English. The words in brackets are inserted from the German *Editio Princeps*."

The General Council has placed the same identical translation in her Church Book, and has introduced it with the same identical note.

Therefore the General Synod and the General Council have the same identical Augsburg Confession in English. The word Invariata does not occur in either book, nor does it occur in the *Editio Princeps*, either in the Latin or in the German, both of which are before us as we write. And we venture to say that there was not a member of the Joint Committee, who did not know, when the translation was made, that Melanchthon's *Editio Princeps* is not the *Confessio Augustana Invariata*, that it is not the Ausburg Confession in the form in which it

was delivered to the Emperor, Charles V., and that the Augsburg Confession is not known to exist anywhere in the world in that form. *

Moreover, in adopting as "standard" a translation avowedly made from the Latin *Editio Princeps* the General Synod adopted that *Editio*, and it is that *Editio* that exists in the Book of Concord. Where then is the ground for the invidious distinction made by our anonymous reporter? It does not exist. There is no Lutheran body in the world which has as its doctrinal basis, or even as a part of it, the Augsburg Confession Invariata, or that has any other Augsburg Confession than that which has been officially adopted by the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America.

The fathers of the General Synod showed their usual wisdom and their practical tact when they passed by in silence a word

* The Augsburg Confession was a growth. It had its beginning with the Torgau Articles. At Coburg Melanchthon wrote the "Preface" (exordium). At Augsburg he added the Articles of Faith. He changed it daily to suit the circumstances. He rewrote Articles and he added Articles. June 23rd, the Confession was approved by the princes, and, as historians say, signed. June 24th, the princes requested that it be left in their hands over night for the purpose of "being revised and corrected because they had been hastened." Melanchthon's Latin manuscript, as many think, was signed by the princes and delivered to the Emperor. Melanchthon changed and filed to the last moment. On all these points historians are at one. Hence strictly speaking there is no such thing as an "unchanged" (invariata) Augsburg Confession. Technically speaking only that can be called the *officially authorized* Augsburg Confession which was delivered into the hands of the Emperor. That and that alone in law and in diplomacy could be regarded as the Augsburg Confession, though the word *Invariata* is not applicable, because of the manner in which it was changed up to the last moment. Nothing in history is more certain than that we do not have the Confession, either in Latin or in German, as it was delivered. Both copies are lost, and we have no certified copy of either. Melanchthon's *Editio Princeps* is already a *Variata*. Why then will men continue to shout *Invariata?* Tschackert's *Der Kritische Text der Augsburgischen Konfession deutsch und lateinsch, gegenübergestelt dem Textus receptus*, does, no doubt, reproduce the text of the Augsburg Confession, as the same was given into the hands of the Emperor, with a high degree of accuracy; but this *Critical Text* has not been accepted and adopted by any ecclesiastical body, and it is not likely that it ever will be officially accepted as "the fundamental Lutheran Confession."

which is the child of ignorance and strife, and which stands for a nonentity. At least we here throw down the broad challenge to this anonymous reporter to *show* us the *Confessio Augustana Invariata*, and to show wherein the Augsburg Confession contained in the General Synod's Book of Worship differs in a single point from that in the General Council's Church Book.

2. Our anonymous reporter adds, in quotation marks, the further qualification: "As a substantially correct exhibition." This is simply astounding. No such qualifying clause can be found in the Constitution of the General Synod, nor in that of any district Synod connected with the General Synod, and nothing of equivalent meaning can by process of torture be wrung from the General Synod's Constitution, nor from that of any of its district Synods. Hence our anonymous reporter, whoever he may be, (*ex pede* Herculem), owes it to himself, to the General Synod with which the General Council holds fraternal intercourse, and owes it preëminently to the readers of the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, to correct this misrepresentation in and through the very medium by which it was published to the world. To suffer it to pass down into history uncorrected is to endanger peace of conscience, to create indignation in the General Synod, to perpetuate and confirm the false conceptions which the Lutherans of Germany have long entertained in regard to the General Synod, and that principally because American German Lutheran Church papers, and the American correspondents of German papers (like our reporter), have systematically and persistently misrepresented the General Synod.

Happily there is at least one man in the General Council who has the courage and the candor to rebuke false allegations against the General Synod. In *The Lutheran Church Review* for July, 1905, p. 609, the Rev. T. E. Schmauk, D.D., says: "As regards 'unionistic Lutherans' on this side of the Atlantic we particularly disclaim this title as applicable to members of the General Synod, who are interested in this matter [the International Lutheran Conference]. The European idea fostered by German papers in this country, that General Synod Luth-

erans are really Methodists, and are Lutherans only in name, is a mistake; and we go out of our way to say that the General Synod Lutherans who are on the Committee are sound in doctrine and in worship."

Now much as we appreciate this testimony from the pen of Dr. Schmauk we must say, nevertheless, that the General Synod does not need outside testimony for the vindication of her Lutheranism. She knows that she is Lutheran "in doctrine and in worship." All "the chief articles of faith" set forth in the Lutheran Confession are held, vindicated and preached by her with a clear consciousness and with a firm conviction. On the doctrine of justification by faith alone, this central doctrine of Christianity, she lays distinct emphasis as the doctrine of a standing or a falling Church. In worship she magnifies the preaching and teaching of the Divine Word as the chief thing, as do all good Lutherans, and she regularly administers the Lord's Supper to her members as a true means of grace and of spiritual growth and comfort to all who believe the promise. Thus she meets the Lutheran conception of "the one holy Christian Church," which must be and abide forever; and at the same time she declares that the unity of of the Church does not depend on "uniform ceremonies instituted by men." Thus when weighed in the balance of history and of the Augsburg Confession, the General Synod is found nothing lacking.

Nor can the charge of radicalism be laid at the door of the General Synod. Some five or six years ago the writer hereof in a friendly discussion with his late colleague, Dr. E. J. Wolf over some differences of view in the General Synod, challenged him to name twenty-five radicals in the General Synod. He instantly shouted at the top of his voice: "There are not five." Many readers of this article will recall that on the floor of the General Synod in Baltimore, in 1903, we rehearsed this incident, Dr. Wolf sitting in the chair at the time, and repeated the challenge. Silence was the result. Dr. Wolf offered no corrections, and no member of the General Synod arose to call any brother a radical.

Nevertheless, the General Synod is not composed of those

who see no good in "Methodists" and in other so-called evangelical Christians; nor does she believe that the Lutheran Church has an exclusive divinely-bestowed patent on the title *Evangelical.* She believes that there are others who preach *Evangelium Christi.* With such she is ready to federate against the powers of darkness and the gates of hell that are lifting high the banner of the Prince of this world against the one Holy Catholic Church, which embraces all who believe on Jesus Christ the Saviour of all men; and in doing so the General Synod does not seek to be like other bodies of Christians, nor to follow them, except as they are like Christ and follow Him.

Hence with her clear Lutheran consciousness and with her firm adherence to Lutheran doctrine the General Synod may, without presumption, account herself quite as worthy to sit down with the International Lutheran Conference as many who now sit there; certainly as worthy as those members of the *Konferenz* who advocate the admission of the Lutherans in the Prussian Union, who wish to remain and who, to say the least, present a questionable type of Lutheranism. The General Synod may even turn the table, and may raise the question whether she will sit in the International Lutheran Conference with General Superintendent Dr. Kaftan of Kiel, who, according to the representation of Dr. Schmauk, has delivered himself as follows: "He says that the International Conference embraces many divergencies, various tongues, different nations, different villages, different governments, state Churches, free Churches, those holding the Lutheran faith under Lutheran worships and those in the Union half-absorbed and half-confederate, but these divergencies cannot separate us, because we are one in doctrine. We are to learn from one another and to consider in common the great interests of the Lutheran faith and to stand for them in common amid the varied life of humanity." *

* *The Lutheran Church Review*, July, 1905, p. 599. At the Rostock *Konferenz* Dr. Kaftan described him as "confessional from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet." According to the Elsass *Theologischen Blaetter* "at a meeting held in Leipzig, November 24th, 1904, Dr. Kaftan assisted in organizing a free German Evangelical Conference in which all kinds of spirits are to take part, the Ritschlians, the Unionists and

3. The rejection of the other symbols. Or as *The Lutheran* has it: "The General Synod has repeatedly officially declined to accept any other basis than the Augsburg Confession." Now we ask when and where did the General Synod put herself on record as *rejecting* "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church" or as *repeatedly officially declining*, etc? There is not one iota of evidence to this effect in the Constitution of the General Synod. In her Constitution she says not one word about "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church," and we have in vain searched her minutes of the last forty years to find anything like *repeatedly officially declining*, etc. The attitude of the General Synod towards "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church," is simply that of silence, except that she has again and again published the Small Catechism, and has officially recommended its use to her members; and she has placed it in the official oath of the Directors and Professors of her Theological Seminary. The General Synod must be judged by her Constitution, and by her official transactions. She does not even warn her pastors and professors against the use of "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church;" nor has she ever prosecuted any one for including "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church" in his personal faith.

Between such an attitude and the aggressive action expressed by the word "rejection" there is a world-wide difference. Hence our anonymous reporter has borne false witness against the General Synod. If he has done this in ignorance we will

---

the representatives of the liberal, evangelical alliance, like Dr. Meyer of Zwichau. Still further. Not long thereafter Dr. Kaftan expressed himself in *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* in favor of extending the 'Evangelical Alliance' to a 'Protestant Alliance' whose object is to unite into a compact and conscious opposition to Ultramontanism all 'who are sincerely Protestant,' be they in other respect whatever they have a mind to be. They may be believing Christians or may be indifferent to religion, they may be politically whatever they will, monarchists or republicans—in so far as they are Prostestant they have certain common interests against Ultramontanism, and these can only then have prospect of being fully realized, when those who represent them act in common." "This all-the-world Alliance," says *Lehre und Wehre* for May, 1905, p. 237, "is to be still more comprehensive than the 'Evangelical Alliance,' and is to embrace all 'who are sincerely Protestant,' even though they do not believe, and are indifferent to religion."

forgive him, provided he shall confess his ignorance and correct his false witness in the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*; if he now prefers silence, we deliver him over to the "gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire" of his own conscience.

The General Synod does indeed name no Lutheran Symbol in her "official doctrinal basis" except the Augsburg Confession. When she was organized in 1820, because of the dominant and dominating influence of the Synod of Pennsylvania, it was not possible to name even the Augsburg Confession as the "official doctrinal basis." But in three years after the withdrawal of the Synod of Pennsylvania from the General Synod, the latter made full official recognition of the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther in the establishment of her Theological Seminary, and placed those three symbols in the oath which she prescribed for her professors, and soon she required every candidate for the ministry to bind himself to the Augsburg Confession, and that too when some so-called Lutheran bodies in this country that our anonymous reporter may wot of were ignoring in ordination, not only "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church" but also the Augsburg Confession.

Such are the facts of history, and if we may be permitted to interpret the mind of the General Synod from her history and from what we know of her apprehension and feeling at the present time, in the matter of "official doctrinal basis," it is that "the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine word" is a comprehensive, safe, and adequate expression of Lutheranism. No man can accept that basis in sincerity and with a reasonable degree of intelligence, and be other, ecclesiastically, than a Lutheran Christian in distinction from Methodists, Calvinists and Roman Catholics. Moreover, for the last sixty years the General Synod has had an object lesson before her. She has observed that all of the doctrinal controversies that have distracted and divided the Lutherans of America, have sprung out of "the other symbols," notably out of the Formula of Concord. She has observed that some of the Lutheran bodies that have

adopted "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church" in the most rigid sense, have not been able to protect themselves from schism and from secession after secession; and she knows that the rent made in her own body forty years ago was born of the spirit that is contained in "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church," notably in the Formula of Concord. The General Synod has observed the working of "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church" in this country, and she has not officially shown any inclination to follow the example of her Lutheran neighbors in the matter of "official doctrinal basis *Die Kirchengeschichte ist das Kirchengericht.*

Moreover, the General Synod knows that there have been and that there now are entire national bodies of Lutherans which have had and now have no "official doctrinal basis" except the Augsburg Confession—"und zwar nicht ausdrücklich die Invariata" in many instances. She knows further that if the right to the Lutheran name and to all that it means be confined to those Lutheran bodies whose "official doctrinal basis" is the Augsburg Confession Invariata and "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church," Drs. Spaeth and Hamma, Messrs. Staake and Schieren could never again write: "The Mother Church of the Reformation, having a membership of more than sixty millions all over the world." And still further: The General Synod knows that in some territorial Lutheran Churches—notably in Saxony where more than ninety per cent. of the population is Lutheran—where all the Lutheran symbols are embraced in the subscription (*Verpflichtung*) the obligation is only *nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen*, that is, in so far as the knowledge and the conscience of the subscriber will permit, which in effect is to reduce the Confessions almost to the level of a treatise on dogmatic theology. Yet all such Lutheran Churches through their representatives have an unobstructed right of way into the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Konferenz.* The discrimination is inexplicable; but the General Synod is not likely to change her "official doctrinal basis" by officially accepting "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church" for the sake of participating in the International Lutheran Conference. And should she be forever excluded

from that very honorable and very useful body, her interests will not suffer from such exclusion. As matters now stand it is morally certain that tne International Lutheran Conference will not soon hold a convention in America; and when we consider the very false and perverted notions held by almost all Germnn pastors and professors in regard to ecclesiastical affairs in America, it may be worth while to ask ourselves whether German pastors and professors are not about as well qualified to sit in counsel with American Lutherans and discuss and vote on the affairs of our Churches as the German Emperor is to sit in our presidental chair at Washington, D. C., and send messages and suggestions to the American Congress.

4. That the purpose of our Resolution was "to secure the recognition of the doctrinal basis in the Lutheran Church." Surely this is an exhibition of that charity that suffereth long and is kind, that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Had any member of the General Executive Committee representing the General Synod reported that Dr. Spaeth's purpose in desiring to have the International Lutheran Conference meet in America was the exploitation of the General Council and the Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, we would have suggested the reading of Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, thirteenth chapter.

Now inasmuch as the Resolution originated with us, we are in a position to declare that its only purpose is that clearly stated in the Resolution itself, and so we said when we offered it, adding that we were "perfectly willing that other participants in the proposed Conference should accept the entire Book of Concord, and even a dozen more confessions if they chose to do so."

We trust that our testimony given under our name will go down into history with at least as much weight as the gratuitous surmise of a reporter who hides himself behind *anonymousness.* And as for trying to gain recognition of the General Synod's doctrinal basis, we could scarcely be capable of such a work of supererogation, inasmuch as the General Synod's doctrinal basis has recognition, not only in America where the General Council sends a fraternal delegate to recognize it once

in two years, and where the United Synod of the South does likewise; but also in Europe, where numerous territorial Lutheran Churches have a doctrinal basis identical with that of the General Synod, as will be seen from Dr. Evjen's Article in another part of this No. of THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

And certainly the General Synod's doctrinal basis *had recognition* from all those gentlemen on the General Executive Committee, who were so solicitous to have her participate in The International Lutheran Conference, for surely these gentlemen did not wish to deceive the General Synod nor to have her deceive herself; and much less could it be thought that they wished to decoy the General Synod into the said Conference for the *purpose* of having her *narrow* her doctrinal basis by including in it "the other symbols of the Lutheran Church," and of having her confess that she is not *already* the peer of each and every other Lutheran body and is not *already* joint heir to a common family inheritance. Certainly there was no such *purpose*.

Well, there are other objectionable features in the paragraph that has passed under review. But we have no time nor space to notice them. We have yet to say that we are heartily sorry that any member of the General Executive Committee that met in Philadelphia, April 3rd, 1906, for the purpose of deciding the question of inviting the International Lutheran Conference to Am rica, should have taken it upon himself to send an *anonymous* report of the Committee's transactions to a German Lutheran paper published four thousand miles away, and should have felt himself at liberty to make invidious and insidious statements about *The General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America.*

ARTICLE VI.

MAN'S PLACE IN THE UNIVERSE: A REVIEW.

By Rev. Arthtr H. Smith A.M.

Among the many absorbing problems which have been brought to the attention of the thinking public by the developments and discoveries of the scientific world, one that never fails to awaken a deep and wide-spread interest is the problem of the cosmical relation of man—the question as to man's place in the universe. With this question arise the subsidiary problems of the place of our planet and solar systems in the stellar universe and whether or no there are habitable worlds beside our own. The tendency of the *Old Astronomy* during the 19th century was in the direction of an infinite universe and in support of the hypothesis of a plurality of worlds: that our earth is only one, and perhaps an insignificant one, among many other habitable and inhabited planets. But during the last 15 or 20 years, the weight of the sciences of biology, physics, and especially the so-called *New Astronomy* has been positively and strongly in the opposite direction: namely, the view that our planet holds a comparatively central place in the universe, and is the only world in which the higher forms of organic and, finally, intelligent life can exist. This recent tendency has been given voice, and the latest conclusions of the sciences mentioned, especially of the *New Astronomy*, have been gathered together, in the volume which we wish to consider, namely, *Man's Place in The Universe*, by Albert Russell Wallace, published a couple years ago. We do not claim to approach this work as an expert in Physics or Astronomy, but from the standpoint of the average thinking man, who desires and actually does take an intelligent interest in the note-worthy problems of the scientific world. We are not without considerable interest in the subjects at issue in this book, an interest first awakened by the reading some years ago of *Other Worlds Than Ours* by the late Richard A. Proctor, so justly distinguished in the world of astronomical research, and deep-

ened by further reading from time to time, along the same line. It has been therefore, with peculiar interest that we have read *Man's Place in The Universe*, in which Mr. Wallace has elaborated his views already given in the "Independent."

Before we take up his book, a word concerning the author is necessary. Alfred Russel Wallace may bc classed as one of the greatest scientists of the 19th century, and to-day is the only survivor of that small but distinguished band of English scientists, including Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, and Herbert Spencer, who "introduced and defended the theory of natural selection" and the philosophy known as evolution. Dr. Wallace's special field has been biology, but the wide range of his genius is evidenced by his accomplishments in other fields of research, notably Physics and Astronomy, in which his studies and speculations have attracted much attention. In the *Bookman* for February, 1906, the reviewer of Mr. Wallace's latest work, his autobiography, characterizes him as "a living paradox; a discoverer with Darwin of natural selection, yet 'more desirous of discovering new truths than of gaining credit for himself'; an agnostic as regards religion, yet a believer in spiritualism; a scientific reasoner, yet an opponent of vaccination; a man of strong feelings and prejudices, yet, like one of his disembodied spirits, able to get outside of himself and write an autobiography as interesting as it is disinterested."

Man's Place in the Universe is the fruit of the author's more recent work. It is written in popular rather than in technical style, and is wonderfully interesting in its masterly marshalling of the facts and speculations concerning this mysterious universe. We have felt its fascination although we cannot accept all the author's ideas and conclusions,

Taking up the question of the supposed plurality of worlds, Mr. Wallace states the question as the problem—" whether or no the logical inferences to be drawn from the various results of modern science, lend support to the view that our earth is the only inhabited plant, not only in the solar system, but in the whole stellar universe. He admits that absolute demonstration, one way or the other, is impossible, but claims that it

is "clearly rational to inquire into the probabilities," which he undertakes to do.

The first half dozen chapters are preparatory to the main argument, tracing the progress of astronomy down to the present. By the early astronomers but little was known of the real nature, distance, dimensions, and constitution of the heavenly bodies, so that it is not surprising, that, reasoning from apparent conditions, they held that the earth was the center of the visible universe, all other bodies, sun, moon, planets, and stars, revolving around it and existing for the service and enjoyment of man. This was both the classical and the Christian view, and until Copernicus, no one dared to suggest that there were other wolds with other inhabitants. The discoveries of Copernicus marked a "cataclysm" in "the evolution of astronomical knowledge,"—to use the thought of Prof. Newcomb. His discovery that our globe is not fixed as the center of the universe, but is simply a subordinate member of a heliocentric system, was a great and revolutionary conception, and entitles him to the admiration of mankind.

The second great cataclysmic step was a century and a half later in Newton's discovery that the complicated motion of the heavenly bodies were "only special cases of the same kind of motion," explainable by the law of gravitation. The discoveries by these men and other brilliant astronomers in the same line, Kepler, LaPlace, the two Herschels, and Arago, aided by the growing power of the telescope and improved astronomical instruments, gave the 19th century such wider views of the vastness and complexity of the stellar universe, as led men to see that our earth is but a speck and our solar system utterly insignificant among the countless myriads of stars, clusters, and nebulae. It is not surprising that the idea quickly arose that the other planets might be inhabited and that the idea grew into belief. Says Mr. Wallace, (P. 10), "in the millions of planetary systems supposed to exist, it is held to be incredible that there are not great numbers as well fitted to be inhabited by animals of all grades, including some as high as man or even higher, and that we must, therefore, believe that they are so inhabited." This view was maintained by such great minds

as Kepler, Newton, (who even argued the sun was probably inhabited), Fontenelle, Whewell, Sir William Herschel, Sir John Herschel, Chalmers, Dick, Arago, and powerfully supported by Mr. Richard A. Proctor, one of the most accomplished astronomers of his day.

The wide acceptance of this view that there are many and possibly greater inhabited worlds besides our earth became a source of great satisfaction to the modern sceptic and the occasion for holding up religious creeds and doctrines to scorn and contempt. They claimed that it was absurd and irrational to suppose that the Creator of this vastness of solar systems should have any concern for this particular little planet, or for such an insignificant creature as man probably is, and that it is a crowning absurdity to hold that God sent his Son to this little world to save sinners. This, they said, no rational being could believe, in the light of astronomical discovery. And it has not been easy to reply to their attacks.

But now the *New Astronomy* is meeting these sneers of the skeptics in a most surprising way, and giving unintentional support to the claim of religion that man holds a special and perhaps unique place, and, as a living soul, is the particular object of God's love and grace. But in so doing, Astronomy has been purely scientific and not theological in its purpose.

The New Astronomy is that branch of the science to which the spectroscope has given birth. The discovery of the method of spectrum-analysis, in its application to the stars, in 1860, has revolutionized the science, imparted new and vigorous life, and opened the way into hitherto closed fields of cosmic facts. The colors of the spectrum and the black lines, sometimes single, sometimes grouped, have been disclosing the secrets of the stars. The first great discovery by spectrum-analysis after the sun's spectrum had been interpreted, was the real nature of the fixed stars. Astronomers had long been of the opinion that the stars were suns, but they had no proof; but the spectroscope at once gave the desired proof. Now there "remains no doubt whatever of the fundamental fact that all the stars are true suns, differing no doubt in size, and their stage of development as indicated by the color or

intensity of their light or heat, but all alike possessing a photosphere or light-emitting surface, and absorptive atmospheres of various qualities and density." (P. 35). Other results of spectrum-analysis have been the discovery of double stars and the demonstration that the true nebulae exist, being not star clusters, but masses of luminous gases in the earlier stages of stellar evolution. The *New Astronomy* has also laid hold upon another powerful agent—photography, and photographic astronomy has already reached out into space far beyond the range of the telescope, with marvellous results.

We may barely mention some of these results. One is the progress made in the measurement of the distances of the stars. By reason of the exceeding smallness of the parallaxes even of the nearest stars, this has been exceedingly difficult, but now the parallaxes of from 70 to 80 stars have been secured and good ground for the calculation of stellar distances. These distances are enormous. Alpha Centauri is the nearest, at a distance 275,000 times that between the earth and the sun, equal to 4¼ light years or 25 millions of millions of miles. Consider then if you can what must be the distances of the farthest stellar bodies. As to the distribution of the stars, the greatest star-destiny is in the great circle of the Milky Way, while it is concluded that the universe is really flattened between the galactic poles. Another noteworthy development is the tendency to displace LaPlace's Nebular Hypothesis of the origin of the solar system and of all solar systems by the meteoritic hypothesis. The former theory was, briefly, that the solar system was formed by the cooling and contracting of a vast globular or spheroidal mass of intensely heated gases, extending beyond the orbit of the outermost planet. The latter theory is that the planetary spaces are filled with meteoric dust, and that the solar system has been formed out of nebulae or clouds of this cosmic dust and meteorites, solid matter, possibly in conjunction with accumulations of gases. This theory is gaining ground and is important. Furthermore, during the last few decades astronomers have been tending more and more to the conviction of the unity of the whole visible universe; that this universe constitutes one complete and closely related

system, notwithstanding its enormous and almost infinite extent. In these conclusions Mr. Wallace finds a basis for the theory of evolution. He writes: "We have here a complete scheme of evolution, carrying us from those ill-defined but enormously diffused masses of gas and cosmic dust we know as nebulae, through planetary nebulae, nebulous stars, variable and double stars, to red and white stars and on to those exhibiting the most intense blue-white lustre." (P. 131).

Having stated these primary considerations, the author, in the remaining chapters, proceeds to state the further facts upon which he bases his conclusion as to man's central place in the universe. First and fundamental is the question whether the stars are infinite in number. Until recent decades the answer of astronomers has been in the affirmative with the conclusion that the stellar universe is infinite in extent. Now there are several facts which have led to a reversal of this decision.

As the telescope was gradually perfected, the increase of its power steadily increased the number of visible stars until the largest modern telescopes were nearly reached, and then the tide turned. Increased telescopic power now reveals new stars in less and less proportion, indicating that we are approaching the limits of the starry system. The photographic plate, that powerful engine of research, is adding but few new stars to those shown by the telescope. The minuter stars preponderate enormously in the Milky Way, but diminish rapidly beyond it, while near its poles they are nearly absent. This is shown by the fact that Professor Celoria of Milan, with a telescope of less than three inches aperture counted as many stars in that region as did Herschel with his 18-inch reflector. (P. 153). Another argument is that all over the heavens even in the Milky Way itself there are found areas or rifts, where stars are absent or very faint and few in number. The Herschels, Humboldt, Proctor and others maintain that in these patches and rifts we see completely through the starry universe into the starless depths of space beyond; hence, finiteness. Again the number of stars increases rapidly down to the ninth magnitude to about 200,000. If this rate continued down to the

seventeenth magnitude, the faintest visible stars, there would be about 1400 millions. Instead, the telescope and the photographic plate show that the number decreases with extraordinary rapidity from the 9th to the 17th magnitude, and that there cannot be over 100 millions of stars. Yet another argument is that derived from the laws of light, which we cannot take time to state, but whose conclusion is, that if the stars were infinite we would receive from them a sum of light equal to that of the sun. It is quite generally agreed now that the starry universe, while enormous in extent, is yet finite and limited.

Approaching the Milky Way, we come to the very heart of the whole inquiry. The Galaxy is the most interesting and important feature of the entire heavens, being the theater of the operation of vast forces which we cannot altogether fathom. It posseses the greatest star-density, having myriads of stars, including large numbers of gaseous stars of enormous bulk, heat, and brilliancy. The Milky Way is rather irregular in outline, but yet forms a great circle through the heavens. Mr. Wallace says, (P. 160), "the belief seems to be now spreading that the whole universe of stars is spherical or spheroidal, the Milky Way being its equator, and therefore in all probability circular or nearly so in plan; and it is also held that it must be rotating—perhaps very slowly—as nothing else can be supposed to have led to the formation of such a vast ring, or can preserve it when formed." But the essential fact to the present discussion is that the majority of astronomers today agree that our sun is situated almost exactly in the medial plane of the Milky Way, and not very far from the exact center of the galactic circle. They think also that our solar system belongs to a great star cluster in this center, consisting of about 500 of the brightest visible stars. This relative position moreover, is permanent, notwithstanding the motion of the sun. These facts are of profound significance. If correctly reached, they mean that our sun and our earth, are almost in the center of the material universe.

Another assurance arrived at by the *New Astronomy* with the aid of spectrum-analysis, is the almost complete uniformity of matter, and of material, physical and chemical laws, through-

out the universe. The author declares, (P. 186), "we have positive knowledge of the existence in the sun, stars, and planetary and stellar spaces, of such a large proportion of the elements of the globe, and so few indications of any not forming part of it, that we are justified in the statement that the whole stellar universe, broadly speaking, constructed of the same series of elementary substances as those we can study upon our earth, and of which the whole realm of nature, animal, vegetable, and mineral, is composed." It seems to follow conclusively, that, "within the universe we know, there is not the slightest reason to suppose organic life to be possible, except under the same general conditions and laws which prevail here."

The next inquiry must be as to the conditions under which organic life can exist. Mr. Wallace devotes one chapter, the 10th, to "the characters of the living organism," from the original protoplasm to the wonderful complexity of the chemical compounds which constitute the physical basis for the manifestation of life. We are concerned particularly with the physical conditions essential for organic life which he gives in the following chapter. He enumerates them as follows: (1) Regularity of heat supply, resulting in limited range of temperature, for life could not exist with violent extremes, (2) A sufficient amount of solar light and heat. It is interesting to know that solar light, of just the intensity of ours, is necessary as the agency by which alone the plant can take the carbon out of the carbonic acid in the atmosphere. (3) Water in great abundance and universally distributed. (4) An atmosphere of sufficient density, and consisting of the gases which are essential for vegetable and animal life. These are Oxygen, carbonic acid gas, aqueous vapor, nitrogen, and ammonia. These must all be present in suitable proportions. (5) Alternations of day and night, (p. 205).

In addition to these essential conditions of life, other necessary conditions provided by the earth may be mentioned: the distance of the planet from the sun; the mass of the planet: the obliquity of its ecliptic; the amount of water as compared with land; the surface distribution of land and water; the per-

manence of this distribution; atmospheric electricity; and an adequate amount of atmospheric dust in the air, (p. 311). This last, the atmospheric dust, is a peeuliar feature of the earth, and one which few realize is absolutely essential to the development and maintainance of life. It arises from those terrestrial features which we have been accustomed to consider as blots and blemishes upon the face of nature, deserts and volcanoes. Their dust is necessary to the formation of clouds and rain and the proper diffraction of solar light. The author calls attention to the fact that while many have used volcanoes and earth-quakes and deserts to question the wisdom and mercy of the Creator, they are evidences of these attributes of a beneficent God.

With these complex and numerous conditions of organic life before us, we come to the question whether the other planets in our solar system meet them and are capable of bearing life. All the planets, except Mars and Venus, were ruled out of the question long ago, but it has been thought that the two mentioned might be life-producing and life-maintaining. Mr. Proctor looked to this view in his interesting "Other Worlds Than Ours." But since Mr. Proctor wrote upon the question of the habitability of the planets, it has been discovered that the small size and mass of Mars are such that it cannot retain aqeous vapor, and that Venus rotates on its axis in the same time as it takes to revolve around the sun, thus presenting one side only to the sun, and being deprived of the alternation of day and night. (P. 311). Mars and Venus, therefore, it is held, must be given up.

The further problem of the stars as to whether they may possess life-supporting planets is more difficult and complex. But here again, the process of elimination is rapid. Vast numbers of systems must be ruled out because they are close binary systems, and other large numbers because they are in process of aggregation. In those which are left to be considered, is it not possible that there may be some if not many planets capable of being inhabited? In a careful argument which we cannot take time to reproduce, Mr. Wallace comes to the conclusion that it is almost beyond the bounds of prob-

ability that the same complex conditions, intricate relations, minute and delicate adjustments in harmonious combination as on the earth, could ever be found in other planetary systems. In other words, our earth is the only habitable and inhabited planet in the universe.

We give Mr. Wallace's summary in his own words: (P. 313). The conclusions reached by modern astronomers are:

1. That the stellar universe forms one connected whole; and though of enormous extent, is yet finite, and its extent determinable.

2. That the solar system is situated in the plane of the Milky Way, and not far removed from the center of that plane. The earth is therefore nearly in the center of the stellar universe.

3. That this universe consists throughout of the same kinds of matter, and is subjected to the same chemical and physical laws.

The conclusions which I claim to have shown to have enormous probabilities in their favor are:

4. That no other planet in the solar system than our earth is inhabited or habitable.

5. That the probabilities are almost as great against any other sun possessing inhabited planets.

6. That the nearly central position of our sun is probably a permanent one, and has been specially favorable, perhaps absolutely essential, to life development on the earth.

The author's final conclusion, startling from the theological standpoint, is that man stands alone in the center alone in the center of this vast universe, a position of superhuman-given dignity and ordained by creative miad and will. This is an awe-inspiring conception whether given by science or theology, and if this scientific ground can stand, it will serve in a very gratifying manner to support our religious conception of man's spiritual relations.

And now what is our judgment of this volume? We confess at once that we are not able to give any authoritative judgment, for we are not a trained biologist or physicist or astronomer, though much interested in these sciences. We have been

deeply impressed by the argument and cannot see any serious flaws in it, though the man of science may do so. Our religious sympathies also are with it, and yet some questions have arisen in our mind. Mr. Wallace of course builds his argument upon the evolutionary hypothesis. This universe is the product of a slow evolution through aeons of time, from the original nebulae, the "birth-clouds of the world" and suns, vast bodies of luminous gases and meteoritic dust, the meteoric atoms, containing the elements out of which worlds have been formed, by processes of cooling, disintegration, and cohesion. If this be true, why is it not extremely probable, if not reasonably certain, that just as the earth at last reached a position to sustain organic life, so other worlds either have reached or will yet reach similar stages, with similar physical and planetary adjustments fit for the development and maintenance of life? Again, it is not rational to suppose and believe that there may be other forms of life of which we cannot now conceive, but which may fit into other and different sets of life-developing conditions? For God is infinite and unlimited in his power.

Attractive though the author's argument is, it may be well for us to be cautious about accepting it fully, too hastily, for it is not likely that he has said the last word. No astronomer has yet said the last word. No scientist is infallible. Each one spends much of his time and energy in correcting the mistakes of his predecessors. August Comte, the author of the Philosophy of Positivism, deprecated all further attention to the stars as a waste of time, and in his Treatise on Astronomy, (1844), says that "as the stars are only accessible to us by sight, they must always remain very imperfectly known." He says further: "It is then in vain that for half a century it has been endeavored to distinguish two astronomies, the one solar the other sidereal. In the eyes of those for whom science consists of real laws and not of incoherent facts, the second exists only in name, and the first alone constitutes a true astronomy; and I am not afraid to assert that it will always be so." Only three years after his death, the discovery of spectrum analysis gave him a crushing reply. So also for decades the nebular hypothesis was generally accepted, but now the meteoritic the-

ory, a modification, is taking its place. It is reasonably certain that we have not yet reached the limit of discovery and that the last word has not been said.

We have remarked that Mr. Wallace's discussion is partially based upon the theory of evolution, and he accepts it as if assured. This seems to us to be a weakness in his argument, for the tendency now seems to be strongly against the evolutionary hypothesis. The author however has greatly modified his views, as held in his earlier life, and now affirms that "there are at least three stages in the development of the organic world where some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action." These three stages are: "the change from inorganic to organic when the earliest vegetable cell, or the living protoplasm out of which it arose, first appeared;" "the introduction of sensation and consciousness," the transition from the vegetable to the animal kingdom; and the transition to man, with his characteristic and noble faculties which raise him above the brutes, and "open up possibilities of almost infinite advancement." These changes which took place at these transition stages, he said, were "due probably to causes of a higher order than those of the material universe." These "causes of a higher order" must be supernatural, fresh creative acts of God, and Mr. Wallace in his book and published articles seems to be not far from admitting this conclusion: He says, (N. Y. Ind. 2-61, 1903), "I am taking the view of those who believe in some intelligent cause at the back of the universe."

Certain it is, that the evolution doctrine of natural selection has failed to settle positively the problem of origins. Mr. Wallace himself acknowledges that "the farther back we go (toward the origin of things), the more uncertain must be our conclusions, while we can never make any real approach to the absolute beginning of things." Germany is the fountain head of the world's thought, and here the trend is firmly against the theory of evolution in its sweeping form and claim.

There is little doubt that we may accept a modified evolution as a principle of development or continuity in the natural world, a part, and a wonderful part of God's creative method;

but it cannot be recognized as accounting for all the decisive stages in cosmic and organic and moral progress. As a sweeping theory of origins, it stands discredited. We are driven to but one solution of cosmic problems, a personal God, whose intelligent and creative Will is dominant and active, and who is both imminent and transcendent. It seems to us that the weak point in Mr. Wallace's book is his reliance upon the evolutionary theory of origins, when it is being so widely discredited, and at the risk of inconsistency on his part.

Moreover, the recent notable achievement in astronomy, the successful photographing of the canals of Mars by Prof. Percival Lowell, seems to cast a doubt on Mr. Wallace's conclusion that Mars is not inhabited. The existence of these canals, which has been denied since their discovery by Schiaparelli, is confirmed and seems to indicate the presence of human agency.

As we said before we have been fascinated by this exceedingly interesting and instructive volume and are strongly drawn to its conclusion, for it has strong ground of scientific probability and harmonizes with what we consider ought to be man's place in the universe. It is a noble conception that man, a spiritual being, with wonderful intellectual and moral possibilities, stands at the very center of the material and moral universe, the center and crown of God's creative activity. And yet Professor Simon Newcomb said not long ago: "We cannot for a moment suppose that onr own little planet is the only one throughout the whole universe on which may be found the fruits of civilization, warm firesides, friendship, the desire to penetrate the mysteries of Creation: (Masterpieces of Science, P. 51). And this conclusion is not inconsistent with Christian Theology. Mr. Wallace has argued well but good men of science differ from him. Whether there be other inhabited worlds is still a problem. Science has not settled it. Theology has not settled it. We must await further evidence from science or for that great day when faith shall become sight.

ARTICLE VII.

PRESENT DAY THEOLOGY: MARTIN KÆHLER. THE BIBLE QUESTION.

By Rev. J. R. Van Pelt, Ph.D.

In the years 1883 to 1887 Professor Kähler, of Halle, issued the first edition of his *Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre* in three parts (*Apologetik*, *Dogmatik*, *Ethik*). This work was immediately recognized as one of unusual importance, and its author (as Kattenbusch incidentally remarked in a review of the *Dogmatik* in 1885) was acknowledged by a very considerable group of theologians as "their chief authority in scientific matters." But the book was too compressed to be easy reading. Nevertheless a second edition was necessary in 1893 and a third in 1905. In the meantime, however, Kähler now and then took occasion by means of pamphlets and *Vorträge* to elucidate his views on the most important problems of Christian doctrine. These special discussions afforded opportunity for freer movement, ample illustration and enlivening reference to the views of others. The result is that they are the most attractive productions of Kähler's pen, and his growing influence in the theological world is due in no small measure to their effectiveness. A collection of these discussions, together with much new matter, was published in 1898 in two volumes under the title: *Dogmatische Zeitfragen.* The book now before us is the first volume of the second edition of that work. * While the '*Zeitfragen*' are wholly independent of the '*Wissenschaft*' and are abundantly interesting by themselves, the author would have them regarded as elucidations of that systematic work. The new edition of the *Zeitfragen* differs greatly from the first. The second of the two volumes of the former edition, '*Zur*

* *Dogmatische Zeitfragen.* Alte und neue Ausführungen zur Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre von *Martin Kæhler*, D. u. Professor der Theologie. Zweise sehr vermehrte Auflage. Erster Band. *Zur Bibelfrage.* Leipzig. A. Deichert sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme). 1907. 8 vo. Pp. X and 441. 8. 50 M.

Lehre von der Versöhnung,' is to be separated and issued as an independent work. In place of the first volume there come now three, which are to comprise nearly all of the author's previous minor publications in systematic theology together with several new pieces. The first of these three, bearing the special title '*Zur Bibelfrage*,' is fresh from the press. As nothing that Kähler has written can serve better than this volume to acquaint one with the standpoint and leading ideas of that theological master we shall for the present confine ourselves to its contents.

Zur Bibelfrage brings together six important contributions to the many-sided question of the place and significance of the Bible in Christianity. Taken together they constitute probably the most thorough and important discussion of the subject anywhere to be found. Other writers have treated certain aspects of the subject more minutely and more extensively, but no one has given us so comprehensive a study of the problem in all its relations. Kähler is the protagonist of the modern biblicistic school. His biblicism is not that of Beck, nor yet that of Ritschl. He distinctly warns against "an unmediated, unmethodical biblicism," while on the other hand he contends against all that seems to him a curtailment of the biblical witness. In his theological development powerfully influenced by men of various schools—Rothe, Tholuck, Müller, Beck, Hofmann—Kähler's own position is eminently independent and his thinking not eclectic but profoundly original. Though a decidedly "positive" theologian, he is in the best sense modern. There is nothing of the reactionary in him. His biblicism takes full account of criticism, not only empirically but also as a question of principle in theological method. His view of the authority of the Bible is as far as possible removed from slavery to the letter. The authority of the Bible is personal, religious. Kähler in a certain place summarizes his view of biblical authority by quoting the theme of a sermon by his friend Heinrich Hofmann: "Wir glauben nicht an Christum um der Bible willen, sondern an die Bibel um Christi willen."

The first of the essays in the work now before us is trans-

ferred from the second edition (1896) of the author's '*Der sogenannte historische Jesus.*' It gives his grounds for a negative answer to the question: 'Does the value of the Bible for the Christian consist chiefly in that it contains original historical documents?' The discussion is in the main very concrete, and affords a good view of the way in which—not only for Kähler but also for theologians generally—the development of theological thought since Schleiermacher has irresistibly forced to the very front the problem of "the biblical Christ." With great force Kähler argues for faith's independence of historical science, while at the same time he shows that faith rests upon an historical revelation. But this revelation is no less accessible to the unlearned than to the learned. What shall one think of faith that, though preached as the simple and sole way or appropriating salvation, must wait to be born until historical criticism shall perchance eventually issue a warrant for its right to be? Or what shall be said of an existing faith whose continuance is made to depend upon the future contingencies of critical controversies? Criticism having raised doubts respecting the traditions concerning the authorship of the biblical writings, "an astonishing erudition and an acumen enhanced by practice were brought to bear to show that possibly, after all, the traditional opinions and judgments were right. In accepting the burden of proof it was conceded that the demand for proof was legitimate, and it was acknowledged that the negative party in the controversy must be in the right in the event that the counter-proof should not be shown to be cogent.' For our author two great facts—the fact of Christ the Revealer of God and the fact of the sufficiency of the biblical witness to Christ—stand fixed and sure, quite beyond the reach of any real historical criticism, whether to render them doubtful or more sure. For him the "great almost" of historical criticism would be intolerable as a ground for faith. "As long as living Christianity hangs upon the person of the historical Christ, * * * * so long there remains the requirement, that this historical Christ be given us, not as the ideal of scientific research to be reached in a remote future, or as the varying re-

sult of the evershifting strife of the biographers, but in a tradition [i. e., the biblical witness], which has in itself the power to convince us of its divine warrant. The datum *must* be 'immediately accessible.'" This may suffice to give a general idea of Kähler's standpoint in relation to the problem in hand. Unfortunately it is not possible within the proper limits of this review to follow him in detail in the more significant part of the discussion—the positive grounding of the canonical authority of the Bible in the Church. According to him the presupposition for such valuation of the Bible consists in the acceptance of the fact of self-revelation of God and of the fact of an incomparably close relation of the biblical writings to that revelation. It is his purpose to show that the Christian certainty in respect to the biblical witness is quite independent of *a priori* theories on the one hand and quite untouched by historical criticism on the other. The Bible puts us in touch with the great train of facts wherein God has revealed himself, and these facts become ever anew the medium of the fresh revelation of God to faith. And the *viva vox evangelii* in the Church, with its demonstration of the Spirit and of power, is but a reproduction, though in manifold forms, of that same witness. With great force Kähler argues for the rich sufficiency of the apostolic preaching of Christ and against the vain seeking for a supposed 'real' Jesus whom that preaching fails to represent.

The next two treatises: '*Unser Streit um die Bibel*' and '*Jesus und das Alte Testament*,' are among the most interesting discussions that Kähler has given us (originally published 1895 and '96 respectively). The former, notwithstanding its brevity and its unpretentious sub-title ('Vorläufiges zur Verständigung und Beruhigung für "Bibelverehrer"'), is a remarkably comprehensive discussion of the fundamental questions pertaining to the Bible. To many it has seemed a definitive statement for our time. The '*Jesus und das Alte Testament*' was first delivered as a *Vortrag* before a pastors' conference. It is related that one of those who had been especially active in securing the eminent conservative theologian for the principal address, remarked after hearing the *Vortrag*: "We called him

here to curse our enemies, and behold he has altogether blessed them." In fact, however, while Kähler most cordially acknowledges the rights of historical criticism and clearly shows that Christ's attitude toward the Scriptures in no way prejudges any historico-literary question pertaining to them, his position is genuinely evangelical and so in the best sense conservative. He powerfully contends that the Old Testament rightfully holds its place in the Christian canon, inasmuch as it conveys the record of the revelation preparatory to Christ. Our Lord's use of the Scriptures is authority for us. But that use was throughout religious. And while this religious reading of the Scriptures may not have been '*zeitgeschichtlich*,' it was '*geschichtlich im grossen Stile.*' The critical reconstruction of Old Testament history leaves unmoved the great fact of a progressive revelation which found its consummation in Christ. We cannot properly understand Christ except in organic relation to the Old Testament, a relation which our Lord himself clearly affirmed. The Old Testament was "Jesus' Bible," and as such "the effective presupposition of his inner development." Yet of course the Authority of the Old Testament in the Christian Church must be conceived strictly from the standpoint of the gospel, after the manner exemplified for us by Christ and his apostles.

The essay, '*Das Offenbarungsansehen der heiligen Schrift*' (first published in 1903) confines the discussion to a single fundamental problem, but the author brings to it a great wealth of thought. The fifth piece, '*Die Bibel das Buch der Menschheit*' (first published 1904), is peculiarly characteristic of its author, as it is also one of the most popular of his writings. In a very impressive manner the thought is developed: The Bible *is becoming* the book of mankind. The Bible *is* the book of mankind. Such it is becoming *because such it is.* The last and most extensive piece in the book is the '*Geschichte der Bibel in ihrer Wirkung auf die Kirche.*' It is the fuller form of an *Universitätsprogramm* (issued some time ago) and at the same time an abridgment of one of the author's most popular courses of lectures. It is not a history of the origin of the several books

of the Bible and their collection into a whole. It is rather "a history of the finished Bible." "Not, however, a complete history; the author calls it merely an '*Entwurf*.' Yet it is doubtful whether any one else has ever so carefully traced out the particular facts in the history of Christianity which directly relate to the use and influence of the Bible in the Church. Certain it is that this is the first comprehensive historical study of the subject as here conceived. And it is a work of great interest and value. It is the author's hope that it may incite others to labor to furnish a far more complete history of the same matter.

Kähler himself has briefly summed up that which is specially characteristic of his view of the Bible in the following points: 1. "The Bible the document of the preaching through which the Church has been founded. 2. The whole Bible the confessing testimony to the Messianic revelation of God. 3. The gospel of the Bible the key to the understanding of the whole Bible. 4. The Bible not first and chiefly for the individual Christian, but primarily the Church's book, and through her the book of mankind."

ARTICLE VIII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Apostles' Creed in Modern Worship. By William R. Richards, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City. Pp. 168.

This wellprinted and neatly bound little book is in the main a devotional exposition of the Creed. It may be read with profit by all Christians, and the reading of it is likely to lead to the conviction that the Creed ought to be used in the public worship of God in the Sanctuary. It is for this that the author pleads, after noting the fact that the Creed finds a place in the liturgies and formularies of nearly all Protestant Churches

The exposition is trinitarian and evangelical. The author is an adherent of the traditional faith of the Church, and writes to edify the believer, not to disturb the Christian's faith. The book might be preached to a congregation in a series of Sunday morning sermons, and its material may have been so used by the author.

There are some points to which we raise objection. It is not accurate and discriminating to say: "He descended into hell." *Hell* has come to signify "the place or state of punishment for the wicked after death; the abode of the wicked after death." The Protestant translators of the Bible, in their reaction against the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, translated *Gehenna* and *Hades* alike by the word *Hell.* The Scriptures do not say that Christ went into *Hell.* He went into Paradise, and his soul was not left in Hades The Creed does not say that Christ descended into Gehenna, but he descended into Hades, the unseen world. Latin: *Descendit in inferna*, sometimes: *Descendit ad Inferos.* All that can be said generically on this subject is that Christ went down to the place or state of the dead—an act by which he completed his humiliation. To say that he *descended into hell* is to dogmatize, and to give a meaning to an article of the Creed which it was not originally intended to bear. In translating, the recognized law is that the *meaning* of the original is to be transferred. If this cannot be done by the use of a single word, then it must be done by circumlocution. *Hell* does not convey the meaning of *Hades*,

and *Hades* is not a good English word. The only proper equivalent for it in English is: *The place of departed spirits.* This takes from the *Descensus* the harshness of *Hell*, and the obscurity of *Hades.*

Neither do we agree with our author when he says: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The preposition *in* is not to be carried beyond "Holy Ghost." I believe in God, in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Ghost, but not in the Holy Catholic Church. The Holy Catholic Church is not an object of faith in the sense in which the triune personalities are objects of faith. We believe simply that there is a Holy Catholic Church; that there is the communion of saints; that there is the forgiveness of sins, etc. The grammatical construction changes from the accusative governed by *in* to the accusative with *esse: Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam esse.* Nor is this distinction merely a matter of grammar. In the case of the triune personalities we accept each as the object of our faith; in the sense that our faith rests upon each one. In the case of the other articles we simply affirm that we believe that they *are.* The distinction has both theoretical and practical significance.

We have no doubt that our author believes that there is a *Holy Catholic Church*, but if he should pause to interpret the meaning of his faith in this instance, he will find that it is very different from what it is when he says, "I believe in God the Father." By no means is it accurate and correct to say of the article of the Holy Catholic Church that "this is really a practical continuation of the article on the Holy Ghost." They are distinct articles, and have a different content, though there could be no Holy Catholic Church were there no Holy Ghost.

Quite wrong also is our author when he says: "'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints.' That added phrase shows what 'Catholic' really means." It has long been an established fact that "Communion of Saints" is a distinct article; it is not appositional to "Holy Catholic Church," and was not introduced as an explanatory "phrase," but as an independent article of the Christian Creed, to express the belief that there is a real communion, a common fellowship and participation of Christians in the blessings and benefits of Christianity. This article tells what is to be found *in* the Church, rather than what the Church *is.* By no means is it to be held as an "added phrase," but as an independent article.

We heartily wish that this book might be read by all Christians.

J. W. RICHARD.

The Philosophy of Religion. A critical and speculative treatise of man's religious experience and development in the light of modern science and reflective thinking. By George Trumbull Ladd, LL.D. 2 vols. 8 vo.

Religion is fundamentally a matter of practical experience. It has an immediate apprehension of its object, an intuitive relation to things unexplained and unexplainable.

But this immediacy of subject and object does not preclude the application of reason to the study of religious phenomena. The elements of feeling and intuition involved in the religious experience do not comprise all that there is in the relation of man to the Supreme Power above him. Revelation of religious truth implies a certain content of knowledge; and this experience, so far as it is rational, can become an object of scientific investigation.

The history of man's religious ideas, both from the spontaneous sources of natural religion as well as from higher revelations through divinely chosen and qualified mediators of truth, can become an object of scientific treatment.

The comparative science of religion supplies abundant material for rational investigation, out of which grows a wealth of speculative ideas and relative certainties. A philosophy of God may be deduced from the way in which primitive as well as present races of men have conceived the being and conduct of God, and the philosophy of religion is not the philosophy of Christianity, but an attempted rational treatment of the religious idea found in human history and experience. The unifying of principles is the delight of philosophy, and the attainment of truth is its goal.

Dr. Ladd pursues the historical comparative method with psychological analysis in the ascertainment of the truths attainable by the philosophical treatment of religion. He comes to his subject well equipped with a consistent system of epistemology, which is so often lacking in reflective treatment of the human and divine relations in their philosophical aspect.

The three great problems propounded by Kant, God, Man and Immortality, are still the themes of philosophy. The World Ground, the Personal Absolute, with predicable attributes, is considered under the general heads, the customary proofs for the being of God. But as the being of God is not a mathematical truth, it is not amenable to mathematical demonstration, and we must be content with weighty inferences rather than absolute certainties. Axiomatic conclusions are not ob-

tainable. As God is most adequately conceived as perfect Ethical Spirit, so it is the moral necessity that most urgently and consistently predicates God.

Religious man as an object of philosophical investigation comprises a wide area of temporal, rational, and spiritual, experiences. It is in this sphere of study that wealth of theological acquisition affords the most satisfying conclusions. It is in this department that Dr. Ladd scarcely rises above the comparative science or religion. The history of religion does not fathom the religious experience.

The spiritual experience of man evades the skill of analysis and escapes the resources of psychological treatment. Intellectual functions do not compass the experience, nor logical processes disclose its inmost nature.

The destiny of man as a rational problem is well discussed by Dr. Ladd. His full resources of psychological penetration fathom the rational possibilities of human immortality. All that science can do to pierce the future unknown by the knowledge of man's present properties and capabilities, as well as possible adaptation, is ably presented. Dr. Ladd approaches his subject with a discriminating philosophy. He neither resolves man into material nature, nor absorbs him into the Absolute, nor does he dally with a monism that endangers the continuity of man's personal consciousness after death.

Religion is universal and abiding; but which religion will ultimately triumph in the world? Dr. Ladd says, the religion that furnishes the fullest correspondence of human character to the ethical ideal. Ideal truth realizes itself best not in philosophy, nor in mythology, but in personal embodiment, in ethical character and conduct. Dr. Ladd conceives the victory for Christianity, and gives it the title of the preëminently historical religion. He, however, does not treat fully the distinctive elements which must make Christianity the final religion. What are the permanent elements in religion? Which of the socalled universal religions contributes the abiding principles for formal and material finality?

All religions have undergone reforms, and the character of these reforms denotes the permanency or evanescence of the religion. Buddhism and Islamism have been reformed to supplement a lack in the system; but Christianity has been reformed, not to supplement, but to recover the simplicity of primary religious revelation, life, and practice. The Christian Church must occasionally go back to Christ. The three uni-

versal religions have each had a personal founder; but Christ does not lead man to God in reconciled relation, and then disappear. In the leading back to God Christ becomes a personal life in the restored soul, a permanent spiritual principle to keep man in right relation to God. Religion is a life, but more comprehensively Christianity is a life imparted by the personality and agency of Jesus Christ, and maintained by his life-giving Holy Spirit.

The philosophy of religion does not assume as its province or duty the furnishing of mathematical proof for its conclusions. It cannot achieve triumphant certainty; it is scarcely more than pathetic poetry pleading in the undertone of expectancy and hope.

M. COOVER.

The Friendly Year, Chosen and Arranged from the Works of Henry Van Dyke. By George Sydney Webster, D.D. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.

Few author's are honored with the publication of a Year Book of Quotations from their books during their lifetime. That success has followed the issuing of such a book from the works of Henry Van Dyke is proven by the demand for a second edition which the present volume aims to meet. Such books presuppose that an author is worth living with from day to day, of a spirit so intimate that men wish to carry his thought about with them. These well chosen selections from Van Dyke's writings will commend themselves to all who enjoy this method of reminding themselves of the charming style and fine temper of their favorite author. No literary figure of our day reflects the feeling and aspiration of the time more clearly, more fairly, or more sympathetically than Van Dyke. This little volume, beautifully built by Scribners, with a very fine photogravure portrait of Van Dyke as a front piece, will be welcomed by all lovers of well-made volumes and will doubtless serve to awaken an interest in the writings of the Author of Fisherman's Luck and of the best poetry of our generation, as well as of many other good things.

D. W. WOODS, JR.

The Special Message of the Modern Pulpit. By Charles Reynolds Brown, D.D. Pp. 295. Price $1.25. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The eight chapters of this book are lectures delivered by the

author in the Lyman Beecher course at Yale University for the year 1905-96 They are the outgrowth of his " interest in expository preaching as a suitable and profitable method of presenting religious truth to a congregation, and in the application of the principles of the Gospel to social conditions." The author recognizes the dearth of competent leadership among the working classes, both on account of their lack of opportunity for proper training and because of a natural bias by reason of their personal relation toward the social problem ; but sees in " the high office of the Christian pulpit " a proper leadership " in the inculcation of the truer principles of social action.

Having shown the need of moral leadership and the Bible as the only true basis for it, he proceeds in the succeeding chapters to illustrate his method of expository preaching by comparing the history of God's chosen people as told in the book of Exodus with present day conditions of oppressed labor. The work not only illustrates the value of this method of expository preaching, but in the very course of this illustration lays down sane laws, intelligent, moral, scriptural, the only safe basis for successful social betterment. The author's knowledge of labor conditions, while apparently not gained by personal investigation, is yet based upon accurate study of authorities, and his reference to their works suggests a helpful bibliography for the student of sociology. His illustrations are drawn chiefly from the coal mines of Pennsylvania and the cotton mills of the South.

While bearing no relation to the subject of the lectures, and perhaps requiring no reference in this review of the book, there is an evident effort made to explain away the supernatural in such miraculous dealings of God with his people as the sending of the plagues, the crossing of the Red Sea, the giving of the manna, and even the phenomena that accompanied Moses' reception of the tables of the law, and the command of God by which Abraham faithfully offered up his son Isaac. No natural explanation of God's miraculous dealings with his people can be satisfactory, nor is it any more needed than it is possible. Only the supernatural can account for the miraculous.

H. ANSTADT.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Handbuch für den ersten Selbstuntericht in Gottes Wort, von Carl Manthey-Zorn, Pastor der. Ev. Luth. Zion's Kirche, Cleveland, Ohio, 8 mo. pp. 287.

This hand-book of "Self-instruction in God's Word" is designed for the use of adults who need and desire indoctrination. The basis of the Hand-book is the Bible and Luther's Smaller Catechism. It covers historical, doctrinal and practical subjects. It addresses the reader in a familiar, personal, and sententions manner. It must be quite invaluable for German pastors to have Christian doctrine and fact put in simple language to be placed in the hands of thoughtful people. English pastors, too, who may be ministering to German-Americans, will find this book helpful in their work.

It is published with the substantial make-up, characteristic of the Concordia press.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Handbuch der deutschen Nationalliteratur von ihren ersten Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Zum Gebrauch für den Unterricht in den oberen Klassen höherer Lehranstalten, sowie zum Selbstunterricht bearbeiten von Otto Hattstädt, Professor am Concordia-Gymnasium zu Milwaukee, Wis. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1966, pp. XV. 512.

This *hand-book of German Literature from its beginnings to modern times* is intended primarily for use in the colleges and normal schools of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States. It deserves hearty commendation, and merits to be widely used. The student who has mastered it not only has a clear idea of the development of German Literature but also a first hand acquaintance with the rich treasure of the good and the beautiful produced by German poets and thinkers. Everything not in harmony with evangelical Christianity has been rigidly excluded. With the exception of the novel and the drama—which can be properly valued only in their entirety—every species of poetry is represented. The selections from prose writers are numerous and characteristic, ranging from the simple narrative to the more difficult essay and sublime oration. Examples from the great German philosophers, however, are wanting. The addition of treatises on poetics and the proverb enhance the value of the work.

The book is well provided with indexes. Printing, paper, and binding are excellent.

K. J. GRIMM.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN PUBLICATION BOARD, PITTSBURG, PA.

The Abridged Treasury of Prayers. An Epitome from the

Larger "Gebets Schatz." Published by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.

This little prayer-book contains nearly one hundred prayers, intended for all occasions and emergencies from the cradle to the grave. It will, no doubt, be of service to those for whom it was intended—English-speaking Germans and their immediate descendents. It has a decidedly medieval flavor both in topics and in treatment. The prayers are "out of the depths." The element of praise and hope is largely wanting. The language is neither idiomatic nor liturgical.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY, BOSTON, MASS.

The January number of the *Atlantic Monthly* is a most unusual number. The papers on political and economic subjects are, "Japan and the Philippine Islands," by James A. LeRoy; and "The Criminaloid," by Edward A. Ross. The papers on literary subjects are, "Shakespeare of Warwickshire," by Theodore T. Munger; "The Nude in Autobiography," by W. A. Gill; and "The New Novels," by Mary Moss.

Two contributions to this number on general subjects are, "The Country Editor of To-day," by Charles M. Harger; and "Brawn and Character," by Arthur Stanwood Pier.

S. Carleton, Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Mary Heaton Vorse contribute brilliant stories, while Richard Watson Gilder, Charlotte Wllson and T. Sturge Moore have contributed poems of rare beauty and merit.

This number also contains the conclusion of Mrs. Wharton's "A Motor Flight through France," and the first installment of "The Helpmate," a new novel by May Sinclair, begins in this number. Altogether this is a fine beginning for the *Atlantic Monthly*—easily the leading literary magazine—for the New Year.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY.

Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Edited by Brown, Driver, Briggs. Price $7.50 net.

American and English students have at last a standard lexicon to aid them in their study of the Old Testament. The old edition of Gesenius has been an inexhaustible thesaurus of knowledge since its publication in 1834—his work of that date entitled *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* was placed in the hands of the English speak-

ing public by the translation of Edward Robinson and was frequently revised until 1854, when the last revision appeared.

With the great strides made in the study of the semitic languages and the valuable material resulting from the decipherment of the Babylonian and Assyrian tablets and inscriptions much has naturally been added to our store of knowledge in this department. This has been further augmented by a more accurate and minute study of the Old Testament language, such as was impossible several decades ago. It is very evident therefore that a work published in this field more than a half century ago must necessarily fail to contain much that is, in the light of modern investigation, greatly to be desired. In Germany this need has been met by the frequent revision of the *Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*, but in America there has, until now, appeared nothing to meet the demand.

This present work has long been awaited and the announcements made from time to time as to its progress, raised expectations that were difficult to satisfy. But we are not disappointed, it surpasses even the predictions made by those acquainted with its scholarly board of editors. The best parts of Gesenius have been carefully selected and revised and then supplemented by all of the results of the ablest scholarship of England, Germany and America. The entire field has been gone over with great care and no amount of work has been spared in collecting and arranging the material.

The student in using this volume has the assurance that it embodies the results of the most accurate and matured study of the greatest masters in this field of research. At the present time when it is so important for one to have an accurate understanding of the context of Scriptur to fortify himself against the destructive inroads of criticism no one book will be of greater value than this able work.

Notice the extensiveness of the treatment. Words are not merely abstractly defined, but a careful study has been made of each word, wherever it occurs in the Old Testament, and a full catalogue is given of its various uses. In this way many hours of exhaustive study are spared the exegete who desires to ascertain the different shades of meaning displayed in the use of any word. We see thus that eight full double column pages have been devoted to a study of *Lamed*. Six columns are given to a careful study of the various uses of כִּי—and 3 1-2 columns are used to show the force and significance of כִּי in the various moods.

Nothing is more important for the student of any language than to acquaint himself with the fundamental meaning of the various stems. A thorough knowledge of the root-forms makes a study of the modifications of those forms simple and clear. It is also in this respect that the new Hebrew-English Lexicon commends itself. It gives the etymology of the words —their root forms; and then enumerates the various significations it has in its different connexions. To render it still more helpful to a beginner, the editors have placed in their alphabetical order the words whose root-forms it would be difficult to recognize; adding at the same time a cross reference to the section where the student can find a more exhaustive treatment of the Word.

An illustration of the many difficult terms that are made clear in this work is found in the definition of *rê-ēm* (רים).

In Job 39 : 9-10, we read, "Canst thou bind the רים with his band or will he harrow the valleys after thee." The authorized version rendered the term "unicorn"—but this is far from satisfying, for Job is here speaking of an animal so fierce that its domestication is impossible. The rendering becomes the more impossible when we read in Deut. 33 : 17 of the *horns* of the unicorn (the translators perceived this inconsistency and used *unicorns* whereas in the Hebrew the singular is used, so that the correct translation to use the same term would be "*the horns of the unicorn*,") as though a *unicorn* could have more than *one horn*. The term רים is used to designate an animal fierce and utterly untamable (Job 39 : 9-10)—fleet and active (Ps. 29 : 6), and these traits are in no wise applicable to the fabulous unicorn.

The cuneiform inscriptions show the רים to have been a species of wild ox characterized by fierceness, strength and untameableness. Hence this term is correctly translated in the Lexicon as in Prof. Delitzsch's Second "Babel-Bibel" lecture, "*wild ox*" famous for its "fierceness and strength." How much more pregnant is the above verse when rendered "Canst thou bind the wild ox with his band in the furrow? Will he harrow the valley after the thee? This is but a single instance showing how luminous hitherto uncertain passages become when guided by a standard lexicon.

No student of Scripture can afford to be without this work and we commend it to all who seek a deeper insight into the inexhaustible mine of Sacred Truth as contained in the Old Testament.

HENRY W. A. HANSON.

AUGUSTA PUBLISHING COMPANY, CRIMORA, VIRGINIA.

Country Sermons. Vol. II. Sermons on the Epistles of the Church year. Festive Cycles, Advent to Pentecost. By Rev. F. Kuegele. 38 Sermons. 362 pages. Cloth, $1.25. Customary discount to pastors.

These sermons were preached by the author to his congregation, and are now published for the sake of the larger audience which may thus be reached. Their title very well indicates their character. As the author himself says of them, they are in no sense "pulpit efforts." They are plain, simple, earnest and practical expositions of the Epistles for that part of the church year covered, and are well calculated to instruct and edify plain and practical people. It is greatly to the credit of both pastor Kuegele and his people that he has been pastor of the same congregation for twenty-five years, and that, as this volume of sermons shows, he is content to feed them, and they are content to be fed, on "the sincere milk of the word." Such sermons as these are in every way calculated to accomplish the end aimed at in their preparation, as indicated by the earnest prayer with which the author closes the preface to this volume: "May it please the Lord who caused this little cluster to grow in a quiet place to make it a blessing unto those who inspect it in a quiet hour to give them a quiet heart."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK.

The Modern Pulpit. A Study of Homiletic Sources and Characteristics. By Lewis O. Brastow, D.D., Professor of Practical Theology, Yale University. 1906. Pp. XIV and 457.

This book is a valuable contribution to the science of Homiletics. To a considersble extent it is a history of the Protestant pulpit in Europe and America during the nineteenth century, as made known by the sermons of the great preachers of the century. The author's reading of homiletical literature has been extensive and discriminating. He has gone to the sources of information. Hence his representations may be trusted as just and reliable. His observations and criticisms are for the most part wise and judicious. One rises from the reading of the book feeling that "the modern pulpit" has been a great power for the good of the world, and that it has been filled by some of the great masters of eloquence, as well as by men of godly character and of devout piety. Also the feeling comes to the readers, that while the *form* of Protestant preaching differs, its substance is virtually the same, being the gospel of the love and grace of God as shown in Jesus Christ the one Lord and Saviour of men.

Chapter I. discusses the *Preparative Influences of the Eighteenth Century* Among these influences are Pietism in Germany, Methodism in England, Secession in Scotland, the Edwards revival in America, Protestantism in France, also Rationalism, and the national literary moments.

Chapter II. exhibits the *Prominent Influences of the Nineteenth Century.* The most prominent of these influences are the development of physical science, the philosophy of Kant, Hegel, Schleiermacher Coleridge, the Oxford reactionary movement in England, Romanticism in Germany and England, and the practical character of modern life.

In these two chapters we have a fine discussion of the intellectual activities of the two last centuries. The pulpit has been greatly benefitted by these activities. The four leading tendecies that "largely dominate our complex modern life," are "the realistic tendency," the regard for facts, the impatience with dogmatic assumptions and pronouncements; "the ethical impulse," which demands that life, not dogma shall be put first; "the philanthropic spirit," which has brought in changed conceptions of God and of man. The sentiment of a merciful God, and "the fuller development of the sentiments and feeling of human compassion in our time," are noteworthy; the enlargement of our conceptions "of the sacredness of all human life," the tendency to blot out the line between the sacred and the secular, and to regard all things as ideally sacred.

These four tendencies have greatly influenced the pulpit, and place its future in the hands of the preachers "who will interpret to men the religious significance of their life, in all its varieties of experience."

Chapter III. exhibits *Prominent Characteristics of Modern Preaching.* Here the author speaks of the "experimental quality;" "historical and biblical basis;" "critical and discriminating;" "practical character;" "formal qualities." Here the author is exceedingly instructive. We are well pleased with some of his reflections: "Christianity is not primarily a law of life, but a gift of grace. Religion does not begin, it ends with morality. Take from Christianity its chief characteristic, a new gift of life, and you quench its inspiration. If we define religion as morality touched with feeling, we have yet to explain the source and nature of the feeling." Equally well are we pleased with his definition of preaching: "Preaching is not the emptying of the contents of the garret of the mind. It is the utterance of what is deepest and most vital in man. It is not telling what some one said ages ago, but the testimony of what the preacher sees and feels of the reality and power of what was said. It involves not only an experience of religion but of religious truth."

Chapter IV., which extends from p. 135 to the index, treats of *Modern Preaching as Represented by Different Nationalities and Religious*

Communions. The first under this heading is *The German Pulpit.* Here are some striking sketches of men and of methods of preaching. We regret that the author has not included Gerok, Ahlfeld and Kögel among the recently deceased; and Funcke. Hölscher, Rietschel, and Stöcker among the living. But how could our good Homer nod long enough to write: "Lange of Berlin," "Martensen, the Dutch theologian," "Hagenbach of Zurich." Lange was professor at Zurich and at Bonn; Martensen was a Danish Lutheran bishop and Hagenbach was born, lived and died in Basel.

In the preaching of the High Church party of the Church of England our author notices the fact that the clergy exalt the liturgical and sacramental at the cost of the homiletical, and justifies Dr. Arnold in charging that with the tractarians, "the sacraments, and not preaching, are the sources of divine grace." He regards the Low and Broad church party as more evangelical and as touching life at a greater number of points.

The Scothish preaching is characterized by fine theological and literary culture. Its great representatives were Chalmers, Campbell, Erskine, McLeod, Cairns. Passing to *The Preaching of the United States* the author finds splendid illustrations of the art in the Episcopal, the Congregational, the Presbyterian, the Baptist and Methodist Churches. The two last named seem in the estimation of the author to surpass all others in the evangelistic and the emotional clement. He finds his illustrations almost exclusively in New England, New York City, Philadelphia and Baltimore. We are sorry that our author could find no Lutheran preacher in those sections worthy of notice. Does the fault lie with our author, or with our Lutheran preachers in the cities named? This is no idle question. We look to the latter for an answer. The study of this book by every Lutheran minister and Lutheran theological student in the land, would contribute, we think, to raising the standard of preaching in the Lutheran Church in America. The Lutheran preacher may with profit study the past, and may take pride in "our glorious inheritance," but far more important is it for him to know the present and to hold converse with its best, its most living thought. It is only the preacher who knows his age, and breathes its spirit, who can influence the people of his age.

J. W. RICHARD.

An Introduction to Philosophy. By George Stuart Fullerton. Price $1.60.

To explain the mystery of existence has been the peculiar problem of the Aryan race. Believing in the sovereignty of the reason, no fact has been too opaque or too sacred for their investigation. This mystery was felt in the pro-ethnic ages and finds expression in the first poets who uttered their thought. It is a mystery three-fold in its nature: the Universe the Self, and God. All science is but the attempted solution of the mys-

tery of the Universe; all Psychology seeks to answer the question, "what am I;" and all theology attempts to unfold the nature of God and His relation to the world. Underneath all such attempts lies Metaphysics, seeking under the particular in its infinite modes of manifestation that which is general and is able to bind all knowledge into a unitary whole. Philosophy, therefore, supplements Science and Theology by seeking to determine the nature of Reality in its ultimate analysis. It begins just where the laboratory leaves off. Basing itself on the conclusions which experimental effort has established, it attempts to build up a rational universe. It seeks to find some theory which will enable the thoughtful man to live on friendly terms with the world into which he finds himself projected. Philosophy is not, therefore, the useless luxury of knowledge which it is so often thought to be, but, rightly understood, it is a theory of life and conditions conduct.

Every new attempt at an introduction to Philosophy for undergraduates must consequently be viewed with interest by every one who recognizes the importance of the subject. If the method succeeds in bringing the student face to face with the deep problems of thought without interjecting any preconceived notions of their solution—bringing him face to face with them in their bleak objectivity and emphasizing their relation to life—he will in all probability become an investigator in mind and matter; for, once to come into the presence of the mystery of existence is never again to leave it. If, however, the method serves merely to introduce the student to some particular thought of Reality, some "system" of philosophical speculation which is to be drummed into his mind in the memoriter fashion so prevalent in the schools, it will leave him satisfied and make him a dogmatist in metaphysical inquiry, and that is the last ditch into which reason can fall!

To the field of philosophical speculation Professor Fullerton, in the little volume before us, seeks to introduce the thoughtful man, whether in the schools or in the larger world. The book has many merits. We can not too highly commend his effort to express his teaching in plain Anglo-Saxon words. There is an almost total absence of the technical nomenclature which is so puzzling to the beginner. The style is simple and easy and often elegant. The publishers, too, have done their part to make the work attractive by making the page open and the print large and clear.

The movement of the thought is logical and easily grasped. The author divides his book into six parts. Part I. clears the ground by defining the sense in which the term Philosophy is used; Part II. deals with the "Problems of the External World;" Part III. with the "Problems Touching the Mind;" Part IV. with "Some Types of Philosophical Theory;" Part V. with the "Philosophical Science;" and Part VI. present some valuable considerations "On the Study of Philosophy."

The volume has some faults, however, which we wish were not there. It does not introduce to philosophical thinking so much as it does to the

author's theory of thought as given in his "System of Metaphysics." As this is a fault common to all the introductions which we have seen, perhaps it is inevitable. It would be a great gain if the beginner could be brought to recognize what the problems of thought are and be given the processes by which they are to be solved without having his mind biassed at the start by any particular view.

Again, it is our humble opinion that the "plain man" appears too often in the discussion. Just what the "plain" man has to do with philosophical theory we have never been able to see. Philosophy rests back not on the naive conclusions of the unthinking man but on the conclusions of science. The "plain" man's view of the world is well-named "Natural Realism," which, so far as metaphysical theory is concerned, is only another way of saying "natural nonsense."

OSCAR G. KLINGER.

The Warrior Spirit in the Republic of God. By Anna Robertson Brown Lindsay, Ph.D. 12 mo. pp. VII. 217, $1.50 net.

This is a superb book in every way—in make-up, in subject, in treatment, in language. It is a new edition of "The Warriors," published in 1903. The change in the title more clearly sets forth the subject of the book. It is practically an appeal for knightly, heroic service in the Kingdom of Christ—'a plea for militant Christianity as a vital factor in business, in politics, and in the home, as well as in the Church."

The Warrior, in the battle for better things, is strikingly delineated under four general heads: first, "Chords of Awakening: The Higher Conquest;" second, "Prelude: The Call of Jesus;" third, "Processional: The Church of God;" and fourth, "The World-March: of Kings, of Prelates and Evangelists, of Sages, of Traders, of Workers."

There is a martial music throughout. The clarion call of service rings through the pages, rich in thought and learning, expressed in a literay style of unusual excellence. There is a wide sweep of thought, the result of deep study, of observation, and of spiritual insight. Keen in analysis, sententious in expression, keyed to a high motive, the book is an inspiration to the reader. Born and reared in the home of a minister of the gospel, thoroughly trained but unspoiled by schooling, retaining the faith and the love of an orthodox Christian, our author knows how to talk to ministers. The qualifications, which she would demand in a minister, are (1) a sterling education, (2) marked ability in writing and public speaking, (3) a noble manner, (4) a voice capable of majestic modulations, and (5) a deep and tender heart. She makes the test of his call to be "his power to seize the Sword of the Spirit: wield the spiritual forces of the world, insight, conviction, persuasion, truth."

To our younger clergy we would say, buy this book, read it at least

twice, and then loan it and loan it until it is worn out, and then buy another copy, and so on until every thoughtful person in your congregation has read it.

J A. SINGMASTER

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

The Diviner Immanence. By Francis J. McConnell, D.D. Cloth bound, 159 pages. Price 75 cents net.

To the Athemians, Paul spoke of God as "not far from everyone of us." This truth finds expression in the modern doctrine of the divine immanence. Students of the natural world, both organic and inorganic, as well as masters of the higher philosophies have felt the presence of mind in the universe. But this doctrine, in the hands of the careless user, may become a destructive tool. The enthusiast who identifies God too closely with all things human decries the need of revelation and falls into gross pantheism. Realizing the importance of a restatement of this doctrine, our author lays down the primary principle that, in the delineation of God's character as found in Christianity, "we have given us a diviner nearness, a deeper immanence, than merely scientific and philosophical labor can establish, though the lower nearness may be gloriously preparatory and introductory to the higher." This distinction between a nearness of physical contact and a nearness of soul is traced in its bearings upon some of the problems of the day. The diviner immanence in nature is found to show us not only God's method, but his meaning also. The chapter on the problem of miracle is handled in a masterly way. The author requires us to ask not what is natural to us, but to God; and points out the greater sacredness of purpose as compared with method. Other problems which touch upon history, the Scriptures, the Church and the individual, are equally well brought into harmony with the deeper sense of God's nearness. The work is a concise essay, and could easily have been drawn out to fill double the number of pages.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

APRIL, 1907.

ARTICLE I.

THE WORD OF GOD, THE MEANS OF GRACE.

By George U. Wenner D.D.

We are living in an age of new ideas. In our knowledge of the physical world great advances have been made during the past thirty years. Radium, electricity and x-rays have opened up to us new worlds, although, far from solving the riddle of the universe, they have only deepened its mystery In the field of religion, also, we have entered a new era. Old. bottles are bursting because of the new wine that has been poured in. Old ecclesiastical labels, such as Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, are almost worthless for distinguishing the real differences that exist among the various kinds of religious thought.

There are many shades of difference, but ultimately we shall find but two schools. These confront each other with an antipodal view of the world. Call them by whatever name you please, old and new, conservative and radical, or positive and liberal, the one side stands for catholic, historical Christianity, the other side stands in a relation of opposition to, or at least of criticism of the historical position of the Church. Between these two there is an irrepressible conflict. It is a conflict that is no longer confined to the professor's classroom, but it has entered the pulpit, and through the press engages the attention of everybody. It is seriously affecting the cause of religion and presents issues which no intelligent Christian can avoid.

It is a mistake to suppose that those who belong to the old

school are mere repristinationists, loving the old merely because it is old, men who have placed an interdict on thought, and who look upon progress as a crime. It was a member of the old school, Professor von Hofmann of the University of Erlangen, who first gave expression to the apothegm: "The old ideas in new forms." Nor are the members of the new school all of them infidels who deserve to be burned at the stake. Many of them are making important contributions to the discovery of truth and to the advancement of the Kingdom. Even if their teaching should prove to be tares, the Lord commanded: "Let both grow together until the harvest."

There are those who maintain that there are no real differences between the two schools, but that they are only the two necessary poles of the intellectual magnet. I shall not try to discuss the underlying philosophical distinctions, but will endeavor to point out some of the chief differences as they appear on the surface to an ordinary observer.

In Christianity there are two factors, the divine and the human. In the course of history sometimes one factor predominates in the minds of men, sometimes the other. In a healthy development neither can be ignored. The danger is when men go to an extreme in either direction. Nevertheless, Christianity is *essentially* a Divine revelation. It is a religion therefore of authority. Those who regard this fact alone are in danger of ignoring the human factor and of crushing the freedom of the will. Those who set aside this authority and make their own experience the court of ultimate appeal, are constructing a religion in which God is reduced to the vanishing point. To such the Bible is a book like any other book, and this world is the only world with which at present we need have any concern.

Now one school place the emphasis on the Divine factor. They believe in the main what the Church has believed for nineteen centuries. They have no apologies to make for the Apostles' Creed. Christ is God and the Bible is God's Book. The other side place the emphasis on the human factor. They are not bound by any objective authority but only by that of

experience, their own or that of the Church. The question is not "Who is Christ?" But "What is Christ to me?" Some of them concede the value of the New Testament, as a record of experience, but for no other reason. Many of them look upon it as did Thomas Beecher, who once preached from the title page, which he read for his text: "The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," and then turning over the leaves, he continued: "four biographies, a book of travels, a bundle of letters and a dream."

The treatment of this subject is difficult because we no longer have a court of appeal. There is no final authority. Evolution has done away with revelation. With the Roman conception of the Church as chiefly an institution, Protestants from the beginning had no sympathy, and they repudiated the authority of the Church in the Roman sense of the word. But we still had the Bible. Yet now the Bible has gone. And finally, truth itself has gone, for, as professor Peabody has shown in his Harvard Lectures, "there is no absolute truth, all is relative to persons and times." Such views have brought about a condition of unrest in religion. Even the pulpit in many cases gives an uncertain sound, and where such is the case it loses its power over the men of our times. With all the wide extension of Protestant Christianity displayed in statistical computations, great masses of people in city and country, deny the power of Christianity as a practical rule of life. With all our wealth of culture in colleges and universities, and with the vast influence of the public school, religion does not take that dominant place in education which its relation to the highest life would seem to require.

Over against the uncertainties of the new school I propose to set forth in a plain form, from the standpoint of an ordinary Christian, a view of the Scriptures which is held in churches that have not yet been swept away by the liberal tide, a faith which still remains the practical basis of their teaching and life, just as if the old order had not changed. My theme is: The Word of God is the means of Grace.

1. Why do we believe this?

Assuming that we are Christians, we begin by accepting Christ as the final authority in religion. "He that seeth me," said Christ, "seeth the Father." There are those who accept Him conditionally. If he meant so-and-so, they will accept Him. Otherwise not. From such we shall have to part company. Let them see to it how they can get along without Christ, with only their "value-judgments" to guide them in their science of God.

This is Weiss' summary of the teaching of Christ on the subject of the Word of God.* Weiss is almost a liberal and hence may be accepted without prejudice.

Whatever Jesus accomplished in His earthly life in His disciples was accomplished through giving them the Word of God. "I have given them thy word," John 17 : 14. In this word was contained the supreme Divine revelation which should bring to the people the promised salvation. This word is the seed of the kingdom, Luke 8 : 11. It was only necessary that the disciples should keep this word, John 17 : 6. That His words should abide in them, John 15 : 7, and have free course in them, 8 : 37. Or that they should abide in His word, 8 : 31, i. e., continue to immerse themselves in it and thus experience its effects. The effect would be that they would recognize Him as the one sent for their salvation and would believe in Him, 17 : 8. Then they would know that in Him God Himself had come to them and loved them as a Father because they believed in Him whom they loved as One in whose mission God had revealed to them His supreme love, 16 : 27f. This revelation would bring to pass in them the new life through which they would be His children indeed, i. e., would be like Him, Matthew 5 : 45, and so fulfill the will of God even as He at all times fulfilled it. In this sense it would be true, John 8 : 31f, that the truth acquired from His Word, consisting in the supreme revelation of the love of God, would make them free from the servitude of sin. That they would be clean because of the word which He had spoken unto them, 15 : 2. Hence His word, or the word of God which He spoke unto them, was the specific means of grace through which he effected in His

* See *Religion des Neuen Testaments*, § 14.

disciples that He had come to effect, the realization of His ideal in faith and conduct and hence the founding of the kingdom of God."

The following is also from Weiss:

"The permanence of this means of grace was secured through the appointment of a ministry of the word. The word of the apostolic ministry was itself a lifegiving word, because it was none other than a proclamation of Christ. It thus became a living seed, implanted in the nations producing repentance and faith and bringing forth a new life. The gospel which Paul preached he declared to be the power of God unto salvation, or as he wrote to the Thessalonians: "In truth the word of God." The apostolic message was the Word of God because it was the message of Christ, delivered under the direction of that Spirit which should guide them into all truth. But in the churches themselves, which were founded through this word, there sprang up new fountains of testimony, from them sprang fountains of living water, as Christ had foretold."

Upon this foundation of the teaching of Christ and the Apostolic Church we rest our faith. We believe that God has made Himself known, revealed Himself, in His word. That this is an oral word and a written word, contained especially in the writings of the New Testament. We believe that God continues to reveal Himself in this word, partly because it is an authoritative document, which enables us to experience the original revelation, but chiefly because in it God and Christ are truly present with Divine saving power. We believe that God has established a ministry of this word, through which, as a channel or means of grace, the Holy Spirit enables the believer, through the merits of Christ, to find a gracious God. As a corollary we condemn those who teach that by our own effort and thought and work we attain the Holy Ghost without the external word. As Luther said in his reply to the Heavenly Prophets, "Without the external, God does not give the internal."*

* Cf. Hollaz: *Verbum divinum est doctrina de salute hominis divinitus patefacta in scriptura sacra comprehensa quae gratiam divinam nobis confert.*

To understand the real significance of this doctrine we must go back to the incarnation. "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us * * * full of grace and truth." We believe that Christ still dwells with His Church, and that we may still behold His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten Son. We agree with the Helvetic Confession that God's word *points out* the way of salvation, but we hold that it does more, it helps us to walk in it. On this point it must not be forgotten that there is a different spirit prevailing even in the older Protestant Churches. The Churches of the Augsburg Confession hold that the Word of God is in a strict sense a means of grace. Those who derive their heritage from Zurich and Geneva do not look upon the Word of God in the technical sense as a means of grace. They regard it rather as a simple proclamation, a dead letter until the Spirit is conferred. It has a moral efficacy in preparing and stimulating the soul, but the converting and regenerating power is exerted by the Spirit, not through the word, but outside of it, alongside of it and independently of it, and that too not upon all, but only upon the elect. We also believe that the word is a source of knowledge. But it is more than that, it is a creative force, a power of God unto salvation unto all who do not reject it. It is not a dead letter as the Quakers and others of that school would try to make us believe, but it is the Divine channel through which the Spirit gives life.

The Church becomes a partaker of this life not, on the one hand, through a special order of the ministry, which by apostolic appointment is authorized to transmit the Divine grace, nor on the other hand from a fresh baptism of the Holy Ghost, given in answer to importunate prayer. The words which Christ has spoken unto us are spirit and life. It is an incorruptible seed which abideth forever. Through this word we are regenerated into the Divine life. "Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me 'through their word.'" *

* We do not overlook the significance of the sacraments as means of grace. But they derive their efficacy from the word. "*Accedit verbum, sacramentum fit.*" A sacrament is a *verbum visibile.*

2. What benefits do we derive from the Word of God as a means of grace?

There are many terms that are used in describing the effect of God's Word on the human heart, but they may all be summed up in these two words, faith and love. "Christ for us" and "Christ in us," tell the whole story of the Christian life. To this at least all Positives will give their assent. Among Liberals, Schleiermacher would place the emphasis on feeling, while Ritschl places it on the will. The Lutheran describes the result of this new life as a mystical union, and he has held on to this thought and expression through all the centuries of Protestant controversy. By this he means that there is a real and substantial relation between God and the believer like that between a father and his child. The believer partakes of the hidden manna, and he bears a name which no man knows but him who receives it.

But not only is the beginning of the Christian life brought about by the word, its continuance and completion through all the struggles and reverses of a changeful life are assured *only through the word.* In the word dwells the spirit, in the word dwells and operates the living God.

Christian assurance is likewise the normal gift of the word, not an ecstatic condition of some highly-favored, exceptional Christians, but the plain, every-day possession of the simple believer.

Hence, says Martensen, "the Church of Christ is not simply a realm of invisible, spiritual forces, a world of mystical inwardness, it is a kingdom of God among men, with whom Christ has a present relation through the word which He gives them." This is the teaching of Christ, and this teaching the experience of the Church through all the ages has confirmed.

The question of benefits or profit is very old. Once upon a time Peter said to the Master: "Lo we have left all, and have followed thee," suggesting the question as to the reward they might expect. On this question as to what religion does for us, a marked distinction may be observed between the old and the new schools. Both are agreed in giving this answer: "It

introduces us into the Kingdom of God." But when they come to define the Kingdom, there is a great difference. The Liberals have a great deal to say about this world. They seem to glory in their agnosticism as to the future state. They have a psychological heaven. They have peace. They have a moral elevation that lifts them above this world. Others find their heaven in the improvement of social conditions, in getting better schools, better sewers, better politics. A preacher of this school will not find it difficult to reap the approbation of a wordly-minded congregation by demonstrating how their heaven is so much better than the heaven of the old-fashioned Christians, because it takes account of their present wants and necessities. Their theme is: "Be happy and you will be good." Well, Christ did not overlook the temporal wants of men. He said to Peter that they should have a hundredfold in this life, but the glory of His promise lay in the words, "in the world to come, eternal life.

We may concede that there have been times when Christian thought has not taken sufficient account of present world needs and opportunities. The hermit withdrew to the desert, and the monk to the cloister, in order that they might not be contaminated by the world. But in the end, practical religion, as illustrated best in the life of Christ and His apostles, brought the Church back again to her legitimate calling as a servant of men, and that too in earthly and secular relations, for Jesus' sake.

The old-fashioned believer also tries to make the most of this life. Nevertheless he has a larger vision than this narrow sphere affords, for he knows that the things which are seen are temporal but the things which are not seen are eternal. Hence in spite of scoffers, he sings:

> Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey blest!
> Beneath thy contemplation sink heart and voice oppress:
> I know not, oh, I know not, what joys await me there,
> What radiancy of glory, what light beyond compare.

3. What use can we make of this doctrine?

1. For the edification of the Church.

Eternal life, the Divine life here, and the life hereafter, is the

gift of God, through the word and only through the word. God cannot be comprehended except through the word. For this reason the Bible is often called the Gospel. And preaching is called the Gospel, because it contains, or should contain, the message which Christ gave.

The reading of the word of God has its undisputed place at the family altar. Following the practice of the Church of all ages, our own Church has made large provision for the reading of Scripture in her liturgical services. Possibly in the course of liturgical enrichment a way may sometime be found to add to the pericopes of the morning service a lesson from the Old Testament prophets. But certainly in the other services, whether of matins or of vespers there is a large opportunity for an edifying use of not only one lesson but of two or three.

But the word of God is not only the Bible, the printed record of the past, it is also the preached message of Christ's ministers. This was true of the apostles. It was true of their successors. It is true today. Whether the sermon take the form of an explanation of the word, or that of witnessing, or of catechisation, or of the proclamation of a message, a Christian sermon in its ideal character is the expression or proclamation of the word of God.

While our Church is a liturgical Church, and has gratefully preserved in her order of worship the essential features of the liturgy of the ancient and historical Churches, she has given the greatest emphasis to the place of preaching. It may be worth while also at this point to call attention to that conception of preaching which is held in our Church, which is not found everywhere in the Protestant communions, namely that of a *celebration* (Feier). We know what the Roman Catholic means when he speaks of the celebration of the Mass. He believes in the real presence. In our services we have learned to distinguish between the sacrificial and the sacramental elements of worship. The hymns and prayers are sacrificial. The reading of the word and the Holy Communion are sacramental. The sermon is both. It is on the one hand sacrificial, in so far as it is a testimony of personal faith. But its chief

importance lies in its sacramental character. The preacher handles divine mysteries. The word which he preaches is not mere instruction nor exhortation. It is a communication. As Martensen says: "In the true service Christ Himself is the preacher. It is not a sermon about Christ, but it is the word of Christ. If the Christian sermon were simply a continuous effort to keep His memory green, all our efforts would fail. In accordance with a universal law of history his image would fade away. But now where the word of God and a believing Church meet, the Lord Himself is present in the power of the Holy Ghost."

These considerations emphasize the importance of that old-fashioned Christian custom of going to church. Too often the Sunday newspaper and the automobile enter into successful competition with the Church. It is our duty in view of the Divine character of the Church service earnestly to protest against this downward tendency. As Luther says in his explanation of the 3d Commandment: "We should fear and love God, and not despise preaching and His Word, but keep it holy and gladly hear and learn it." On the other hand it is incumbent upon the preacher to recognize the sacredness of his callings and not to yield to the temptation to win public attention by means of some sensational topic or to secure interest by the meretricious attractions of a worldly discourse. Preachers have a great diversity of gifts which they are bound to use in the service of the Master, but let it be understood that what all have in common, the climax of their utterance, the gist of their message is the word of God.

The efficacy of the sermon will be promoted also by keeping in mind the distinct functions of the word, the Law and the Gospel. The Law is the Divine norm for human life. The Gospel is a message of forgiveness for Christ's sake freely conferred through faith.

The Law demands, the Gospel gives. The Law kills, the Gospel makes alive. The Law shows us our sin, the Gospel shows us our Saviour. The Law is our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. The dogmaticians point out various uses of the

law, but an allusion to one will serve my purpose. The law is a mirror in which we behold ourselves as unclean and condemned. "I had not known sin, except through the law." The Gospel points us to the fountain of cleansing, to the way of escape from condemnation. The law is for the unconverted man, not for the sake of inducing him to reach an ethical standard which he never can reach, but to convince him of the hopelessness of his condition. But the law is also for the converted man, in order that he may learn the significance of his baptism, "that the old man should, by daily sorrow and repentance be drowned and die, and again a new man daily come forth and arise, who shall live before God in righteousness and purity for ever."

No sermon is complete without the Law, and no sermon is complete without the Gospel. Whatever the text or theme, it should never fail to carry the message of John 3 : 16.

If it be true that the Protestant pulpit has in any respect lost its grip upon the public mind, it is because the emphasis has been placed upon the human side of its work, rather than upon the preached word as a channel of divine grace.

It is a maxim among the Roman Catholics that there never can be too many ministers. We seem to have reversed this among us Protestants. Far be it from me to exalt the ministry as an order superior to that of the so-called laity. We would have stronger Churches and a more wholesome Christianity if for a time we should exalt that universal priesthood which our Church in theory faithfully teaches. There is a ministry which every one of us is called upon to exercise and which we cannot delegate to him who stands upon the pulpit. We need a fuller recognition of the claims of this universal ministry, and of the sanctity of the work in the ordinary lives of men.

I am aware too of the potent appeals which the secular pursuits of our age put forth to our young men, and to the prizes which it offers to those who respond. Nor can I conceal the fact that in too many cases a minister's years of service are far more limited than those of men in other professions. And yet

if there is a dead line in his career, which I do not believe, it has been drawn by himself rather than by others.

If it is true that there is a Christ, a real Christ, and not an imaginary Christ, whose resurrection is a matter of indifference so long as we "value-judge" His resurrection, if His word is that which He declared it to be, what a dignity it gives to the calling of the minister of the word.

They tell us that the minister is no longer the power in society that he once was, that whatever influence he has is owing to something that he is besides being a minister. Even if this were true, who cares for power if he can have the privilege of service. The follower of Christ is not an *imperator*, but a *minister*, a servant of the meek and lowly One. And yet I do not believe a word of the claim as to the declining power of the ministry. With no sacerdotal conceptions of the ministry, I believe that since he is the mouthpiece and messenger of supernatural, of Divine things, he still holds a place of unquestioned influence and power. The world can only be saved by faith, and faith, as Luther's version has it, cometh from preaching, and preaching through the word of God.

2. For evangelisation. By this we generally mean some special effort to reach those who have been estranged from the Christian Church, or for other reasons are outside of her regular ministry. No Church can claim to represent the spirit of Christ that does not realize the obligation of such a service. But in rendering such a service, we must be careful not to discredit the ordinary means of grace. The ordinary preacher is an evangelist, and the sermon which he preaches is or ought to be an evangel. If the preacher preaches the word of God, his message will be effective in convicting, converting and edifying the hearers. If he does not preach the word of God, if from the pulpit and on Sundays, he preaches on other topics, he has mistaken his calling, and then an evangelist is needed, but a permanent, not a peripatetic evangelist. But with a Scriptural conception of the Word of God as means of grace, we ought to expect results from the plain preacher, at the ordinary service, and in the use of every sermon.

I venture also to inquire whether the professional evangelist, in so far as he is differentiated from the regular minister, is evangelical. The reason for his presence, the secret of his power, lies not in the word which he preaches, but in the hypnotic influence of his personality, or in the peculiar charm of his vocabulary and utterance. He says "Mesopotamia," and the people are melted with emotion. From his treasury of things new and old he brings forth a pleasing incident, and ripples of delight roll over the congregation. He narrates a pathetic story, the people are melted to tears and scores are converted. But in reference to all such conversions it is fair to ask *from* what have they been converted, and *to* what have they been converted.

From what has been said it must be clear that *the word* is the chief instrument in evangelization. This would seem to require no further proof. But is it not true that the keynote of much of the evangelistic preaching of the age is something else than the word. The inquirer is urged to pray, to wrestle with God in prayer, to say "I will not let thee go until I receive a blessing." In its place all this is good advice. But it is not the Gospel. There is a better message than: "Come to Jesus," it is: "Jesus has come to you." His finished work is yours if you will only accept it. His blood cleanses from all sin, it cleanses you from your sin.

Nor is it, I opine, a healthful message to emphasize the importance of a new baptism of the Holy Spirit.. "The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is the word of faith, which we preach."

In this connection it is in place to speak of that word of God which passes from the lips to the heart, as the Germans say: "*unter vier Augen*," under four eyes. It is a great thing to proclaim the Gospel with unction to the listening congregation, or to send it in the printed page aflame with power throughout the land. But some of the most effective and lasting sermons have been like those which Philip preached to the eunuch, God's word to one waiting heart, and he who received it "went on his way rejoicing." Young People's Asociations have been an

instrument for good in all that they have done for Christian fellowship and united effort in Christian work, but not the least of their blessings has been the opportunity they have given to pass along the good word of God through the mediation of individual friendship and association:

> "I say to thee, do thou repeat
> To the first man thou mayest meet
> In lane, highway or open street.
>
> That he, and we, and all men move
> Under a canopy of love
> As broad as the blue sky above;
>
> That if we will one Guide obey,
> The dreariest path, the darkest way,
> Shall issue out in heavenly day.
>
> And one thing further make him know:
> That to believe these things are so.
> That firm faith never to forego.
>
> Despite of all which seems at strife
> With blessings all, with curses rife,
> That this is blessing, this is life."

3. Finally for education. Religion and education go hand-in-hand. A nation is strong, not in proportion to its material strength and resources, but in proportion to its ideals. Where there is no vision, the people perish. The Christian religion has always been the mother of education. And in particular may we claim for our Protestant system the honor of having laid deep and broad the foundations of modern education. It is not necessary to prove this position. All who are familiar with the history of education know the dominant part which the Protestant Church, and in an especial sense the Lutheran Church has taken in securing and establishing the educational systems under which modern nations are prospering.

Nevertheless there is reason to fear that an alienation has sprung up which may ultimately lead to a divorce. Our American constitution from the beginning very properly provided for a complete separation of Church and State. Hence it is no part of the State to teach religion. That responsibility is thrown upon the churches. In the early history of our coun-

try, with a homogeneous population, churches and schools worked harmoniously toward common ends. But a time has come when, with a large percentage of our people adherents of a different religion from the majority, and members of alien races, the problem has become pressing and difficult. The eminent educator and publicist, Andrew D. White, has recently lifted a warning voice in view of the perils that threaten our country. He believes that the remedy is to be found in education. And although he has hitherto belonged to the disdinctly liberal thinkers, he emphasizes the necessity of religion in education. The solution which he offers, the introduction of religious instruction in the school, may be open to discussion. The solution of the question through the voluntary Sunday School or the impracticable parochial school does not seem to have proved adequate. At all events there is thrown upon the Churches and the Christian schools of our country a problem of the highest importance, of the deepest significance.

Toward the close of the Sixteenth Century Protestantism had obtained a strong hold on the people of Austria especially among the higher classes. In the reaction that took place in the seventeenth century, the emperor proposed to expel them from the country. A far-seeing member of his council advised him not to do so, but instead to order the suppression of their schools. The emperor followed his advice and not many years passed by before there were no more Protestants in Austria.

Modern History was ushered in by two great movements which were almost contemporaneous. The one was the Reformation, the other was the Renaissance. The latter appealed to men's conception of all that is beautiful in human life. The former appealed to the supreme authority and universal application of the word. There can be no doubt as to which of these has made the most important contribution to the history of civilization.

I plead for a clearer recognition of this historical position of our Church, this fundamental position of safety and progress, the acceptance of the word of God in worship, in ethics, in culture as the channel of Divine grace and inspiration. Amid

all the fleeting and uncertain theories of a Sadducaic age, this is the impregnable rock upon which we may stand. Let us therefore reverently unite in that ancient prayer of the servants of God: "Lord, send thy light and thy truth that they may guide us to thy heavenly hill."

ARTICLE II.

"CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY" BY DR. VALENTINE.*

By Professor J. A. Singmaster, D.D.

The publication of Valentine's *Christian Theology* marks an era in American Lutheran theological literature. It is the first, complete, original treatise on Systematic Theology from a Lutheran standpoint that has appeared in the English language. In saying this we do not forget the very useful *Popular Theology* of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, which first appeared in 1834, and which passed through at least nine editions. But the book was not meant to be a thorough and systematic discussion. Nor do we desire to ignore the very excellent *Summary of the Christian Faith* by Dr. Jacobs, published about a year ago. If we have properly understood its design, it is a concise reproduction in the form of questions and answers of "results," "drawn largely from our Confessions and Luther and our own theologians." It is adapted to the class-room, rather than for the general reader. Nor would we underestimate the various valuable contributions on doctrine made by the brilliant Krauth, the versatile Seiss, the saintly Sprecher, and many other Lutheran authors who have enriched our literature. Nevertheless, we affirm that Dr. Valentine's last work is the first original contribution of a Lutheran author which takes rank with similar productions by American Calvinistic writers.

It may seem strange that the Lutheran Church in America

* *Christian Theology*, By Milton Valentine, D.D., LL.D., Late Professor of Systematic Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., Vol. I. pp. 476; Vol. II. pp. 454. Cloth 8 mo. $2.50 each. Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

has been so slow in producing works on Systematic Theology; and yet the reason is apparent to those who understand our history. Having its roots in Germany, our Church at first naturally received its theology from the rich treasures of the Fatherland. As the Church became Anglicized, translations of dogmatic works were used. Professors in the Seminaries also gave original lectures; but these were not published for lack of time to prepare them for the press, or for want of means, or because of the theological unrest in the Church. Circumstances have changed. The Lutheran Church in America is coming into her true heritage. Scholarship is being developed. A period of repose, after a generation of controversy, has been reached; and we may look for greater productiveness in the line of constructive theology.

We, therefore, hail Dr. Valentine's *Theology* with sincere satisfaction, not as the final word on a great theme, but as the precursor of works, which shall reproduce and emphasize the conservative theology of the Protestant Reformation in the thought and language of the day.

A melancholy interest is attached to these volumes, inasmuch as the hand that toiled so patiently upon them was palsied by death before the work was fully completed. This accounts for some omissions, which however do not affect the integrity of the work. The Preface states that "a chapter on the Authority of the Scriptures" was contemplated, but not written. We have no doubt also that the subject of Angels was not treated because the author was borne on angels' wings before he had time to tell of their ministry to the saints on earth.

It is fortunate that these volumes were brought out under the competent and sympathetic supervision of Dr. Valentine's son, the Editor of *The Lutheran Observer*. As the author was wont to produce "clean copy" in a clear bold hand, the task of the editor was comparatively light. The printing and general make-up of the volumes reflect great credit upon the publishers.

The author brought to his task the equipment of that indefatigable industry, which is unappalled by the difficulties of a

subject. Hence, he passed no hard points by, and gave his theme thoroughness of treatment. He was possessed of a keen. philosophical mind which penetrated to the heart of things, discerning the truth almost as by intuition and exposing the weakness and sophistry of error. Moreover, he was a ripe scholar, having spent forty years as a teacher in College and Seminary, where his enthusiasm won the admiration of his pupils. His touch with young men kept him young in feeling and sympathy, so that he lived in the present rather than in the past. This made him more than an echo of the voices of past centuries, and his theology more than a repetition of crystalized formulas.

Two things particularly fitted him for his latest work. The one was his living faith; the other his preliminary studies. It was apparent from his utterances and character that he lived in close fellowship with our Lord. His life was spent in unswerving loyalty to Christ. In none of his writings does he cast a shadow of doubt upon the fundamentals of the faith of the Church. To the end, though he had not been a pastor for more than a generation, his occasional sermons were full of the thought of Christ, the friend and Savior of poor sinners, and of yearning for the salvation of souls. We emphasize this point, for a theologian without "heart" is no theologian all all. *Pectus facit theologum.*

Dr. Valentine's long study of psychology, of philosophy, of ethics, and of the evidences of Christianity, during the term of his presidency of Pennsylvania College, was a splendid training for his theological career. His books on *Natural Theism* and *Theoretical Ethics*, together with his sermons and numerous articles in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, find their final coronation in his *Christian Theology*. To him theology was "the queen of the sciences."

His last work is characterized by the high literary quality which is familar to the readers of the QUARTERLY. His productions are distinguished for clearness of thought and for felicity of expression. His diction is polished and dignified, as befits his subject. There is an easy flow of language, like that

of the waters of a deep, broad, majestic river. We suspect that the average layman may sometimes be carried beyond his depths in reading these volumes, but they are not beyond the average pastor, nor the thoughtful, well-read layman. They should find their way into the library of every Lutheran minister.

The general character of Dr. Valentine's *Christian Theology* is determined by the history of its production. It is not the fruit of passion for authorship. If the author had been a mere bookmaker he might have published these volumes years ago. They are the product of long and careful study and revision. They embody the mature results of investigation and discussion by a living teacher, who was not only in contact with bright, inquiring young men in the class-room, but also in touch with the thought of the day. The motive that prompted the final preparation of the work was the conscientious impulse of a wise and good man to leave his written testimony concerning the great truths of our holy religion, as they presented themselves to his mind and conscience.

Moreover, the aim is altogether practical. Though scientific in form and cogent in statement, challenging close attention and criticism, the supreme end of these volumes is to equip men to understand and to preach the truth as it is in Jesus. The evident purpose is to set forth the great facts of our faith in such a manner that they might stand out in proper relation and symmetry, that the student might be fitted to use them in all confidence in his ministry.

Dr. Valentine wrote from a decidedly conservative standpoint. By this we mean that he held to the integrity and historicity of the Bible. Well acquainted with the assaults of the negative higher criticism, he saw no good reason to depart from the faith of the fathers. While he rejected the idea of a mere verbal and mechanical inspiration, he received the Bible as God's Word revealed to man. His *Theology* is, therefore, preeminently Biblical. His final appeal is to the Scriptures. Upon matters transcending reason he always rests the case upon that which God has revealed. There is, however, no forced

use of "proof-texts." Disputed and irrelevant passages are not pressed into service to bolster up a doctrine.

The Scriptures always furnish the basis for every doctrine which Dr. Valentine defends. He does not accept it or reject it, because it is, or is not set forth in the Creed. The Word, interpreted in the light of scholarship, history and experience, is the norm of his teaching. And yet his *Theology* is Systematic, and not technically Biblical. Starting with the results of Biblical Theology, he accepts the legitimate development of doctrine as it has been formed through the centuries of Church life and experience, wrought by the Holy Spirit.

As a conservative theologian, Dr. Valentine accepted the great Ecumenical Creeds, not because they are the authoritative utterances of the Church, but because he believed them to be the expression of fundamental truth. He accepted, therefore, with all his heart the cardinal doctrines of the Trinity of the Godhead, the absolute divinity of Christ, together with the virgin-birth, the depravity of the race through sin, the atonement by the blood of the cross, the need of the regeneration of the heart by the Holy Spirit, and eternal retribution upon the basis of the life on earth.

These doctrines are set forth and defended with rare logical skill. While the treatment is not strictly original, it is always independent. Originality is well nigh impossible in a field so often traversed; but freshness is evident on nearly every page.

Dr. Valentine's attitude may be best understood by looking at the treatment of some one subject. We take at a venture the doctrine of the Atonement. "The New Testament teaching is that the atonement needed was such a work by Christ as should, on the one hand, reconcile divine forgiveness of sin with the unlowered supremacy of holiness and righteousness; and on the other reconcile estranged man to God. * * It was in its transcendent realities and bearings, to make such satisfaction to God's holiness and righteousness as to render it possible for God consistently to act in pardoning love to penitent guilt. * * In its humanward bearing, the end sought through the atonement, as distinctly indicated by the supreme

manifestation and appeal of redeeming love, is to overthrow man's alienation and inspire trust, love, and obedience. * * These two ends are inseparable in a full Scriptural view of the atonement. * * * The decisive point which divides all false or partial theories from the true and full conception is right here—in this denial or omission of the Godward side. Whatever may be the philosophy of the atonement, any account which makes such denial, thereby takes its position outside of the requirements of Scripture or orthodoxy." "The Scripture teaching requires, as the very core of the atonement, the reality of a vicarious *satisfaction of the divine justice and holiness against the guilt of sin.* God could not compromise His righteousness by simply passing over its unspeakable ill-desert."

From the above quotations it is obvious that Dr. Valentine accepts the so-called Satisfaction Theory of the Atonement as propounded by Anselm, and yet not without some qualifying statements. We are well aware that much recent theology seeks to discredit this view, substituting for it the so-called Moral Influence theory, in which properly speaking there is no atonement at all. Our author restates the orthodox position clearly and strongly. It is needless to set forth his attitude on other cardinal doctrines; for they are all brought out in the same masterly way.

The order of treatment is that which is usually followed. The Introduction treats of the subject matter of theology, of its sources, and of Revelation in particular. Then comes the consideration of the "doctrine of God," of Man, of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of the Word, the Sacraments and the Church, and the "Last Things." Technically stated, these divisions are Theology, Anthropology, Christology or Soteriology, Pneumatology, and Eschatology.

This order has sometimes been derided as hackneyed. But it is the treatment that often merits reproach rather than the order; for the latter is logical, and practically the historical order in the development of doctrine. We believe that any rearrangement would conflict with the natural course of thought.

The distinctive character of a theological system is determined chiefly by its "method," or point of view. The central doctrine shapes the entire conception. The relation and comparative importance of all its parts are affected by the central idea. The two chief methods prevailing in theology are the Trinitarian and the Christo-centric. The former characterizes Calvinistic or Reformed Theology, which makes the divine Sovereignty, with all its implications, the starting point. The latter or Christo-centric method dominates Lutheran Theology. It seeks to approach God as he approaches us, that is, through Christ. It regards God as a loving Father, who would save all men, rather than as a stern Sovereign, who fixes the destiny of all men by immutable decree.

In following the Christo-centric method, Dr. Valentine is a Lutheran rather than a Reformed theologian. This does not mean that our author is sectarian, and that he cannot see truth in other systems, or that he would deny fellowship with the saints wherever found. The title *Christian Theology* is not presumptous, for all Christians may find much to endorse in these volumes. Nevertheless, it must in consistency with itself part company with any system which teaches a limited atonement. or eternal damnation regardless of foreseen character. It distinctly repudiates Calvinism.

This *Theology* is Christian and Protestant, over against Romanism, with its false conception of the sacraments, of repentance, of the Scriptures, and of the ministry. It of course, utterly rejects the dogmas of infallability, of Purgatory, of the intercession of saints, and other errors.

Dr. Valentine also stands for infant membership in the Church through baptism, as over against the Baptists, who deny the sacred rite and sacrament to the little ones, of whom the Savior says, "of such is the kingdom of heaven." He shows the unity of the Church under both dispensations, and proves that the sign of the covenant is baptism under the new dispensation, as circumcision was under the old.

But after all, is Dr. Valentine's *Theology* distinctly Lutheran? The answer to this will depend upon one's conception of Luth-

eranism. If this is to be determined by a rigid adherence to all the "symbolical books," received in their "only true, native and original sense," then we are sure that this *Theology* is not strictly Lutheran. If opinions expressed casually by the Reformers or held by some dogmaticians on such matters as child-faith are to be normative, then again this *Theology* is not strictly Lutheran.

We deny, however, that these things are proper criteria of Lutheranism. The two great determinative principles of the Lutheran Reformation are loyalty to the Word of God as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the acceptance of the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ. These principles, the *formal* and the *material*, dominate Dr. Valentine's work and give it the stamp of Lutheran. The doctrine of justification by faith, in its relation to Christology and human salvation, is everywhere emphasized. The great prominence of this doctrine is the true and distinguishing mark of our theology. As has often been shown, it occupies a peculiar and determinative place in Lutheran theology, because it magnifies the Person of Christ.

And this leads us to Dr. Valentine's conception of faith and free-will. "Faith," says he, "is wrought in us by the Holy Spirit, through the Word. It is not the product of our own natural ability. By reason of the depravity of human nature, its alienation from God and its bondage in sin, it cannot of itself exercise saving faith. The will is enslaved to indwelling corruption." "But by quickening, prevenient grace, a free assent or acceptance of Christ is made possible. Men are not *purely passive* in conversion. They sre measurably active in the incipient elements of faith—in "knowledge" or understanding of the truth, and in "assent" as formal belief of the truth, under the Spirit's call. And in "confidence," the selfsurrender of sincere trust, the activity continues, under the progressive awakening and quickening. The whole movement is one in which God comes with enabling grace for man's acceptance of the prepared, but not yet actualized salvation. And the "assent" or acceptance is necessarily *man's act*, not God's—but

man's empowered by God's Spirit of grace. It is an act of the human *will.* God cannot believe *for* man; but through the truth made potent by the Holy Spirit, He can make faith possible to the otherwise impotent human will." This, it seems to us, is entirely in accordance with Scripture, with the Augsburg Confession, and with sound reason.

The *Christian Theology* also follows the Scriptural "order of salvation" in placing justification before regeneration, which order was reversed by Calovius and others in the seventeenth century. This error crept into the Church through the false conception that faith can come alone through regeneration. Luther taught correctly that faith has a two-fold operation: to justify and to renew, the second following the first. Likewise, the "Form of Concord" teaches that "faith lays hold of God's grace in Christ, whereby the person is justified. Then when the person is justified, he is renewed and sanctified by the Holy Spirit." Faith, awakened and made possible through the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Word, underlies all the spiritual processes in the application of redemption. God enables man to believe. When he believes he is justified and his sins forgiven, and he is made a new creature in Christ. The order, therefore, logically is justification, regeneration, sanctification. Chronologically these experiences are not necessarily far apart.

In the discussion of the means of grace, Dr. Valentine properly makes the Word *primary*, as being in itself the power of God unto salvation to the believer, and as *constitutive* for the sacraments. He thus does not undervalue the latter, but agrees with Luther in assigning to preaching and to teaching the first place in the divine service. The undue exaltation of the sacraments was no doubt one of the fundamental errors which corrupted the Church, and which made the Reformation necessary. Romanism still maintains the false dogma that the grace of justification is conferred only through the sacraments and that they are efficacious without faith, when no obstacle is offered.

It has been asked whether our author accepts the Lutheran

view of the Sacraments. Let us briefly compare his theology with the teachings of the Augsburg Confession: "Concerning baptism our Churches teach, that it is necessary to salvation; that through baptism, the grace of God is offered" (Art. IX). "In regard to the Lord's Supper, they teach that the body and blood of Christ are truely present, and are dispensed to the communicants in the Lord's Supper" (Art. X).

Dr. Valentine's *Theology* teaches: "The Sacraments are an ordinary necessity to salvation * * But the necessity is not to be understood as absolute, i. e., that the grace of salvation cannot possibly be given apart from them * * * This is certified Scripturally by the instances of the dying thief on the cross, and of Cornelius to whom was given the Holy Spirit with His saving gifts *before* any sacramental administration. Protestant theological interpretation has consentiently accepted this truth. Luther argues that as Jewish children dying before circumcision were not lost, neither are Christian children dying before baptism" (Vol. II. p. 304).

"The Sacraments are means or bearers of grace to believing recipients. * * The creation of them implies their instrumentality for a unique service in conveying the grace of the gospel to our experience. We cannot regard them as mere memorials of events and truths, to form a decorous commemoration in religion, as a fourth of July in patriotism" (p. 297).

"May the child be said to be *regenerated* by the act of Baptism? We may properly answer, Yes; but only in the sense that the established vital and grace-conveying relation under imputed righteousness and the Holy Spirit, may be said to hold, in its provisions and forces, the final covenanted development" (p. 329). "Are the baptized children to be accounted as believers and members of the Church? Their membership in the visible Church is at once real and complete; and they are accordingly to be numbered as believers, sealed by the sacrament of faith" (p. 331).

Concerning the Lord's Supper, Dr. Valentine says with approval: "The Lutheran view, in general statement, teaches that while the elements, bread and wine, remain unchanged,

they really without figure become the communion of the body and blood of Christ glorified after a supernatural, divine, and heavenly mode of presence, union, and communication to the communicants. It regards the *mode* of presence as an inscrutable mystery, and only insists on recognition of the supernatural, divine fact as a fact, for our faith" (p. 344).

"Though in the way of a visible, tangible, localized presence, perceptible to the senses, He has in his glorification, ascended and left the world, and is not here in that mode: yet in another mode, glorified, supernatural and divine, by virtue of his eternal Deity, He is, or can be, present with believers everywhere in the completeness of His theanthropic Person" (p. 346).

"When the various definitions and explanations are brought together and correlated, they result in establishing for the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in its essential content and significance, a divinely instituted sacrament for perpetual use in His Church, which, while constituting a memorial of His redemptive suffering, is made also, through a *real, special definitive Presence*, under His generic omnipresence, a means by which He gives himself to believers as the ever-living Savior, in the fullness of His provided grace and saving power" (p. 358).

"As to the oft-asserted reception of the grace of the Sacrament by unbelievers as well as believers, this is simply an associated feature of the oral manducation which cannot be proved an essential part of our confessional theology, and must be modified into accord with the ruling principles and order of grace. Of course, the formal sacrament is received by unbelievers as well as believers. The recipients faith does not constitute it or determine what is present or offered. A real faith of the heart, however, is necessary to receive what is divinely present for reception. And the Form of Concord itself makes easy the necessary adjustment to the real truth when it declares that unbelieving communicants 'repel Christ as the Savior from themselves.' They do *not* receive Him—either as to His divine or human nature, or His offered grace. But he whose faith accepts Christ receives all grace in and with Him" (p. 359).

In short, the unworthy communicant receives Christ in the Sacrament in the same way as he does when he hears the Gospel—that is, he receives Him formally and nominally, but actually rejects Him.

We have quoted Dr. Valentine at some length that the reader might decide for himself. For ourselves we heartily approve the general attitude taken. We are aware, indeed, that there are and have been extreme, ultra teachings in the Lutheran Church concerning the Sacraments ; but we do not regard these as generic and normative. Dr. Valentine has kept within the safe bounds of our great Confession, of reason, and of the Scriptures.

Several years ago a prominent pastor and author, in a branch of our Church other than the General Synod, expressed the hope that some one might soon arise and translate Lutheran theology into the language and thought of today. We believe that Dr. Valentine has done this in very large measure. He has, at least for our English-speaking American Lutheran Church, presented a system of theology which conserves the faith of our Church in the light of modern, evangelical thinking.

Christian Theology will commend itself to the candid reader of whatever denomination he may be. He will find in it a strong defence of our common faith.

ARTICLE III.

LUTHERAN GERMANY AND THE BOOK OF CONCORD.

By Professor John O. Evjen, Ph.D.

(continued from page 94).

V. BADEN (Grand-Duchy).

The area of Baden is 5,823 sq. miles. It has a population of 1,867,944, of which 704,058 are Protestants. Its established Protestant Church is the United Evangelical. The Union was established as early as 1821, the Lutherans at that time numbering 261,265, the Reformed 67,170. To-day, however, it cannot be said that the Lutheran type is characteristic of the Union in Baden, as it is, for instance, in the Prussian Union. * Baden is fusion unionistic, the Prussian Union is a federation. † Almost everywhere in the Prussian Union ‡ Luther's Catechism

*Th. Kaftan in "*Vier Kapitel von der Landeskirche*," *p. 21*: *Die unierte Kirche Preussens hat sehr vorwiegend lutherischen Typus.*

† There are at least three different kinds of Union: (a) an absorption of the one denomination by the other; (b) a fusion of the two into one, in which each gives up its peculiarities; (c) a federation by which each remains distinct in creed and customs, but admits the ministers of the other denominations into its pulpits and their communicants to its communion. The first decree relative to the Prussian Union (1817) stood for federation; the next (1830), ordering the introduction of a common liturgy, made the Union a fusion; the third (1834) a federation. (See The Lutheran Quarterly, Jan. 1907, p. 72).

Dr. Good is right in his statement that, "as a class, the Lutherans generally understood the Union to mean fusion, while the Reformed generally that it meant federation. This difference will explain some of the acts of the Lutherans, which seem arbitrary." The greater part of Lutheran America still persists in misunderstanding "federation," confounding it with fusion. Hence so many absurd condemnations of "Union" and "Unionism," and so much dread of German theology as being "Unionistic" where it is not rationalistic.

‡ The provinces of Rhine and Westphalia are the most notable exceptions, favoring the Consensus Catechisms. In Rhine it is used by 179 congregations, twenty-seven use other Catechisms (Cohrs, "Katechismen" in P. RE. X. 145 f). In determining the Confessional status of a state, Luther's Catechism is a safe criterion. "Among the Confessional writings," as Th. Kaftan says (*Vier Kapitel* * * *, p. 44), "there is one

is the officially recognized text-book over against the Heidelberg or the Consensus Catechisms (i. e., Reformed or Reformed-Lutheran). The official Catechism of the United Church of Baden is the Consensus, not Luther's.

When we here treat Baden at some length, we do so, not because its Lutheranism warrants this, but because it is quite typical of those territories along the Rhine that introduced the Union.

Baden was originally a Lutheran territory (Baden-Durlach), which at the accession of Margrave Charles Frederick, about the middle of the eighteenth century, had an area of 600 sq. miles, and a population of 100,000. But in 1811 the Margrave, after ruling sixty-two years, could witness that his territory was ten times as large as at the beginning of his reign. Baden-Baden (Catholic) had been added to it in 1771. In 1803 it acquired that portion of the Palatinate lying on the right bank of the Rhine (Heidelberg, Mannheim), also the portion of the bishoprics of Constance, Basle, Strassburg, Speyer, on the right bank of the Rhine, and many ecclesiastical foundations and imperial cities. All this, together with the title of Electorate was indemnification for losses suffered in the coalition war. Much of this unmerited increase of territory was due to France and to Russia, to whose Emperor the ruler of Baden was dynastically related. The area of Baden was now two-thirds of what it became in 1811. In this year it received about 2000 square miles, and the title of Grand-Duchy. It was the direct work of Napoleon—his reward to Baden for serving him in the Confederation of the Rhine. This terri-

---

which arose from the need of declaring what man should know about religion in order to live and die as a Christian: Luther's Catechism. There is, accordingly, none of the other Confessions so independent of *Zeitcharakter* as Luther's Catechism; it expresses the religious side of the Confession rather than the theological. It is through this symbol that the Confession still remains a living force in the laity. From the standpoint of the Church people, the Catechism is *the* symbolical book." To substantiate this, we might add the discrimination made by Kawerau, in claiming that among the excellencies of Luther's Catechism are: (1) it does not furnish a connected system of doctrines, is no child's dogmatics; (2) it carefully avoids the scholastic language of the theologian; (3) it employs no definitions and no schematism (P. RE. X. 135).

torial growth of a petty state, * with an insignificant history, accounts, on the one hand, for the Roman Catholic ascendency 60.6 per cent., and, on the other, for the strength of the Reformed type in the Union, even if the Reformed were numerically weaker than the Lutherans. A strong Reformed influence would naturally be exerted by the Palatinate, which had both history and prestige. Its share in the Thirty Years War, in defence of Protestantism; its possession of a famous centre of culture like the Heidelberg University; and its initiative in giving to the religious world a Catechism which was to rival Luther's, were determinative factors for prestige and influence. Moreover, the Count Palatine had been one of the seven mem-

* How difficult a matter the problem of Confessional subscription was in Germany may be imagined, when one considers that the Peace of Westphalia was the triumph of the petty states. 300 (more correctly 400, the exact number has never been ascertained) principalities and little republics now dotted the map of Germany. They claimed and obtained for themselves the right to coin money, raise armies, close alliances, besides the privilege of being consulted in matters of general government. 1500 imperial knights obtained jurisdiction over their subjects. "Dozens of states were able to boast of not more than seven or eight miles apiece, yet their rulers invariably spoke of themselves as 'we, so and so, by the grace of God, etc.' * * * The abbess of Gutenzell was down in the *Reichsmatrikel* for one-third of a horseman and three and one-third foot soldiers; the barony of Sickingen for two-thirds of a horseman and five and one-third foot. The burgraviate of Reineck could boast of one castle, twelve poor subjects, one Jew, and a couple of farms and mill wheels."

The touch of Napoleon's iron hand was required to smooth these wrinkles in the Physiognomy of Germany. A beginning was made in 1803 by the Imperial Deputation who acted according to a plan of indemnification established by France and Russia. It annihilated 112 German states, in addition to 97 ceded to France, and divided up 50,000 square miles of territory with more than 3,000,000 inhabitants. It was the scheme of France to compensate with ecclesiastical lands on the right bank of the Rhine those princes who had lost possessions on the left. Upon Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, and Bavaria Napoleon heaped all the benefits of his power in order to have a "Third Germany" to make use of against Prussia and Austria. For that reason Baden was given in compensation for her lost territory ten times as much as was her due. The Napoleonic "state-making" necessarily affected also the Confessional status of the maimed or indemnified territories. This was felt as soon as the spell of Rationalism gave way to saner reflection. (See Häusser, *Deutsche Geschichte*, (1869), I. 4f., 65 f.; Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*, (1897), II. 354 f.; Henderson, *A Short History of Germany*, (1902), II. 219f., 247.

bers of the Electoral College, which had for centuries been choosing the Emperors and playing a part in German history second to them. To this may be added the aggressive spirit of the Reformed, which has always and everywhere duly exerted itself, not seldom at the expense of the Lutherans.

The people of Baden now beheld three Confessions and a vast number of weak and puny chance-territories huddled together within disproportionate boundaries. How should they adjust themselves to the new order of things, disciples, as they were, of the New Illumination which saw in history nothing but the sum of arbitrary actions? For, a long time after the other German states had awakened from that stupor which makes man so callous to history, Baden was rocking in the cradle of *ratio*, forgetful of reality. Thus, it became, as Treitschke says, the natural home of a liberalism which with unfailing promptness adjusted political as well as ecclesiastical matters according to the unerring fundamentals of the socalled "law of reason." In the domain of religion, Protestant Rationalism was extending the hand to the enlightened Catholicism of Joseph II. of Austria. In the Protestant territory religious indifference was so great that an apostle of vulgar Rationalism like H. E. G. Paulus could lecture on New Testament Exegesis, for forty years (till 1851), at the University of Heidelberg. It was this indifference, coöperating with unhistorical *ratio*, that paved the way for the Protestant Union in Baden. Another incentive may have been the fact that lower Rhine was national German, as well as Protestant, while the more powerful Upper Rhine was devoted to France and Rome.*

* The people of the Upper Rhine, in whose veins not a little Celtic and Roman blood flowed, were incomparably more susceptible and impulsive—though, in ideas, less creative—than their Swabian neighbors, by whom they were called *windige Franzosen*. They had, at all times, evinced a boisterous enthusiasm for the new ideas that kindled the world. In the time of the crusades no part of Germany was so churchly as the Upper Rhine. In the age of the Reformation they were enthusiastic for the new doctrines, but only the minority showed endurance when the evangelical faith was tried. Again, when the *alamode* culture of the French made its entry into Germany, none welcomed it so enthusiastically as the sons of the Upper Rhine. See Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, II, 355.

The Union grants, as we shall see, "normative authority to the Augsburg Confession (as also to the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechism)* in so far as by it the free investigation of Scriptures, as the only source of Christian faith, is openly demanded, affirmed, and applied."† For a whole generation the Union met with no opposition worthy of mention. A few congregations dissenting from the consensus formula of the Lord's supper in the breaking of the bread, were permitted to retain the ancient rite.

It was in the fifties that Confessional consciousness awoke. Some of the rationalistic members of the High Consistory were pensioned off, rationalistic text books like Hebel's Bible History shelved, and steps taken to introduce a new *Agenda* and a new Catechism which should unite the Lutheran and the Heidelberg. When, in 1858, the government enjoined the use of the new Agenda, this was discovered to be too liturgical. "Being compiled from the liturgies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its stately altar service was strange not only to the Reformed but also to the Lutherans of south-west Germany." It gave rise to opposition, an opposition that was headed by Heidelberg professors, contrasts like Daniel Schenkel and Ludwig Häusser, the historian, and resulted in a new liberal Cabinet, the liberal party getting the ascendency in 1861.‡

In 1867 the power of the liberals reached a climax by making, at a synodical meeting, the motion to divest the ancient Confessions of their authority. It was claimed that faithfulness to the Union pledged its members to tolerate and unconditionally admit to the same privileges those who stood by the traditional doctrines of past centuries and those who, having kept abreast of science and culture, had gained new view-points for the exhibition of Christian truth and thus changed their con-

* This is the Union Catechism of 1882. It was only during the first years of the Union that Baden retained the old Cenfessional Catechisms.

† Kurtz, *Church History*, II. 333.

‡ In the mean time a Free Church movement had succeeded, after many trying ordeals, in getting a Lutheran Free Church legally recognized (1856). She bade fair to prosper, but dissensions among her pioneer pastors dwarfed her growth. To-day she numbers less than 4000 souls. She generally follows the Agenda of Löhe (Book of Concord).

victions. After much debating it was resolved that the rights and privileges of those who pursued independent scientific investigations should in no wise be called in question as discriminating in favor of those who fully shared the theology of the Confessions.*

It was at the same meeting that the formula of Confessional subscription was drawn up which is in force to-day. It suffices to state the first question directed to the ordinandus: "Are you prepared to proclaim, according to best knowledge and conscience, the Word of God as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures * * * in conformity with the evangelical faith and according to the *Bekenntnisstand* of our United Evangelical Protestant Territorial Church * * * ?"†

What is this *Bekenntnisstand?*

The fullest, as well as the most important, answer was given in 1892 by the High Consistory.‡ The substance of the answer is this: (1) Section 2 of the articles of Union. (2) The interpretation of this section 2 as given by the Synod in 1855, which holds that the Word of God is the only source and norm in matters pertaining to faith, life, and doctrine, and which regards the Augsburg Confession, Luther's and the Heidelberg Catechism as normative in so far as they testify to the fundamental articles of Scripture and to the faith set forth in the œcumenical symbols of the entire Christian Church. (3) The resolution of May 18, 1867, which regards the Augsburg Confession and the two Catechisms as confessionally binding in so far as in them are contained the true foundation of evangelical Protestantism and the fundamental principles of evangelical Protestant faith. From this, continues the Consistory, follows: (4) The right and duty to subject Scripture to free and independent research. How this right and duty is to be exercised by the clergy and what limit is to be observed are ascertained from: (5) The Instructions of the Council (as far back as) 1797, which are still in force. In these it is claimed that Scripture is the supreme authority; that the Confessions

* Hase, *Neue Kirchengeschichte*, (1897) II. 2nd part, p. 633.
† Mulert, *Die Lehrverpflichtung* * * * , 49.
‡ Ibid 50–55.

of the Reformation are indeed more Scriptural than the doctrines in vogue prior to the Reformation, but have, on account of their philosophic dress, which changes with the times, lost some of their simplicity and Scripturalness. "The Reformers," the Instructions continue, "never intended that the Confessions should be infallible models of evangelical faith: some of the forms and expressions contained in them may be erroneous or lack clearness. Therefore, Scriptural truth should be ever sought, more and more deeply, and every member of the Church who possesses the requisite ability ought to be encouraged to independent research in Scripture. * * * No teacher [minister] is required to use the forms and expressions employed by the authors of the Confessions, if his own convictions do not impel him to this. But he is, on the other hand, not permitted to make his sermons vehicles for his own doctrines in order to suppress old ones. He must be aware of his fallibility and know that he has no right to place difficulties in the way of his hearers. As the minister wishes to enjoy security against the dominance of the Consistory, so the Consistory wishes to be secure against a dominance which is the more dangerous—that of the ministers when they press upon their congregations their own, often very narrow, views as models of belief, instead of proclaiming the doctrines of the Church which she, after long and mature examinations, conducted by devout and experienced men, has accepted." The clergyman "that violates these instructions of 1797 is to be reprimanded. If the reprimand is in vain, it must be decided if the offender ought to be treated with forbearance or requested to resign. The decisive factor to be taken into account in treating such a case is, whether the offender holds the doctrine of Christ's dominion in the Church of the New Covenant, that He redeemed with His life and death, and took possession of through the resurrection and the ascension to the Father."

The clergy of Protestant Baden have, in their capacity as official servants of the Church, no right to depart from the Agenda or to proclaim their own doctrines in the pulpit. They

have, however, a right to put their theological opinions in print, even if these should not be orthodox.

Baden's legislation on Confessional subscription thus appears somewhat complicated, anomalous, lax. Yet this State has had few heresy trials, its clergy have not been more prone to abuse the Confessions than the clergy of other states with stricter codes. Liberty is not license. No state has yet succeeded in discovering the formula that rendereth to Theology the things that are Theology's and to the Church the things that are the Church's. Nor have the universities had better success, least of all, perhaps, Germany's oldest university—ancient Heidelberg. Its spirit of compromise, manifested in the Heidelberg Catechism in the sixteenth century, is not on the decline in the nineteenth and the twentieth. Names like Paulus, Schenkel, Tröltsch confirm this. The compromise has broadened. But, as George Eliot makes one of her characters say, "where compromise broadens, intellect and conscience are thrust into narrower room." *Wissen* and *Gewissen* must receive due emphasis. They do so, as we have learned, in the formula of the Church of Saxony, which therefore is a more stable guaranty to Confessional liberty and theological progress than the verbiage officially employed to define the *Bekenntnisstand* of the Union Church of Baden. *

VI. HESSE (Grand-Duchy).

Hesse has an area of 2,965 sq. miles, a population of 1,119-893. 746,201 are Protestants. The "Evangelical Church" is the established Protestant Church. Actually, though not nominally, the Church of Hesse is a Union Church. In 1822 the Union was accepted by entire Rhenish Hesse (present area 530 sq. miles: in 1900 the Protestant population was 251,873; in 1822, 80,756). The Articles of Union were drawn up by a joint committee of Lutherans and Reformed, and approved by all the congregations, the government having declared that the

* To claim that the Union Church of Baden is Reformed, because she is not confessionally Lutheran, would be erroneous. It is also erroneous to hold with Good (Hist. of the Ref. Church in Germany, 567), that "the Reformed were entirely absorbed in the Union," and that "it is a sad fact that Heidelberg, the birthplace of the Reformed in Germany, no longer knows the Heidelberg Catechism."

Union should be established only with the express approval of the congregations. In Upper Hesse and in Starkenburg, provinces on the right of the Rhine, * the formal Union was established only where the adherents of the two Confessions lived together in the same place. Almost everywhere in Upper Hesse the congregations united by open communion, no documents being drawn up, a procedure that was encouraged by the State. Many congregations provided for common religious instruction and called their ministers without stopping to consider the Creed, thus a Union of the fusion type was encouraged. †

By an edict of 1832 a General High Consistory was entrusted with the superintendency of the Evangelical Church of Hesse, which, in the words of this edict, embraces "the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the United Confessions." The Consistory, as well as the Churches, showed that in ordinances pertaining to confirmation, to altar service, to establishing a seminary, to calling ministers, they did not consider the confessional factor where they could have done so. The Catechism used in Baden was officially recommended and generally accepted. In 1860, however, the Lutheran Catechism was pre-

* The area of Upper Hesse is 1,269 sq. miles: its Protestant pop. in 1822 was 238,395; in 1900, 251,873. Starkenburg, with an area of 1,166 sq. miles, had, in 1822, 162,626 Protestants; in 1900, 329,800. (H. A. Krose, *Konfessionsstatistik Deutschlands*, (1904), p. 94. P. RE. 2 ed. VI. 73.

† We have mentioned three kinds of Union: absorption, fusion, federation. "The different phases of Union have also been given another way according to Church government. Thus (1) The closest Union was in the *congregation*, when two congregations agreed to unite into one. (2) There was Union in a *Synod*, by which each congregation remained Lutheran or Reformed, but both denominations were united in a higher court, the Synod. (3) A Union still less close was in the secular court above the Synod, the *Consistory;* that is, the Synods remained Reformed or Lutheran, but they were united under one Consistory. Even here there was a difference, for some consistories were not divided on the score of denomination, others were. The last was really no Union, and simply meant that each denomination remained distinct, but was under the secular control of the Consistory." Good, *History of the Reformed Church*, 564.

scribed for Lutheran congregations. * The same year furnished the present ordination form. It calls for "preaching * * * the whole doctrine of the Christian religion as it is contained in the books of the Old and New Testament * * * and testified to in the * * * Reformation Confessions of our Church, especially in the Augsburg Confession" (Köhler, *Kirchenrecht*, 186).

The present organization of the Church of Hesse rests upon the edict of 1874, which in polity resembles the Protestant Church of Baden. Among other things, the edict specifies that (a) as a protection to Confessional peculiarities the congregations have through their Church council, the right to decline acceptance of ecclesiastical ordinances concerning doctrine and cultus; (b) a member of the established Church cannot be refused the sacraments because of his not professing the particular creed of the congregation to which he applies for them. Hesse has no national liturgy or Agenda. In 1898 there were 466 Protestant Churches in Hesse, twenty-eight of which belonged to the Reformed, 135 to the United. (P. RE. 3rd. ed. VIII. 3f.)

Hesse has two other Protestant Churches: (a) "The Independent Ev. Luth. Church" which, protesting against the polity introduced in the seventies, claiming that this violated the rights of the Lutheran Church of Hesse, was, on the plea of the Evangelical Alliance, legally recognized, 1878. Of the fifteen pastors who threw their lot with this Church, seven were mulcted or deposed. To-day she numbers 1800 souls (P. RE. XII. 13). She accepts the Book of Concord (L 27). (b) The "Renitent Church of Lower Hesse" with 2,400 souls, follows the Hessian Church Order of 1537, thus accepting (in addition to the œcumenical symbols), *Ephesinum* and *Chalcedonense*, the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology (L 27). This Church has her beginnings in 1868–69. Some ministers of both Confessions protested against the establishing of a common consistory for the Reformed, the Lutheran, and the United.

* The Reformed congregations use the Heidelberg Catechism. The Catechism of the United Churches in its present form was introduced in 1894. In the ten commandments and in the creed it follows Luther's Small Catechism, otherwise it also uses the Heidelberg.

In 1873 forty-two Reformed pastors of Lower Hesse, under the Metropolitan Vilmar and the Lutheran pastor Schedler declared they would not recognize the consistory but would adhere to the ancient Hessian Church order. These, too, were mulcted, punished or deposed. But they did not recognize even the deposition. Only a few had the support of their congregations. Impelled by their conscience to continue discharging the clerical functions, they sacrificed their property and suffered persecution until the year 1876 when they were declared to be laymen, thus exempted from the penalty that the law otherwise prescribed for their acts.

The national university of Hesse is Giessen. It specifies nothing whatever to its professors or licentiates of theology regarding what doctrines they are to hold and teach (M. 85).

VII. MECKLENBURG SCHWERIN (Grand-Duchy).

The area of this state is 5,135 sq. miles, its population 607,-770 of which 596,671 are Lutheran, served by 360 Lutheran ministers. The Grand-ducal house of Mecklenburg is the only reigning family in Western Europe of Slavonic origin and claims to be the oldest sovereign house in the Western world. In their full title the grand-dukes style themselves Princes of the Wends. The political institutions of the Grand-Duchy are of an entirely feudal character. The religious institutions also have not manifested a very progressive spirit. One need only think of the University of Rostock, which has, as no other German university, stood for the relentless orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. It has indeed not lacked in able teachers of theology, but they have been most unsparing in their polemics, ever ready to lay the axe on arbors of irenic growth.

We might mention Kliefoth † 1895, one of the leading authorities on Liturgics in the nineteenth century, who denied a Prussian candidate the pulpit, because he feared that the young man was infected with Unionism; and who called Spener an "exotic plant" in the Lutheran Church. "With Spener," he says, "the Reformed Church began her war of conquest against the Lutheran, a war which has since inscribed on its pannier various names—first Piety, then Tolerance, then Union, then

Federation."* Another Mecklenb'g theologian was F. A. Philippi † 1882, a Christian Jew, who wrote the first Dogmatics of renewed Lutheranism, and several works on Exegesis, "onesidedly dogmatical," as Luthardt said, and "pharisaically Judaistic," as von Hofmann claimed. It is remarkable how Kliefoth (1810-95) and Philippi (1809-1882) played the polemic against the Erlangen theologians Harless (1806-1879) and von Hofmann (1810-77). Kliefoth, who held that the Lutheran pastorate was directly instituted by God, made bitter attacks on Harless and the theological faculty of Erlangen for holding the sane and ancient Protestant view, that the individual minister is recruited from the common priesthood of the congregation and empowered with its authority. In like manner Philippi waged harsh polemics against von Hofmann's *Schriftbeweis*, which was a golden mean between Biblical Theology and Dogmatics, claiming that his "system of theology was suffering from mortal heart failure, and destined to fall like Ananias at the feet of St. Peter." Von Hofmann, on the other hand—that prince among Lutheran theologians of last century—regarded the Lutheranism of Philippi as a yoke of legalism. Von Hofmann's program was to teach old truth *in neuer Weise*, which, of course, could not appeal to the unhistorical mind of Philippi, nor can appeal to anyone who confounds substance with form, truth with method.†

The attitude of Kliefoth to pietism, tolerance, union, federation, and of Philippi to new methods, was, until quite recently, characteristic of entire Mecklenburg–Schwerin. The case of Prof. Baumgarten † 1889 is well known. He was forced in 1858 to withdraw from his professorship at Rostock for emphasizing the liberty of the Church against the State, for opposing Kliefoth's idea of the ministerial office, for showing zeal against religious legalism. Philippi was behind the agitation against the outspoken professor, whose casual words were weighed on jeweler's scales by his *rechtgläubigen* enemies and subjected to the most squeezing *Konsequenzmacherei*. The

* Hase, *Neue Kirchengeschichte*, II. 2. p. 623.

† In some parts of Lutheran America Philippi's *Glaubenslehre* possesses an almost canonical authority, where Lutheran dogmaticians like Thomasius, Kahnis, Luthardt, and Frank are feared and despised.

Catholics fared no better than the Protestant. A Roman priest engaged as private chaplain in the family of a Catholic nobleman was exiled, because the Roman cultus was tolerated only in certain localities specified by the government, to which the nobleman could lay no claim.* The same iron hand was lifted up against the sects. They had no recognition whatever. The program of the government was: Lutheranism.

But no German state has ever been so incapable of distinguishing between historic and historical Lutheranism as the Grand-duchy on the Baltic: hence the intolerance.

"Pure" doctrine and high liturgy did not improve the morals of the people. Mecklenburg's population was coarse and immoral. Kliefoth himself states that often a church † could not hold its Sunday services on account of the empty pews! Let us listen to the Church Historian Nippold: "The true ideal of pseudo-Lutheranism is Mecklenburg. Here the results of the seventeenth century orthodoxy were actually outbidden as far as morality is concerned * * *. The frightful neglect of all national-economic factors; the ever increasing number of illegitimate births; the poor Church attendance and low condition of schools, both without a parallel, are sufficient indications of the state of affairs in this orthodox paradise. Here the intellectual and religious life has been buried by *Junkerthum* and *Pfaffenthum*. The German language really has no word which expresses these conditions so well as the proverbial "mecklenburgisch," no less mocking in German than "Jesuit" in French.‡

The fact that the University of Rostock was the last of the German universities to drop the discussion of Predestination with the American Missourians was the indication of a favorable issue. No school could enhance its scholarship or gain any positive results by discussing with the followers of F. Walther, whose archaic mode of carrying on controversy and attendant in-

* Ibid 853.

† Ibid 623.

‡ Nippold, *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte* (1906), V. p. 321. In my correspondence to a Chicago weekly, *Skandinaven*, (Dec. 12, 1900) are recorded some impressions from Mecklenburg given to me by one of its gymnasium professors. They are no more favorable than Nippold's.

ability to give receipts for any new contribution to theological science, coming from an opponent, were the same then as now. Nippold is right, it seems, in claiming that the University of Rostock has of late been subjected to a "scientific rehabilitation."*

It has, however, not forgotten the days of fighting. A theologian like W. Walther, who certainly possesses ability and is no slave of the letter, is fond of getting behind the polemic battery when it comes to deal with Catholics like Janssen and Denifle or Protestants like Hausrath, Harnack, and Loofs. A similar combativeness, but exceedingly intense and excited, was manifested at the *Allgemeine Konferenz* at Lund, where the Mecklenburg clergy in vain did all they could to attach the tag of heresy to Norwegian pastor Klaveness because of his plea for a reform in the method of preaching.† He was exonerated by the *Konferenz*. The most recent attempt of Mecklenburg to diagnose heresy is connected with the case of Schmaltz, pastor in Ludwigslust, whom the consistory deposed in 1904 for doubting the virgin birth and bodily resurrection of Christ. The next year saw the case appealed to the High Ecclesiastical Court of Rostock. It reversed the decision of the consistory on the ground that the accused had not proclaimed his doubts publicly, and ruled that since he was not guilty of ne-

*Ibid. 323.

† Klaveness delivered his lecture in Norwegian, which the Mecklenburgers (and their supporters, the Hanoverans) most clamorous for his condemnation, least of all understood. That Klaveness is a man of decided ability and originality, is attested by his sermons which have been translated into six or seven languages. The *Konferenz* appreciated him better than some of the Lutheran Church papers of America that have been busy in belittling his person, aim, and method. Limiting ourselves to the man as a preacher a quotation from M. Schian's article on "Predigt" in Herzog-Hauck's P. RE. XV. 730f. will characterize him. In speaking of the different schools of preaching in Norway, Schian says: "Daneben ist in jüngster Zeit eine mehr 'moderne' Predigt getreten, die mit ähnlichen Bestrebungen in Deutschland etwa parallel geht, während sie doch theologisch der lutherischen Kirchenlehre erheblich näher bleibt, als das in Deutschland geschieht. Man hat hier die Aufgabe erkannt, auch durch die Predigt dem modernen Kulturmenschen mit warmherzigem Verständnis zu begegnen und ihn, indem man sowohl von dem orthodoxen Lehrstuhl wie von dem Piedestal pietistischer Frömmigkeit herabsteigt, für Kirche und Christentum zu gewinnen. Bedeutendster Verfechter und praktischer Vertreter dieser Richtung ist Th. Klaveness."

glect to recite the Apostles' Creed at the Church services, at baptism, and confirmation, he confessed the truths of the creed and thus could not be subjected to judicial arraignment.* This ruling of the highest ecclesiastical instance in Germany's most "conservatively Lutheran" State thus countenances the theory of Th. Kaftan (LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Jan. 1907, 83-86), as much as do the more "liberal" States.

Mecklenburg-Schwerin accepts the Book of Concord. The graduate of theology is asked if he, in case of entering the ministry, "is willing to abide by the Confessions and ordinances of our [viz. Mecklenburg-Schwerin] Church."

At the three hundredth anniversary of the Book of Concord, Ferdinand Philippi (not to be confused with Fr. A, mentioned above) published a booklet of 110 pages, pleading for the B. C. as a symbol. He stands for *quia*, objecting to *quatenus*. The subscription, he claims, obligates to the entire system of doctrines given by the B. C. with all the necessary consequences and results, † not, however, to the letter: The method of proving a statement, the interpretation of a Biblical passage, the historical statements, the exegesis employed are not binding in every instance. ‡ Luthardt's position (at the Saxon synod in 1876) is too unorthodox for Philippi. *Bekenntnisabweichung*, *Bekenntnisverdunkelung* is what he charges Luthardt with, who claims that theology as a science should not be tied down to the symbols. He asks if 2 Tim. 2 : 16 might not apply to Luthardt and likeminded, who are guilty of "*Krausmachen!*" §

* M. 104.

† Philippi, *Die Notwendigkeit und Verbindlichkeit des kirchlichen Bekenntnisses*, p. 78. Philippi's position, on the the whole, is that of General Council and Iowa.

‡ Ibid 98.

§ Ibid. 99, Cfr. page 2: "Selbst im Königreich Sachsen hat man vor nicht langer Zeit die Verpflichtungsformel formell und materiell auf den vermittelnden Vorschlag Dr. Luthardts abgeschwächt und ihr eine solche Fassung gegeben, dass auch Männer von freierer Richtung und weiterem Gewissen sich wohl dabei beruhigen können."

Perhaps no one in modern Germany has fought so bravely for the Lutheran Confession as Luthardt in the paper which he edited since 1868: *Allgemeine Luth. Kirchenzeitung*. In a pamphlet "*Die Synoden und die Kirchenlehre*," (1871). p. 38, he says: "It makes no difference

The plea for the Book of Concord, coming from Mecklenburg was, as far as Germany is concerned—though not America—a vain piece of work. For if the worth of the B. C. should be determined by the religious and theological conditions prevailing in a State, the work of 1580 could find no worse advocate than Mecklenburg-Schwerin, twenty-five years ago.* The present condition of M–S. has its bright sides

*Judging from the following startling statements of Prof. Schodde, the Ohio Synod is not far from following Missouri. He says: "It has repeatedly been claimed, and seemingly with justice, that there is only one man in connection with a Protestant theological faculty in a German university who still holds to the verbal inspiration theory of the heroic age of Lutheran theology, and this man is Professor Nösgen, of Rostock. It is accordingly not too much to say that the Lutheran Church, too, as represented by the official theological teachers in the land of Luther, has broken away in principle from the great truth for which the Reformer would have been willing to give up his life," (Columbus *Theological Magazine*, Dec. 1906, p. 328.)

What a charge! That out of Germany's 191 Protestant theological teachers (157 professors, 34 docents), in her 17 Protestant universities with 2,287 students of Protestant theology, only one (and he in Germany's smallest university, with 57 theological students) is true to the principle which Luther valued higher than his own life! No wonder that such charges foster the kind of fanaticism which a graduate student of Ohio Synod, so-journing a few fortnights in Germany, gave classic expression to by his raid on the teaching of theology in German universities, printed in the *Lutheran Church Review*, Oct. 1906, p. 699ff.

---

if a Lutheran Church does not subscribe to this or that particular symbol, for it is not the symbols as such that make her a Lutheran Church, but it is the doctrine which is contained in these symbols. And though a part of the Luth. Church, through some historical circumstances, acknowledges only the Augsburg Confession as legally binding, this fact does not involve a difference in the doctrine itself." Cfr. p. 49f.: "In welchem Umfang aber die Bekenntnisse bindend sind, das entscheidet sich geschichtlich. Je nachdem eine einzelne Provinz in die Bewegung und Entwicklungen der folgenden Zeit mehr oder minder mit hineingezogen worden war und sich für sie dadurch die Notwendigkeit genauerer Feststellung der evangelischen Grundlehren nöthig gemacht hat, in dem Masse hat sich auch der Umfang der Bekenntnisschriften für die betreffende Kirche festgestellt. Die Abweichung in der Zahl der einzelnen Schriften ist demnach geschichtlich veranlasst, ohne, wie ich schon früher ausführte, damit eine Verschiedenheit der Lehre zu involvieren."

"Where the Lutheran Confession holds sway, there is the Lutheran Church, whether she is in Russia or in Scandinavia or in America or in

and is very encouraging compared with the condition that prevailed in the past. As Rostock has rehabilitated itself scientifically, so Christian Charity has become a powerful factor in Mecklenburg: The Deaconesses' Home in Ludwigslust numbered in 1901 no less than 280 sisters. Nevertheless, much remains to be done to warrant Lutheran America to hold up Mecklenburg, especially Rostock, as the model of sound orthodoxy in Germany. Rostock has for a long time been the Shilo for that portion of American Lutherans which reserves the B. C. as *the* symbol of Lutheranism uncorrupt. Theological faculties would approve of a theological student's studying at no other German university than Rostock, whose adherence to the symbols was so faithful that the Missourians, when they put a premium on orthodoxy, only with regrets bade the University on the Warnow their go and begone, the other universities being already anathematized.

Will those who have hitherto admired the spirit of Rostock, now, when it has rehabilitated itself, likewise bid it adieu and like the Missourians, put up a new *noli me tangere?*

Australia or in India, and whether she has the consistorial form of government, as [in Germany], or the synodical, as in America, or the episcopal, as in Scandinavia. For the character of the Church is not determined by polity or by external ordinances and usages; it is determined by her doctrine and Confession * * * ; a member of the Lutheran Church of any country, on moving into another country, is forthwith regarded as a member of the Lutheran Church of this country as well" (p. 46).

It is clear from the above, that Luthardt, were he living, would not endorse General Council and Iowa representatives in making the Lutheran Confession identical with the Book of Concord. It is also clear, that he would not join them in questioning the title of the General Synod as a Lutheran body and in objecting, as especially Iowa did, to its participating in the *Allgemeine Konferenz* that had been planned for Philadelphia.

(TO BE CONCLUDED).

ARTICLE IV.

THE OLD LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF FREE-WILL: A SUPPLEMENT.

By Professor J. W. Richard, D.D., LL.D.

The *Theological Quarterly* for October, 1906, and for January, 1907, contains an article entitled: *The Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free-will in the Augsburg Confession.* The article is signed Fr. Schwarz, Carroll, Nebr. Who Fr. Schwarz is we do not know! Happily the days of Don Quixote are passed. A knight sallying forth in quest of glory or for the vindication of some fair dulcinea is not now required to announce his pedigree, or to blazon his achievements.

> "Rank is but the guinea stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a'that."

Fr. Schwarz has as good right on the arena theological as any other man has. We bid him welcome; albeit it is not our intention to break a lance with this, the latest, champion of Missouri's peculiar doctrine of Free-will, though, inasmuch as the *Theological Quarterly* is "published by the Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other states," the article in question bears necessarily an official character, and is to be regarded as Missouri's answer to the articles on *The Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free-will* which appeared in The Lutheran Quarterly in the Year 1905—a kind of last word as Missouri is bowing herself down and out from the Intersynodical Conferences which had been held from time to time for the purpose of effecting an understanding among synods which taught differently on the subjects of Conversion and Regeneration. Further than this we do not care to speak of the article, except to say that in form, in content, and in spirit, it is out and out *Missouriish*—a fair sample of that kind of theological polemic which for two generations has been practiced, chiefly on the Western bank of the Missouri River, in defense of an indefensible type of Lutheranism. We simply ask our readers to procure a copy of Fr. Schwarz's article, and to acquaint

themselves with its contents at first hand. But we wish to say for ourself that the present article is not to be construed as a reply to anything found in the article of Fr. Schwarz, but only as the execution of a purpose, formed more than a year ago, to supplement the articles that appeared on the same subject in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY in the year 1905. And in the execution of our purpose we must begin again with Article XVIII. of the Augsburg Confession; for this being the fundamental and normating Lutheran Confession, it must follow that what it teaches on any subject must have fundamental and *norma normata* authority as a Lutheran doctrine, though of course the Confession itself must always be tested by the Holy Scriptures, which constitute the only *rule* of doctrine. Hence should any one inquire, What does the Lutheran Church, the *whole* Lutheran Church, teach on the subject of Free-will (*liberum arbitrium*), we would have to point to Article XVIII. of the *Augustana*, though in order to get at and to get out the meaning of the said Article we would have to study its antecedents, as would have to be done in ascertaining the meaning of all articles of faith, for they all have a history, and to know the history of an article of faith, especially its antecedent history, is, in large part, to know the meaning of the article, for an article of faith is always promulgated in view of some antecedent teaching on the same subject.

I. THE ANTECEDENTS.

In order to get at and to get out the meaning of the fundamental teaching of the Lutheran Church on the subject of Free-will, it will not be necessary to discuss at length here the absolute Determinism of Luther as expressed in *The Assertion of all the Articles* (1520), and in the *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525); nor that of Melanchthon as expressed in the *Loci Communes* of 1521. Let it suffice here to give a few characteristic specimens from the writings of each. Luther: "Free-will is a figment in things or a name without reality." "All things occur in consequence of absolute necessity." "This especially is necessary for a Christian to know: God foresees nothing contingently, but he foresees, and purposes, and does all things by an unchangeable, eternal, infallible Will; all things which oc-

cur are of pure necessity ; God moves all in all, necessarily also moves and operates in Satan and in the impious." * Melanchthon : "Since all things which occur occur necessarily according to the divine predestination, there is no freedom of our Will." "The Scriptures teach that all things occur necessarily." "The Scripture takes freedom from our Will by the necessity of predestination." "I will not use the words Free-will and Reason."

These quotations show that Free-will (liberum arbitrium) and the freedom of the Will (libertas voluntatis) were utterly repudiated by Luther and Melanchthon in their earlier treatises ; though it is proper to say that Melanchthon was scarcely more at that time than the echo and interpreter of Luther.

But already in 1524 Melanchthon began to show signs of dissatisfaction with Luther's views on this subject. And late in this year or early in the next Cochlaeus published a refutation of Melanchthon's doctrine of Free-will, showing that beyond all doubt the Fathers and writers clear back to the beginning of Christianity had taught and affirmed the doctrine of Free-will. And what is remarkable, he quotes from Book 3 of the Hypognosticon, † from which Melanchthon quotes in Article XVIII. of the Confession. This shows that in five years Melanchthon has accepted an authority from his opponent and uses it for the proof of Free-will, just as his opponent did. Undoubtedly he was influenced by Cochlaeus' refutation.

In 1526, when he formally entered the theological faculty, his independence soon developed so far that he became a quiet critic of Luther's views, as is shown in his more lively correspondence with his humanistic friends, and in his determination to lecture on the Ethics of Aristotle. In 1527, while residing at Jena, he published his Scholia on Colossians, in an *Excursus* to which, on the Will, we find not a single trace of deterministic predestination. On the contrary we find it here asserted without qualification that the human Will has the power of choosing external things, that is, that it has a natural or essen-

* See Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, Viert. Auf. (1906), pp. 755 *et seqq.*
† Lib. II. p. 11.

tial freedom. "God moves trees in one way, cattle in another way, men in another way; on man he has bestowed reason. That power of choice (electionem) he does not remove, but imparts life and motion, while we choose and act, as that is true which is written: *In him we are, live and are moved.*" What he denies is that the human will does not have the freedom to work Christian or spiritual righteousness. "We have need of the Holy Spirit to renew and to cleanse us." So that what Plitt says in regard to the eighteenth Article is equally applicable to this its antecedent: "Here we meet with not a trace of the false philosophical argument for the doctrine which earlier had here and there appeared; much rather is there also conceded to the natural man a certain freedom, and only is it declared that with all this he cannot live acceptably to God, since he is born in original sin." *

And still Melanchthon moved forward. March 22nd, 1528, he wrote a most cordial letter to Erasmus, Luther's bitter opponent, and said, *inter alia:* "I have at no time been so enamored of Luther as to approve his vehemence in controversy. Far be it from me now to assist by pouring oil on the flame. And of this my judgment Luther himself is the best witness,"† alluding, doubtless, to Luther's silence in regard to Erasmus's *Hyperaspistes*, which, to say the least, is a very strong work, and which effectually disposed of Luther's allegation that Erasmus was an Epicurean. Indeed the *Hyperaspistes* may be regarded as in no trifling sense an antecedent of the *Excursus* and of the eighteenth Article of the Confession, for certain it is that Melanchthon was influenced by it, and his letter shows that now, at the beginning of 1528, he stands quite as close to Erasmus as he does to Luther on the subject of Free-will, and it is also certain that the doctrine of Free-will contained in the *Excursus* is fundamentally different from the doctrine of necessity and of predestination that had been so unequivocally asserted in the *Loci* and in the *De Servo Arbitrio.* And very explicit is he when now he declares that "the human will is a free power, so that it can perform the righteousness of the

* *Einleitung* II. pp. 136–7.

† C. R. I. p. 946.

flesh, or civil righteousness;" and still further is the thought carried in the direction of the ethics of faith and of conversion, when he declares that by preaching "repentance and contrition" from the law the way is prepared for faith.

Hence Agricola was perfectly right when from the earlier common standpoint, he found fault with this teaching. It was not what Melanchthon and Luther had previously taught on the subject. An evident innovation had been made, and such in general is the judgment of all competent scholars.

After a most minute examination of the facts, as exhibited partly in Melanchthon's letters and partly in his more formal writings, Mix declares: "With the year 1527 Melanchthon recovered his complete independence, and now becomes clear also in regard to his future position. In the controversy with Erasmus he had become convinced that Luther's position was too harsh, and that an intermediate one is better, and this intermediate position he now took for the future, acting the part of mediator, as was wholly in accord with his character, which loved peace and praised wisdom."*

And Seeberg: "There are two doctrines upon which Melanchthon consciously differed from Luther, viz., Free-will and the Lord's Supper. That he wavered from his original deterministic position is perhaps to be attributed to the influence of the polemical writings of Erasmus against Luther. As early as 1527 in his exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians he recognizes human freedom in the outward sphere, though no one can fear and love God, except he be impelled by the Holy Spirit." †

Galle speaks in clear terms of Melanchthon's change of view in regard to the doctrine of Free-will, and attributes the change to the Erasmus–Luther's controversy, and to the study of the Bible. ‡ And certainly, when we compare the *Excursus* with the *Loci*, we find that while in the *Loci* the author appeals *mainly* to the Old Testament, in the *Excursus* he appeals *only* to the New Testament. The basis for judgment has been

* *Studien und Kritiken* (1901), p. 491.
† *Dogmengeschichte*, II. p, 349.
‡ *Characteristik Melanchthons*, pp. 275 *et seqq.*

greatly changed. In general it is from the Old Testament to the New Testament conception of God and of man. Herrlinger, a specialist on the theology of Melanchthon, declares that "the *Visitation Articles* and the *Scholia* on the Epistle to the Colossians begin the transformation of the doctrine. *The Visitation Articles* declare expressly that it is the chief mission of the preaching of the Gospel to point out the ethical mediation of the Gospel," * which is necessarily based on the conception that man has some power of choice. And Loofs, in discussing Luther's later relations to the doctrines of Predestination and Free-will, after again and again referring to Melanchthon's change, says that while Luther never disavowed the *De Servo Arbitrio*, "he never again expressly spoke in favor of Determinism. But he often spoke of a righteousness which even the heathen had, without thinking of the sole causation (Allwirksamkeit) of God. And hence, though in December, 1524, he had spoken on the pulpit of God's sovereign will, now hardening, now saving, he never again preached on the subject. Yea, Luther, knowing that a heart seeking the assurance of salvation in predestination by reflection on God's secret will, is not satisfied but exposed to danger, with growing emphasis insisted that 'we must not inquire about the predestination of the hidden God, but must rest in that which is revealed by the call, and by the ministry of the word.' The divine predestination remained for him the background of the economy of salvation, comforting for the faith of the individual, but apart from all speculation. It never occurred to him to bring out the 'perseverence of the saints,' or 'the amissibility of grace' as a consequence of the doctrine of predestination. Nevertheless Luther in a certain sense held fast to the deterministic doctrine which he had developed against Erasmus." †

Surely those of our readers who do not have access to the writings of Luther and Melanchthon, will be impressed by the judgments of the learned men whom we have just quoted. Those men did not write for the purpose of sustaining a thesis,

* *Die Theologie Melanchthons*, p. 73.
† *Dogmengeschichte, ut supra*, II., p. 761-2.

or in the interest of a confessional position, or for the support of a favorite doctrine, but for the scientific purpose of exhibiting the facts, for it is history that they have written, and not dogma. They all (Loofs included) declare that Melanchthon had, prior to 1530, departed from his own earlier and from Luther's doctrine of Free-will. And it can be easily shown that the most orthodox Lutheran theologians generally agree with Loofs in the declaration that while Luther never disavowed his deterministic views, he did, nevertheless, allow them to drop into the background, and evermore laid stress on the revealed will of God, on the universality of the call and on the preaching of the Word,—and this means practically the abandonment of his earlier views on Predestination and Free-will.

And that Melanchthon was still persisting in his changed views and that he had come to complete independence on the subject, is proved by the fact that, October 2nd, 1527, he called Luther's attention to his treatment of the subject in his Colossians, and declared his intention of treating it more extensively in another writing at no distant day. * That he had now abandoned the views set forth in the *Loci* is shown conclusively by his declaration in his *Ratio Discendae Theologiae* (1530), in which he commands the reading of the Scholia on Colossians, but says: "I would also order the reading of my *Loci Communes*, but they contain much that is yet crude, and that I have decided to change. It is easy to understand what displeases me there, from my Colossians, where I have modified some subjects." †

The facts are simply these: Melanchthon had abandoned his and Luther's doctrine of Determinism, and had reached the conclusion that Man's Will is essentially free, that he can make choices, and that he has the power to execute civil righteousness. Hence between this his present teaching *de libero arbitrio*, and the former, namely, that "there is no freedom in our will," that "all things occur necessarily," there is a *principiant* difference. The former teaching and the latter belong

* C. R. I., p. 893.
† Ibid. II., p. 457.

to different categories of thought. They cannot be expressed in the same terms. The one is *a priori*; the other is *a posteriori*. The one is metaphysical; the other is psychological.

But while on the one hand the reading of the *Hyperaspistes* and the further study of the Scriptures had led Melanchthon away from Determinism, they did not on the other conduct him to Pelagianism, for at this very time he enunciated a principle from which he never retreated, and which he reiterated again and again to the end of his life, viz.: "The nature of man by the natural powers is not able to work the true fear of God, and true confidence toward God, and spiritual affections, and spiritual conduct" (*Excursus*), and which, in words substantially identical, he subsequently introduced into the damnatory (Latin) portion of the eighteenth Article of the Confession.

Two things are now absolutely certain: By the year 1530 Melanchthon has abandoned Determinism and has affirmed "the need of the Holy Spirit to renew and cleanse us." These facts must be kept in the foreground in our inquiry into the meaning of the eighteenth Article. Also we must consider the purpose and aim of the Confession in general. The doctrinal Articles were an after-thought, an accident. At Wittenberg and at Coburg it had been decided that doctrines should not be treated in the "Apology." On the contrary it was specifically declared that no new doctrines had been introduced in the Elector's dominions, and that no doctrinal teaching was tolerated that deviated from that of the Catholic Church, meaning the Church of their opponents. And as a matter of fact the Confession in the form in which it was delivered does not disapprove nor condemn a single *dogmatic* tradition, nor a single *doctrine*, of the Roman Catholic Church; but on the contrary it declares that it contains nothing that deviates from the Catholic Church, or from the Roman Church in so far as it is known from writers; German: "From the writings of the Fathers." And in the form in which the Confession was delivered we are confronted with the declaration: "The entire difference has reference to some few abuses"—as the account which the Confession gives of itself, and which dare not be ig-

nored nor slighted in our efforts to ascertain the meaning of the Confession, or of any one of its Articles of faith. Moreover, the mental state of the author at the time of composition, the avowed purpose, the contemporaneous views, sentiments and declarations are recognized and considered by historians, diplomatists and other interpreters of venerable documents, as well as the *verba ipsissima* of the documents according to historical and grammatical usage. Hence in interpreting Article XVIII. of the Confession we dare not read into it the sentiments of the *De Servo Arbitrio*, which, we know of a certainty, had been abandoned by Melanchthon, and which Luther had allowed to drop into the background. Neither dare we read into it the sentiments contained in Article II. of the Formula of Concord, which, as we demonstrated in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for October, 1905, are Flacianistic to the core, and which are not found in any Lutheran creed or confession promulgated during the first fifty years of the existence of the Lutheran Church, and which are absolutely out of harmony with the mind of the author of the Confession in 1530, irreconcilable with the avowed purpose of the Confession and contradictory of what is affirmed in regard to agreement, etc., with the Roman Church. In other words, in trying to ascertain the meaning of the Confession, or of any of its parts, we must apply a judicious historical criticism, just such as we apply in trying to ascertain the meaning of Magna Charter, or of the Declaration of American Independence. The Augsburg Confession is a historical document, and it must be interpreted by methods adapted to its character. Hence in our interpretation of the Confession we must take into the account its antecedent history, the history of its genesis, the affirmations which it makes about itself, its *verba ipsissima*, the interpretations of those who first used it, and of those who first examined it with hostile intent. In a word, the entire psychology of the situation must be ascertained and estimated.

II. ARTICLE XVIII.

"Of Free-will it is taught that man to some extent has Free-will, to live externally honorably and to choose among things that reason comprehends. But without grace, assistance and

the operation of the Holy Spirit, man is not able to become pleasing to God, to fear God from the heart, or to believe, or to cast inborn evil lust out of the heart, but such is effected by the agency of the Holy Spirit, who is given by means of the Word of God. For Paul says in the First to the Corinthians 2: The natural man understandeth nothing of the Spirit of God.

"And in order that we may understand that herewith nothing new is taught, the clear words of Augustine concerning Free-will are here quoted from the third book Hypognosticon: *We confess that in all men there is a Free-will*," * etc.

Or as it is taught in the corresponding Latin: De libero arbitrio docent, quod humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad efficiendam civilem iustitiam et deligendas res racioni subiectas. Sed non habet vim sine spiritu sancto efficiendae iustitiae dei seu iustitiae spiritualis; quia animalis homo non percipit ea, quae sunt spiritus dei. Sed haec fit in cordibus, cum per verbum spiritus sanctus concipitur. Haec totidem verbis dicit Augustinus lib. III. Hypognosticon: *Esse fatemur liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus*," etc.

If now we analyze our Article we find: 1. There is Free-will (liberum arbitrium) in all men. This is expressly denied by Luther, who says that Free-will is a name without a reality.

2. A clear and unequivocal recognition of the essential freedom of the Will. Man has the power to choose. In this power lies the very essence of freedom, for the Will is the soul's power for choosing, and is the most exalted faculty of the soul. Also according to our Article, the Will can do things that are right in external relations. Man can live an externally upright life.

This concession absolutely excludes the doctrine of Determinism, and stands in marked contrast with the declaration in the *Loci* that "neither in external nor in internal works is there any freedom, but all things turn out according to the divine determination," as elsewhere Melanchthon has declared that David's adultery and Judas's betrayal of Christ no less than

* Our translation is made from Tschackert's *Critical Text*, which, rather than the *Editio Princeps*, represents the Confession as it was read.

Paul's call, were wrought by God *non permissivè, sed potenter.*

3. Man has no power in himself to do that which is well-pleasing to God, such as to fear God from the heart, or to exercise faith, or to expel innate evil from the heart. There is in man, left to himself, a lack of ability to do these things. And the reason given for this natural inability is lodged in the understanding: He cannot understand spiritual things. Consequently the Will acts perversely every time. The data furnished by the understanding are both inadequate and false.

The Will chooses, indeed it must choose, for the mind acts as a unit, and every act of knowing is followed (logical sequence) by an act of choosing, but the Will chooses the wrong alternative, the external thing, because this is understood by the natural man, whereas spiritual things are not understood. They are presented to the Will in the light of foolishness. Thus man *per se* or by "the powers of nature alone" cannot work spiritual righteousness. "When God does not assist," man or "the Will of man [for the act is the act of the man] turns itself from God." Article XIX.

4. In order to work spiritual righteousness man needs "grace, assistance and the operation of the Holy Spirit," who is God's Agent for the application of redemption, who takes the things of Christ and shows them to men and assists their infirmities. Without "grace" etc., man is not able. With "grace" etc., he is able—he is enabled to do what formerly he could not do, for the *doing* is his. The Will, as the old theologians said, is not annulled, removed, destroyed, by the grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Spirit. It is placed in a condition in which it can make spiritual choices. Or as Augustine has said: "Grace precedes him who is unwilling that he may will. It follows him who is willing, so that he may not will in vain." But the thing to be especially emphasized is that the *Will acts.* Absolute passivity is out of the question when we use the words *grace, assistance,* with reference to a moral agent. We never associate with these words the thought of *necessitas,* or of *coactio.* Hence when it is said in the Latin, "Without the Holy Spirit the human will does not have the power to perform

the righteousness of God or spiritual Righteousness," the clear implication is that with the Holy Spirit it has the power, that is, man can do this thing by assistance which he could not do without assistance. He is not *merely passive*, like a "block," like a "stone," under the grace and assistance of the Holy Spirit. He chooses, he consents, he conforms, he obeys. As Augustine says: "He consents to the call of God."

And very pertinently was this conception of the *Verhalten*, of the activity of the Will in conjunction with the grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Spirit, illustrated by Dr. Schmidt in the late Intersynodical Conference at Ft. Wayne, Indiana, October 24th, 1906: "By means of a train I can reach my home in fifteen hours, but only when I take the train." * Thus by the assistance and operation of the train Dr. Schmidt was enabled to do what without the train it was naturally and absolutely impossible for him to do. But he must choose and consent to that mode of transportation; he must conform to the regulations of the railroad; he must obey those who have the train in charge. Dr. Schmidt acts, he co-operates. Or to generalize in the words of Augustine: *Praecedente gratia, comitante voluntate*, that is, "when grace precedes, the Will follows." The Holy Spirit by means of the divine word illumines the mind, so that it can understand, and know and judge spiritual things. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." In the light of spiritual knowledge the Will *adjuvante Deo* can work spiritual righteousness. But this working of the Will under the Spirit's grace and assistance is neither *causa efficiens* nor *causa meritoria* as related to justification. It has created nothing; it has merited nothing. Salvation is by grace; Faith is the gift of God. But grace and gift presuppose use and activity on the part of the subject, and their end is the removal of limitations and the induement of the accipient with "power."

Now the Article declares that there is "nothing new" in this teaching, and to prove the declaration, it quotes, as it supposes, from the most authoritative teacher of the Catholic

* *Theologische Quartelschrift*, January, 1907, p. 55.

Church,* who, that is, Augustine, never taught such a doctrine of Free-will as is found in the *De Servo Arbitrio* and in the *Loci* of 1521; and well did the author of the Confession and his learned theological counsellors at Augsburg know that neither Augustine nor any other standard doctor of the Church, nor any synod nor any council of the Church, had ever taught such a doctrine of Free-will as is taught in the treatises just named above; and they knew that when such teaching had appeared among the Manichaeans and in Marcion, it had been promptly condemned by the Church.†

But in addition to this specific declaration—"nothing new"—in the eighteenth Article, we have the declaration in regard to the entire Confession that it contains "nothing that differs from the Scriptures, or from the Catholic Church, or from the Roman Church in so far as it is known from writers." Hence if the doctrine of the entire Confession is in harmony with the teaching of the Catholic Church and with that of the Roman Church in so far as it is known from writers, it must follow, since the eighteenth Article has its own specific declaration to the same effect, that said Article must, *a fortiori*, be placed in the same category: It teaches the doctrine of Free-will that is taught in the Catholic and in the Roman Church, and every time we subscribe the Confession as a whole or any one of its doctrinal articles we do so with such an understanding, unless we express a reservation. It is a plain case—a case of truth or of falsehood on the part of the Confession itself or rather on the part of the Confessors themselves. Either they affirmed a truth and a conviction, or they told a falsehood for the purpose of deceiving their opponents. The supposition of ignorance is out of the question.

Does, then, Article XVIII. of the Augsburg Confession teach a doctrine of Free-will that does not differ from that taught in and by the Catholic and Roman Church? We say, *Yes, in so far as that doctrine is known from writers* and from

* The *Hypognosticon* is not Augustine's work.

† Very properly does Loofs say: "Augustine was not a Determinist." *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 411.

the decrees of the Church. But in saying *Yes* to this question we do not mean to say that every writer who has written on the subject under the ægis of the Catholic or of the Roman Church has so taught, anymore than we should wish to say that every person who has written on the same subject under the ægis of the Lutheran Church, has so taught, for it is a pretty plain case that some Catholic and Roman Catholic writers have taught a doctrine of Free will that is Pelagianizing, just as it is evident that some Lutheran writers have taught a doctrine of Free-will that is decidedly deterministic. But there is such a thing as a *consensus doctrinae*, which, though it be not absolute, is nevertheless sufficiently explicit, and is distinct enough to be seen and to be known. It is found in the so-called standard writers, and in the decrees, of a Church. It is identity in kind and in species and in intent of teaching, though the form and the expression may not be identical. It is to this *consensus* that we now appeal for assistance in interpreting our Article.

III. THE CATHOLIC CONFUTATORS.

Very shortly after the Confession had been publicly read, the Emperor Charles V. appointed a committee of theologians, twenty or more in number, and charged them to examine and to refute the Lutheran document. Among those theologians were Eck, Fabri, Cochlaeus, Wimpina, who (and others) had for years been in violent controversy with Luther and Melanchthon, and had paraded against them scores and scores of charges of heresy. Also they were as decidedly prejudiced against the Protestant cause as it was possible for men to be. In scholarship, in dialectic skill, and in acquaintance with the theology of the Roman Church, they had no superiors, perhaps no equals. They were zealous adherents of the Roman Church, and were willing to spend and to be spent in her service. They were in a frame of mind to discover and to magnify even the minutest deviation from the Catholic and from the Roman teaching, that, if for on other reason, they might justify their own former contentions, and might have grounds for insisting

still more strenuously on the suppression of the Lutheran heresy.

It was with such qualifications and in such frame of mind that the Confutators began their work of examining the Augsburg Confession with special reference to its Confutation; and so determined were they to admit nothing that looked toward the restoration of harmony that they even excluded from their counsels those who favored mildness and peace. *

July 8th the Committee submitted what is known as *The Confutation of the Augsburg Confession in its First Form.* †

"Of Free-will they teach that the human will has some liberty for performing civil righteousness and for choosing those things that are subject to reason; but it does not have the power without the Holy Spirit to perform the righteousness of God or spiritual righteousness."

"RESPONSE."

"Sound and Catholic is the declaration of the princes; for all Catholics have held, as against the Pelagians, namely, that man without grace is not competent for good meritorious works. For the beginning of our salvation we have in the compassion of God. Nevertheless he is competent for *opera similia;* likewise is he competent for good works, if he be assisted by grace, as we have shown in Article sixth. But the princes must be reminded that their preachers have revived the heresy of the Manichaeans, and have denied Free-will absolutely. For Luther has somewhere said: Free-will is a thing in name only, and while it does what is *in se*, it sins mortally. Luther in the *Assertions* has said: All things occur by an absolute necessity. This impious error of Wiklif was condemned by a council at Rome and at Constance. Melanchthon has said: All things that occur, occur by the divine predestination. Therefore there is no freedom of our will. For according to his predestination all things occur necessarily in all creatures. Melanchthon has also written: Experience teaches that in dispositions there is no freedom. Luther has taught: When

* C. R. 27: p. 5.

† Published by Johannes Ficker in 1891.

Satan is master the word *liberum arbitrium* comes to seduce men from God, for it is a figment, because the Will does nothing towards its own willing, and it is not true that it has activity in a good work. Melanchthon says: The phrase *liberum arbitrium*, though most alien to the Scriptures,to the mind and purpose of the Spirit, has been used.

"The preachers have rejected Free-will, contrary to what has been here done by the princes, who hold correctly and commendably in regard to Free-will. Therefore they must be admonished to have the preachers recant this erroneous doctrine of the Manichaeans, and deliver the people from this heresy, since we have the power of our wills, as St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 7. And in one word Christ refuted the Manichaeans, when he said: The poor ye have always with you, and when ye will ye can do them good. Mark 14."

If we examine this Response analytically we find that it approves the Article without qualification as sound and Catholic. It affirms the need of grace. It condemns the Determinism of Luther and Melanchthon.* It praises the princes for their correct teaching on Free-will.

August 3rd the Confutators presented a final report, which was accepted by the Emperor, and which, at least in a secondary sense, is regarded as a symbolical writing of the Roman Church, "for it undoubtedly exhibits the then current faith of the Church, though wanting in ecclesiastical authorization."† Of Article XVIII. the Confutators say: "The Confession is

* It may seem harsh that the Confutators should catalogue Luther with the Manichaeans. But so late as 1595 David Chytraeus, one of the authors of the Form of Concord, characterized Luther's earlier teaching as "stoic and Manichaean necessity." *Epistolae*, pp. 1267 *et seqq*. In the *De Servo Arbitrio* Luther quotes with approbation and for the confirmation of his own assertions some of the most fatalistic passages of the heathen poets, as from Virgil in regard to the destruction of Troy and on the rise of the Roman Empire. *De Servo Arbitrio*, *Erl*. Latin, 7. p. 136. Pharaoh was hardened, not permissively. but by direct action of omnipotence. *Ut Supra*, p. 261 *et seqq*.. In Luther's own words: "Free-will is a downright lie." P. 119. And Melanchthon called Luther's doctrine of Free-will "Stoic and Manichaean deliria."

† Winer, *Confessions*, p. 11.

accepted and approved. For thus the Catholics take the *via media*, so as not to concede too much to Free-will with the Pelagians, nor with the Manichaeans to take from it all freedom, for both are not without fault. Thus says Augustine: 'That there is Free-will in man we assuredly believe and preach without doubt."'

That the Lutherans assembled at Augsburg found no fault with the judgment expressed by the Confutators is shown by the fact (a) that, in the Apology as at first offered to the Emperor, September 22d, the eighteenth Article is passed over in silence; and by the fact (b) that in the Apology as published the next year not one word is said in refutation of the Catholic interpretation of the Article. Very justly has Plitt said: "The amplification in the Apology presents nothing new in connection with the Article in the Confession, and as little does it take back or correct anything. Melanchthon limits himself in the matter to guarding against the misunderstanding of what had been said there."*

The discussion of the subject in the Apology concedes, and affirms over and over, the essential freedom of the Will, and as positively does it affirm the need of the Holy Spirit in order that man may perform spiritual righteousness. In a word, the Apology simply amplifies the sentiment of the Article, though it classes "our adversaries" with the Pelagians, because of the identity of their teaching with that of the Pelagians, which may indeed be true, to some extent, of some teachers of the Roman Catholic Church of that day; but it is not true of the Catholic and of the Roman Church as a whole, just as it may be said that some Lutheran theologians have taught Determinism and particularistic predestination, but the Lutheran Church does not profess to teach either. And it is very certain that the Roman Catholic Church, as such, and her great standard writers have repudiated Pelagianism, and have insisted that there is need of divine grace, of divine assistance, of the Holy Spirit, to excite the Will and to enable it to work the righteousness of God. In other words, the Roman Church and her great

* *Die Apologie der Augustana*, p. 206.

writers have treated the subject of Free-will essentially as it is treated in the Confession and in the Apology; and the pivotal words and technical forms of expression that characterize the teaching of the Confession and of the Apology on the subject, and especially those of the *Excursus*, from which the Article is so largely drawn, are found abundantly in the standard writers of the Roman Catholic Church, showing thus the sources from which Melanchthon drew, which fact, that is, the correspondence of the phraseology, taken in connection with the specific declaration in the Article that it contains "nothing new," and also in connection with the specific declaration, that the Confession contains no doctrine inconsistent with the teaching of the Catholic Church—the phraseology, the two declarations and the *verba ipsissima* make out a case that can be met only on the supposition that the Confessors deceived themselves and meant to deceive their adversaries—a supposition that undermines our confidence in the Confession and places us in a fatal dilemma when we come to subscribe it.

IV. THE CATHOLIC WRITERS.

Here we must necessarily confine ourselves to a few names. But we have chosen those of greatest authority.

Let us begin with Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who asks: "Is man able of himself to prepare himself for grace without the external assistance of grace?" After argueing the question *pro et contra* he says: "*Conclusion*—Man is not of himself able to be prepared for receiving the light of divine grace, but he needs the assistance of God graciously moving within and inspiring a good purpose; but for working meritoriously, and for rightly enjoying God he needs the habitual gift of grace itself, which is the beginning of so great work." Then after further discussion he says: "Whence it is evident that man is not able to prepare himself for receiving the light of grace, except through the gracious assistance of God moving within.

"In the first place then it must be declared that the conversion of man to God is effected through Free-will; and accordingly it is enjoined upon him to turn himself to God. But

Free-will cannot be turned to God, except God turn it to himself (Jer. 31 : 18): Convert me and I shall be converted, because thou art my God; and (Lam. ult. 21): Convert us, O Lord, to thee and we shall be converted.

"Secondly, it must be declared that man is not able to do anything, except he be moved by God (John 15 : 5): Without me ye can do nothing. Hence when man is said to do what is in himself, this is said to be in man's power in so far as he is moved by God.

"Thirdly, it must be declared, because of that objection about habitual grace, since every form requires a susceptible disposition. But that man may be moved by God, that does not require some other motion, since God is *primum movens*. Wherefore we are not required to go on *ad infinitum*.

"Fourthly, it must be declared that it is of man to prepare the mind, since he does this through Free-will; but he does not do this without the assistance of God moving and drawing to himself."

On the question, "Can man rise from sin without the assistance of grace?" Aquinas "concludes:" "The natural reason in man is not a sufficient beginning of spiritual soundness, but grace itself, which was taken away by sin; it cannot be effected that man of himself can rise from sin, that is, can be restored to those things which he lost by sinning."*

Thus Thomas Aquinas affirms the existence of Free-will, as does also our Article; and they both affirm the need of grace and of assistance and of the divine operation, before man can *begin* to do, or can do, anything good.

We now go to Peter Lombard whose *Sententiae* was the theological text-book of the later Middle Ages. Luthardt says that the following sounds entirely Augustinian: "The Will or work of man does not invite the grace of God, but grace itself precedes (praevenit) the Will by preparing, so that it may will the good, and assists it when it has been prepared, in order that it may perform."†

* *Summa Theologica*, Tom. Tertius, Prim. Sec. 2, 109, VI., VII.
† *Die Lehre von Freien Willen*, p. 60.

The Lombard further says: "God precedes him who is unwilling, that he may will, and follows him who wills that he may not will in vain"—which is identical with a famous dictum of Augustine. Also: "It is evident therefore from what has been said that the Will of man *per se* does not will the good efficaciously without the grace of God: For grace precedes, no merit calling it forth, as Augustine says: No human merit precedes the grace of God, but it deserves to be increased, that when it is increased it may merit and be perfected by the will following, not leading." He also declares that the "Arbitrium is set free alone by the grace of God, which has its foundation in Christ, so that the Will may be prepared."*

And in commenting on the passage: *It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy* he says: "The will of man alone does not suffice, if there be not also the mercy of God. Conversely it is said: The mercy of God also does not suffice, if there be not also the will of man. In this way it is rightly said, because the will of man alone is not sufficient. Why, on the contrary, is it not also rightly said: It is not of God that showeth mercy, but of man who willeth, since the mercy of God alone does not suffice? For man will not be able to believe or hope, unless he will, nor come to the palm, unless he run by the Will. It remains therefore that rightly said it may be understood that all may be given to God, who precedes the good will of man, and prepares it, and prepares it to be assisted, and assists it when it has been prepared. He precedes him who is unwilling that he may will and follows him who is willing that he may not will in vain. Behold by these words and by other promises it is clearly taught, because the will of man is prepared and preceded by the grace of God, that it may will the good, and assisted that it may not will in vain."† Suffice it to say that this passage is taken almost bodily from Augustine, who is generally supposed to be orthodox on the doctrine of the Will.

* *Sententiae*, II., XXV—XXVII. Migne.

† *Ut supra*, XXVI, Migne, p. 710.

We come next to St. Bernard who wrote a tractate on Grace and Free-will. He says: "Give glory to God who by grace hath preceded thee, hath excited, hath initiated. Two things are necessary for me: To be taught and to be assisted." And in that famous passage in which he asks: "What then does Free-will do? I answer briefly. It is saved. Take away Free-will and there will be nothing to be saved. Take away grace and there will be nothing by which to be saved. This work cannot be done without the two: The one by whom it is done; the other to whom or in whom it is done." He declares that salvation cannot be effected "without the consent of him who accepts, and without the grace of him who gives."* Suffice it to say here that this passage is quoted with approbation by Roman Catholic scholars and by many of the most eminent Lutheran doctors. He has a chapter entitled: "What is to be attributed to grace, and what to Free-will in the matter of salvation?" He says that "God works in us to the good,to will it, to perform it. The first without us; the second with us; the third through us. * * * Undoubtedly the beginning of our salvation is made by God, not by ourselves or with ourselves. But the consent and work, though not from us, are yet not without us." "Grace works with Free-will, since in the first thing it precedes it; in other things it attends."†

The point to be emphasized in the teaching of St. Bernard on the subject in hand is the marked similarity in the use of the very words in pivotal statements that are subsequently employed by Melanchthon in the *Excursus* and in the Confession. The thought is the same. Man has Free-will, but man's volluntas must be assisted and stimulated by divine grace, before it can realize the Kingdom of heaven in itself. "By God's assistance the inward man is renewed day by day."

Gregory the Great has a section that begins as follows: "*The harmony of prevenient Grace and Free-will following.* Because when divine grace precedes and our Free-will follows we

* *Opera*, vol. I. pp. 1365–7. Paris edition, 1839.
† *Ibid.* pp. 1396–7.

are said to free ourselves, we who consent to God who frees us. * * * *Yet not I, but the grace of God with me.* For inasmuch as he had followed the prevenient grace of God in himself through Free will, he properly adds: *With me.*" * Again: "He (God) by quickening precedes us that we may will; by assisting follows that we may not will in vain, but may be able to accomplish what we will. Therefore when grace precedes and the good will follows that which is the gift of the omnipotent God becomes our merit. This Paul briefly explains, saying: *More abundantly than all others* have I labored. That he might not seem to attribute to his own strength what he had done, he adds: *Yet not I*, but the grace of God with me. Because he was preceded by the heavenly gift, he regarded himself apart from his own work, saying: *Yet not I.* But because prevenient grace had made the Will in him free for the good, by which Free will he had followed the same grace in the work, he added: *But the grace of God in me.* As though he had said: In a good work I have labored, not I, but also I. In this that I have been preceded by God, not I. In this that I have followed the gift by the Will, also I. Therefore having spoken those words against Pelagius and Coelestius, let us return to the order of exposition." †

Here three things are very clear: Man has Free-will; every good work must be preceded by the grace of God; that the Will can do good works when preceded and assisted by divine grace. Also Pelagianism is expressly repudiated. The case is not more strongly put in the Confession.

We come next to Prosper of Aquitaine. He also expressly repudiates Pelagianism. He declares that "the beginning, the progress and the perseverence in the good to the end is the gift of God. Since the supports of divine grace are the foundations of the human will." "We pray of our own Will, yet it is God who sends the Spirit into our hearts. If we speak anything that is pious, it is the Spirit of our Father who speaks in us. If we work out our salvation, it is God who works in

* Migne, LXXVI. p. 299.
† Migne, LXXVI. pp., 870–1.

us. * * * Free-will bestowed naturally upon man remains in nature; but its quality and condition are changed by the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who turns the Will itself from that which it was perversely willing, so that, affected with delight, purified by faith, encouraged by hope, warmed by love, it might accept a free service, and cast away the servile liberty."* He says that if "God does not work in us we can be partakers of no good work," and that "neither the learned nor the unlearned are led to God by the human reason; but every man who is converted to God is first moved by the grace of God."†

Thus have we quoted from a few writers in the Roman Church. It would be easy to fill scores of pages with quotations of similar or of identical import. Of the writers whom we have quoted, and of the Roman writers in general, it can be said that they expressly repudiate Pelagianism, which the Confession did not do in the form in which it was read before the Emperor. Moreover, these writers largely reproduce Augustine, who has been and still is recognized by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike as a standard teacher in the Church, though neither Catholics nor Protestants have accepted the entire Augustine, for Augustine, though a profound, was not a consistent, thinker. He not unfrequently contradicts himself; but it is not a difficult matter to strike a balance and thus to get an accurate conception of his meaning. He taught the existence in man of Free-will, the need of grace to stimulate Free-will into activity in spiritual things, but also the activity of the Will or of man while being divinely assisted, as is plainly evident from the quotations made already above directly from his works, and indirectly through Peter Lombard and others. Moreover, it is from him, chiefly, and also, in part, from Prosper, that we have the Chapters ‡ on *Grace and Free-will* in the Second Council of Orange (529), which has

* Migne LI. pp. 264–5.
† Migne LI. pp. 654–5.
‡ Hefele, *History of the Councils*, Vol. IV., p. 151 *et seqq.*

"the authority of an Ecumenical Council," * and which is appealed to by Catholics and also by Lutheran writers on the subject now in hand.

What now does this Council say on the subject *Of Grace and Free-will?* It rejects both Pelagianism and Semipelagianism, affirms the antecedent operation of grace in the order of salvation, and denies that man can consent to the truth without the illumination and inspiration of the Holy Spirit. It declares that the growth, as also the beginning, of faith, and the disposition for faith, are wrought in us by grace. But the precedence and activity of grace do not vacate the activity of Free-will, for it is said expressly: "As oft as we do good God works in us and through us in order that we may work. Even the regenerate and the saints must ever implore the assistance of God in order that they may reach the good end and persevere in a good work;" and then almost in the very words of our Article: "We ought to preach and believe that through the sin of the first man Free-will has become deteriorated and attenuated [Mark: not destroyed], so that no one is thereafter able to love God, as he ought, or to believe in God, or to do on God's account what is good, except the grace of the divine mercy shall have preceded him."

This teaching the Council declared to be that of the Scriptures, and "to accord with the Catholic faith, because when grace is received by baptism all who have been baptized, by the assistance and coöperation of Christ, are able and ought, if they will, to labor faithfully to do those things which pertain to salvation." †

It remains only to say two things about this Council: (a) It rejects under anathema the doctrine that any are predestinated to evil by the divine power, and (b) its decrees are quoted as authoritative on the doctrine of Free-will by Catholic writers from the date of its ratification by Pope Bonifacius (530 or 531) to the present day.

* Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte*, I., p.

† Mansi, *Concilia*, 8. pp. 711 *et seqq.*

V. THE LATER ROMAN CATHOLIC WRITERS.

Let us begin with Dr. John Eck, whose *Enchiridion* (we quote from the edition of 1549) was written "against Luther and other enemies of the Church." Dr. Eck says: "We confess that Free will of itself alone is not able for the good, and is nothing, but the grace of God makes it able for something. Therefore no man of himself thinks anything good but by the special grace of God. They (the Catholics) declare that this is to be understood not only of the grace which makes acceptable to God, but also of the the antecedent gracious motion by which God quickens and draws. Hence we must carefully consider what is of God alone and what is of God and Free-will." He declares that the Fathers constantly affirm that "grace is necessary, yea, grace must precede the operation of Free-will."

Andrew Fabricius, in his *Harmony of the Augsburg Confession*, says: "In the Confession which was presented to the Emperor they argue about Free will in such a way as at the same time to affirm that man is able to perform not only civil, but also spiritual righteousness when the Holy Spirit assists and renews his infirmity. So have the Catholics always taught," p. 291.

John a Deventer, after quoting the essential portion of the article on Free-will in the Apology, says: "Now you hear how much these concede to Free-will. Turn over and over all the writings of the Catholics, and may I die, if more has been attributed by ours to Free-will than these attribute to it. It is wrong to compare Catholics to the Pelagians; it is a mistake to say that Catholics teach that man is able to love God above all things and to keep the commandments of God so as to merit grace." *Ibid.* p. 292.

John Cochlaeus, in discussing Article XVIII. of the Confession, says: "Both sides (Catholics and Lutherans) condemn those who teach that man by his own powers of nature is able to keep the Commandments of God as to the substance of the act." Again: "He (man) is not able to do the substance of the act without some aid from God. For it is God in whom we

live and are moved and are. He is *primus motor, primus actus, primum*, without whom there can be no movement in man, no act, nothing, no nature, no substance. He has all from God. He owes to him his powers, nature itself, everything. For what hast thou that thou didst not receive? Do not therefore fail to use thy powers, which were not given thee for no purpose.". *Ibid.* p. 293.

John Hoffmeister, writing also on Article XVIII., says: "This Article does not offend us, neither do we interpret it in an evil sense; it seems to have been taken from the writings of the holy fathers, yea, even from the Holy Scriptures." Then he quotes from Augustine as follows: "Free-will is captive and has power only to sin. It has no power for righteousness unless it be set free and assisted by God. The grace of God, as he elsewhere writes, precedes him who is unwilling that he may will, and follows him when he wills that he may not will in vain." He then quotes Bucer as confessing candidly that all the ancient and modern (Catholic) theologians teach that "Free-will, unless it be moved and assisted by God, has no power for good." *

Now the things to be noted here are that these four Roman Catholic theologians, all contemporaries of the Reformation, approve the eighteenth Article of the Augsburg Confession, just as the Confutators had done, and declare that said Article presents the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, and this declaration they establish by quotations from and references to the works of the Fathers, especially to those of Augustine.

It would be a humilating confession of weakness on our part, and a bald case of *petitio principii*, for us to say that these men were ignorant of the meaning of the writings of the Fathers, or that they were destitute of honor, of conviction, of truth in the inward parts, or that they had been deceived and were trying to deceive others; and certainly they were not courting favor from the Lutherans, for in the strongest language they condemn the Determinism of Luther and of Melanchthon.

* *Ibid.* p. 294.

VI. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT AND MODERN ROMAN CATHOLIC THEOLOGIANS.

It is commonly understood that the Council of Trent (1545-1563) chrystalized the scholastic, and in part the patristic, theology in its Decrees and Canons. In Session Sixth, Chap. VI., we read: "Now they (adults) are disposed unto said justice when, excited and assisted by divine grace, conceiving *faith by hearing*, they are freely moved towards God, believing those things to be true which God has revealed and promised;" and in Canon III. of the same session: "If any one saith, that without the prevenient grace of the Holy Spirit, and without his help, man can believe, hope, love, or be penitent as he ought, so that the grace of justification can be bestowed upon him, let him be anathema."

J. P. Migne in *Theologiae Cursus Completus* (28 large quarto vols.) "drawn chiefly from the bishops and theologians of Catholic Europe," says: "Free-will, moved and excited by God to good works, acts with the grace of God and from that grace; but it is not merely passive, or moved as something inanimate, a heresy which was condemned by the Council of Trent." He then quotes Augustine and other Fathers to the effect that only when man is excited, moved, and assisted by grace, is he able to act freely.* He also says: "Man's Free-will, while it assents to God moving and exciting, is also able to dissent if it wills." And again, "No Catholic dare affirm that man's Free-will, without the prevenient inspiration of the Holy Spirit, is able to believe, to hope, to repent or to work as it ought, in order that it may merit the grace of justification or eternal life. For it is God who in all our good actions *works in us both to will and to do.*"

Cardinal Perrone was one of the most learned and one of the most orthodox Roman Catholic theologians of the nineteenth century. In his *Praelectiones Theologicae* he condemns the doctrine of the Pelagians and that of the Semipelagians on Free-will. He lays down the proposition and defends and forti-

* Vol. VI. pp. 66–70.

fies it by quotations from the Councils of Trent and Orange, that "without the illumination, inspiration and operation of the Holy Spirit, man is not able to have a salutary beginning of faith, though the Semipelagians contend to the contrary." After quoting from the Councils of Trent and Orange passages which we have quoted above he proceeds: "According to the Scriptures faith and the beginning of it are to be attributed not only to preaching, or to the illumination, but to the internal operation, of the Holy Spirit, who illumines and inspires; also perseverence in the same faith, since they teach that no one can come to Christ except the Father draw him, and that faith is the gift of God, which is granted only out of mercy and grace, so that no one may boast." In support of this proposition Perrone quotes numerous passages of Scripture, and also from the Greek and Latin Fathers.*

Our last quotation is made from *A Manual of Catholic Theology* by Wilhelm and Scannel, published in 1898 under the *Imprimatur* of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Our book says: "The Canons of this council (Orange) set forth the doctrine of the Church [mark the five last words] as follows: Grace is not given simply because we ask for it; in order to free us from sin. God does not produce an act of our Will, but the desire to be freed is wrought in us by the infusion of the Holy Ghost; the beginning of faith, the pious willingness to believe, is not in us naturally, but is itself a gift of grace, an infusion of the Holy Ghost; to the infusion and inspiration of the Holy Ghost are also due the initial acts of believing, willing, desiring, striving, seeking, asking; by the mere forces of nature nothing positively leading up to the eternal life can be thought of (*ut expedit*), or chosen without the illumination of the Holy Spirit; not only a few, but all require Divine mercy to come to the grace of baptism." Then after condemning the doctrine of Luther in the *De Servo Arbitrio*, and of Calvin, and those of the Pelagians and Semipelagians our book declares that "the necessity of grace for the performance

* Vol. II., pp. 164–5.

of salutary acts, either before or after justification, is physical, absolute and unconditional."*

Here now we begin for the present to rest our pen—not because the subject is exhausted, nor because materials have failed, but because our space is growing small. The quotations are indeed brief and few in number, but they are representative, as taken in part from official standards and in part from the most authoritative writers in the Roman Catholic Church, and they extend through a period of nearly fifteen hundred years.

We do not contend that these standards and these writers teach *de libero arbitrio* in a sense that is *verbally* and *literally* identical, but in a sense that is identical in substance of doctrine and in conception. They profess to state and to represent, and they do state and represent, the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church on the subject before us, and they state it and represent it with as much consensus as the Lutheran dogmaticians state and represent many a fundamental doctrine in the Lutheran Confession. The kind of doctrine, the species, is identical. The form differs. The fundamental predicates are the same. The negations are the same. These standards and writers affirm without variation that man has Free-will by nature, and that this Free-will was not *destroyed* or *lost* by sin; that without prevenient grace, without the assistance of God, without the illumination and inspiration of the Holy Spirit man cannot have faith, nor even the beginning of faith. They in effect affirm with Peter Lombard that "before grace the Will is free to do evil, and that by grace it is made free to do good; that it is always in some sense free, but not always good. For it is not good unless it has been set free from sin, and yet it is free from necessity." And without exception, either by implication or *ex expresso*, they reject Pelagianism and Semipelagianism, Manichaeism and Determinism.

We conclude, therefore, that Article XVIII. of the *Augustana* is justified in declaring that it contains nothing new, nothing that has not been recognized as sound doctrine in the Catholic and in the Roman Church, and that the Epilogue to the Prin-

* Vol. II., pp. 236 *et seqq.*

cipal Articles of faith is justified, in so far as our Article is concerned (the other Articles are not now in the purview), when it declares that "there is nothing that differs from the Roman Church, in so far as it is known from writers."

The distinct affirmations of the Article are: That man has Free-will. So say the Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic writers. That without the grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Spirit, man can perform no spiritual righteousness. So say the Catholic Church and the writers of the Roman Catholic Church. Things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other.

The Catholic Church as known from her official standards and from her standard writers has never taught that in conceiving faith, in conversion, or in keeping the Commandments, or in working spiritual righteousness, man holds himself *purè passivè* or that he is "like a block," or "worse than a block," or "only *subjectum convertendum*," or is "*subjectum patiens*." Let him who contends that Article XVIII. of the Augsburg Confession teaches, and was meant by its author to teach, that in conceiving faith, or in conversion, or in keeping the commandments, or in doing spiritual righteousness, man holds himself *purè passivè*, and that he is "like a block" etc.,—let him who so contends prove his contention by lawful methods of historico-critical exegesis, and by comparisons with anything ever written by Melanchthon on the subject of Free-will after the year 1527. And when he shall have succeeded, or thinks he has succeeded, then let him draw the conclusion necessarily involved in his proof, or supposed proof, that the Confession, as regards Article XVIII., has borne false witness *twice*, for it is demonstrably certain that the *purè passivè*—"stock"—"stone"—"*subjectum convertendum*" doctrine of the Will is something "new" in the Church of Jesus Christ—"new," not only in degree, but in kind. And let him who would champion the *purè passivè* etc., explanation of Article XVIII., draw the further necessary conclusion from his premises, that every time he subscribes the Confession he also bears false witness, unless he makes specific protest against what the Article says about it-

self as containing "nothing new" and against the declaration of the Epilogue that the doctrinal Articles "contain nothing that differs from the Scriptures, or from the Catholic Church, or from the Roman Church, in so far as it is known from writers."

TO BE CONCLUDED.

ARTICLE V.

SHALL WE SUPPLEMENT THE CATECHISM?

By Adam Stump, D.D.

So far as the Church exists for herself alone, she must prove a failure. Selfishness always ends in destruction. While externally, from extraneous causes, she can never be destroyed, internally, through subjective atrophy, she may approach the brink of ruin. History has several times found her in such danger that she was saved from further disintegration only through revivification of the Holy Spirit. But when her condition is normal, she is safest. To this end it is necessary to keep in view her divine purpose and final goal. Her aim is the salvation of the world. Without this mission, the Church would be a fine holiness association, ultimately settling down into a social crystal as beautiful as it would be lifeless. But she dare not be simply a thing to be admired. She must be an agency of power—the chief institutional force in the world.

It was near the hour of his ascension that Christ gave his disciples the great commission to baptize and to teach all the nations (Matt. 28 : 16ff). This is the last, though not the dying, behest of the Head of the Church. He being no longer visibly here, his followers, the whole body of believers, are his representatives, even his vicegerents, on earth, to espouse his cause and to bring the nations into saving relation with him. It is the duty of this unique society to offer the boon of redemption to the lost race and to persuade individuals to accept it. Men are to enter the ark for their own safety, only in turn to become rescuers of their fellows. It is thus that the Church

is to remain an active, personal power in the world,—not a crystal without force, but an organism pulsating with life.

Of course, the paramount motive is love. Yet we must also keep our own life vigorous and recruit our numbers. While we are adding to our company such as are being saved, we are at the same time saving ourselves from formalism and from extinction. Every soul, snatching brands from the burning, either saves itself from the consuming fire, or, at least, by every such altruistic effort removes itself further from peril. Or, to change the figure, the congregation, like the Alpine monks and their St. Bernard dogs, keeps herself warm by digging lost travelers out of the snow and restoring them in her charitable hospice.

The question as to who are the subjects of the Church's operations is easily answered. The great principle which Peter enunciated at Pentecost ("For to you is the promise and to your children," Acts 2 : 39),though it was no new doctrine, has done incalculable good to the people of God, and through them to the world. It made the family a unit in the kingdom of Christ, as it had been in the theocratic commonwealth of Israel. The Messianic society, like that of the synagogue, was to have its principal growth through internal development. The children of the Christian home were to be trained for the Church. When the adults, who were converted at Pentecost and elsewhere, were confronted by the problem concerning the relation of their offspring to the kingdom of Christ, they soon understood it, and did not hesitate to baptize them into the new covenant. Thus the second generation of primitive believers greatly accelerated the expansion of Christianity and gave homogeneous character to its membership. From that time to the present, and never more so than now, have the great historic denominations made it their first care to rear the little ones for the sanctuary. But every community has an unchurched, and an unevangelized, perhaps a floating, population. Some of these people may be at least suspicious of, if not hostile to the Church. Most of them are only indifferent. Some may be skeptics; hardly any are atheists. Likely a few

of them are already on the night-tracks of Nicodemus that lead toward the morning. These "other sheep which are not of this fold" (Jno. 10 : 16) we must also bring in. The evangelization of these people, and indeed of every individual in the vicinage, certainly is the mission of each congregation. Except in the case of Jonah, the Hebrew prophets carried no message to those who were aliens to Israel. Our calling is not so exclusive. The scope of our ministry is not so provincial. But even the later Jews, through the influence of the diaspora, won many proselytes. However, the Christian Church is first of all a priestess of home culture and a neighborhood propagandist. "Beginning at Jerusalem" (Lk. 24 :47), it goes from door to door, and thus spreads the sparks and carries the torch from hearth to hearth, until the entire hamlet, and finally the nation is warmed and illumined. It is thus that the Gospel leavens the whole lump. Such is the principle of its expansion. Such was the teaching and prophecy of the Christ (Lk. 13 : 19).

Moreover, the congregation or religious body that is not interested in the conversion of the heathen in other lands is false to its trust and already by that fact manifests signs of decrepitude. Not to be active in the work of Foreign Missions is a moribund condition. The horizon of faith is that of a world-sphere. The Church is not a garrison in winter quarters, indulging in ease, but an army on the march, campaigning for the glory of Immanuel and the good of man. Edification of the body within, aggressive evangelization without, this must be the program of the Church of Christ on earth.

When we come to the subject of methods one can have his choice. In themselves they are matters of indifference. The best are not universally successful. We are not to depend upon them. It is the Gospel itself, not the mode of its application, that is the power of God unto salvation to them that believe (Rom. 1 : 16). Only the two main general methods of saving men concern us here—the revivalistic and the educational. According to revivalism there never is a normal state of the Church when believers are constantly growing in grace and in

the knowledge of Christ (2 Pet. 3 : 18). It maintains that the Church must be stirred up now and then. Christian experience accordingly must not flow on steadily, like a deep river constantly distributing blessing along its banks. Rather must it take on the character of spring freshets, with roar and rush and foam. It will not take for granted that children can love Christ from infancy and never know anything except the peace of God. Even the lambs of the flock according to revivalism must be able to point to a time and place when the divine life in them was kindled. Its advocates usually have very cloudy ideas of the origin of religion in the soul, and are culpably silent about the means of grace. They forget the teaching of the Word on the subject (Ecc. 11 : 5. Jn. 3 : 5, 8). With them the kingdom of God must come with observation (Lk. 17 : 20). Sight is more controlling than faith. The predominant temper of revivalism is emotional; its habitual manner is sensational.

At its worst, the system is a school of heresy and fanaticism; at its best it is an artificial phase of religious life, and gives altogether erroneous impressions of genuine religious experience. However, the writer would be far from saying that a true revival never is possible or necessary. The history of the Church proves that often an abnormal state of things existed, when the remnant of the vitally pious could only cry, "O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of years!" (Hab. 3 : 2). Not to note instances in the Old Testament, or to speak of the Reformation, we wish to mention as illustrations two such epochs in the United States,

A few years after Muhlenberg came to this country (1742), an organist and teacher by the name of Mittelberger followed him (1750). After spending five years here, he returned to Germany and wrote a book on his "Journey to Pennsylvania." On page 54, speaking of the religious status of the people, he says: "But there are many unbaptized souls there that do not even wish to be baptized. Many pray neither in the morning, neither in the evening, neither before or after meals. No devotional books, not to speak of the Bible, will be found with such people."

On page 63, he describes the ministry. "Most preachers are hired by the year like the cowherds of Germany; and if one does not preach to their likeing, he must expect to be served with a notice that his services will no longer be required. It is, therefore, very difficult to be a conscientious preacher, especially as they have to bear and suffer so much from so many hostile and often wicked sects. The most exemplary preachers often are reviled, insulted and scoffed at like the Jews, by the young and old, especially in the country. I would, therefore, rather perform the meanest herdsman's duties in Germany, than be a preacher in Pennsylvania."

We confess that such a state of things, which, in its chief features, as other competent witnesses of those times have testified, is not overdrawn, justified a revival. History records that it came, and that Muhlenberg was one of the revivalists.

In *The Winning of the West*, President Roosevelt (vol. VI., p. 173) describes the great revival of religion which swept over the Middle West in 1799. He says; "It was accompanied by scenes of great excitement. Under the conditions of a vast wooded wilderness and a scanty population, the camp-meeting was evolved as the typical religious festival. To the great camp-meetings the frontiersmen flocked from far and near, on foot, on horseback, and in wagons. Every morning at daylight the multitude was summoned to prayer by sound of trumphet. No preacher or exhorter was suffered to speak unless he had the power of stirring the souls of his hearers. The preaching, the praying, and the singing went on without intermission, and under the tremendous emotional stress whole communities became fervent professors of religion." He also records (p. 174): "Often men backslid, and to a period of intense emotional religion succeeded one of utter unbelief and of reversion to the worst practices which had been given up. Nevertheless, on the whole there was an immense gain for good."

Now, any one who has read the history of those times and of that region will understand how the conditions preceding 1799 prepared the way for such an advent. But a certain class

of evangelists afterwards made a fetich of the "mourner's bench," and they have tried ever since to perpetuate it, as though the same results could take place under entirely different circumstances. Revivalism can not be made the normal life of the Church. It is not a state; it is a spasm. Happily all the great historic denominations have learned this fact and are using their knowledge to sustain a healthier spiritual condition. The Presbyterian Church, in its early history in this country, was revivalistic; while not repudiating evangelistic effort, it is now far from being so. The Methodists, who first of all are responsible for this modern method, are to-day everywhere looking about for something better. The telling fact is that at this present time there is not in all the world a single Christian denomination that begins mission work in foreign lands with the introduction of the revival system. As the soul mode of saving mankind and building up the kingdom of God, it is a demonstrated failure. Reaction from its high pressure always breeds rationalism.

We turn from the further consideration of revivalism to the Educational System. This method has its roots in apostolic times and customs.

There was only one Pentecost. Only one was promised; only one is possible (Dr. Kuyper, *Work of the Holy Spirit*, p. 112). Ever since that wonderful outpouring, the Spirit abides in the Church (Jno. 14 : 16). The Apostles' Creed is but an outgrowth of the first catechetical classes formed of the applicants for baptism (Seeberg vol. I. p. 85). From that time for seventeen hundred years, Christendom knew nothing of any but the educational method for evangelizing the world and edifying the congregation. To-day three-fourths of professing Christians on earth do not dream of employing any other. What is it, and how does it differ from its rival? It takes the child in the cradle, baptizes it, rears it in a religious home, where it is taught by example and precept to lisp its prayer, to love Jesus, and to understand the rudiments of our faith.

It soon finds its way to Sunday-school, for further instruction and training. The pastor, also, finally takes charge of it,

and at a youthful age it is admitted to the Lord's Supper, by the rite of Confirmation. This is the normal process. It is an ideal upon which, in the abstract, no improvement can be made. In practice, however, it often fails of full realization. One or the other step is missed, and thus partial failure is the result. Especially is this so in the case of those who grew up in the non-churchly families, to say nothing of the altogether worldly, heathenish, and ungodly. Over against the revival system this is slower, gradual, and more disciplinary. It drills its soldiers, before it asks them to go into battle. It adopts the Biblical norm of "first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn." It takes up blades in Christ, no matter what their age, and brings them up in the fear and admonition of the Lord. It is thoroughly convinced that to grow in grace and in the knowledge of Christ is the best way to produce spiritual character. Indubitably, only so far as revival denominations have adopted this method, have they ever conserved the results of their operations. Many a wild-fire "rousement" has ended in smoke, either because its fanatical promoters knew of no means to preserve what they had gained, or were too bigoted to use them. This is why there are certain so-called "burnt districts," in which an entire generation must pass away before sanity is restored.

Every denomination that fosters Sunday-schools, Young People's Societies, Bible Conference, and institutions of learning, confesses that the educational system of religion is the hope of the world. The Zwickau prophets and their deluded followers finally gave up their *Schwärmerei* and became the modern, staid and undemonstrative Menonites, who as a rule eschew all factitious and artificial methods of revivalism. The influence of Moody, the greatest evangelist of the age, has been perpetuated only through the educational agencies, which he was wise enough to establish. Revivalism always is, and from the nature of the case must be, a substitute.

It will, however, be to little purpose to carry comparisons any further. The revival method is good under certain circum-

stances and up to a certain point. The educational method is superior as a working rule.

As a consequence our Church should never adopt, as a rule of practice, a system so alien to her genius, as revivalism, technically so called. As a lesson and warning, the experience of the New York Ministerium may suffice. "Methodistic measures were introduced and used by the great majority of pastors, whilst the instruction of the young was neglected. Pastors and churches followed in the wake of that which was then popular, and in vogue among the surrounding denominations. But this produced a sad state of affairs in the churches. In their parochial reports the more conscientious and observing pastors complain of the mischief this revivalism wrought in the churches. They say they find it extremely difficult to have young persons come to catechetical instruction. They attribute this to the practice so widely pursued of admitting persons into church communion who are ignorant of the very first and fundamental truths of the Christian religion. The result was that the churches were languishing In 1852 Synod took cognizance of this sad fact." (Prof. Nicum, in Luth. Cyc. p. 491). However, despite this caution the very caption of the present article indicates that we are willing to concede that to a degree our method often fails to gather in all the souls in a given neighborhood. We have likewise seen the other method employed during a series of years in certain localities. The result was that one-third of the population was converted, one-third was composed of backsliders, and the last third was infidels or immoral. Revivalism alone never regenerated an entire community. With regard to the catechetical method, the case is not so discouraging. Nevertheless, even where it meets with no opposition, there are found some backsliders, some dwarfed nominal church-members, some scapegraces, and some who have not yet reached the point of confessing Christ.

The question, therefore, arises: After catechisation has been employed to its utmost without bringing in all the baptized children of the Church, to say nothing of them that are without, shall we supplement it?

In the first place, every community contains a quota of souls that never will be saved. The personal, visible presence of Jesus himself would not turn them. They have darkness rather than light. They are joined to their idols, stiffen their necks, and harden their hearts. They act as though they had been predestinated to damnation. Practically, as far as such people are concerned, the pagan doctrine of fate or that of the baldest Calvanism might as well be true. Yet we know that the Heavenly Father did all for them that he did for others. Yet they only resist. They will not stand up to be helped; they will not even lie down to be carried. When we follow them, they run away; when we pray for them, they curse. They are moral degenerates. In spite of all we may do, their miserable souls will be lost. For their salvation the Church will not be held responsible. By no method would they be saved. Consequently, when catechization has failed to reach this class, all supplementary schemes will be useless. In such cases we need worry only, if we have not done our whole duty. Therefore, we should do it, for only the end can reveal the result.

Some years ago in certain communities, where the socalled "new measure" idea prevailed, pastors would follow up each catechetical course with a special revival effort. The wrong idea thus arose that the young people attended the class to learn, but that they had to go to "the meeting" to be converted. Some of these mode-worshipers, who would have fainted at sight of a liturgy, to them the sign of ritualism, have told the writer, "O, catechization is a good thing, if afterward you are converted." But the idea that any one could be converted while attending the class never occurred to them! Therefore, the pastor who would supplement his catechetical work with evangelistic meetings should make it plain that the series is not especially for those who were catechumens, but for those who were not. If they have been taught to trust in Christ alone for justification, their simple faith should not be confused by the addition of an extra burden, which is the case when catechumens are made to feel that they dare not be satisfied, unless

they have yet "come out" in meeting. We know of cases where catechumens forsook the class, became penitents at a neighboring revival, and then returned to the pastor and demanded the communion without confirmation, on the ground that they now were converted and needed neither instruction nor useless ceremony! According to Prof. M. Loy's autobiography, Dr. Sprecher, in Harrisburg (1836), reversed this order and transformed a revival meeting into a catechetical class. This we believe to be a better plan. Yet no *a priori* argument can be successfully brought against special and even protracted, services, in which by means of the Gospel, preached and sung, and unusual personal effort, the salvation of the lost is attempted. Weeks of prayer and Passion Week may be occasions for such work. But former confirmants should be the active laborers, not the subjects of such movements. However, instances are not wanting wherein congregations acted as though they had two classes of Christians—catechism and special service members—and the latter became a little esoteric circle within the flock, supposed by some to have more vital piety than the rest. This evil must be avoided by the proper teaching that there is no virtue in modes. So-called experimental religion often leads to spiritual pride. In any case, the pastor must be his own evangelist (2 Tim. 4 : 5).

No one else can take his place. The influence which a stranger brings also again goes out with him. It is not said that another may not profitably expound the Scriptures by preaching, or Bible readings, but the pastor must not vacate his office. Even the *Teaching of the Twelve* (110 A. D) makes provision to put a hedge around traveling evangelists. With the best motives they may easily destroy more than they can build up. Synods do not want to feel answerable for them. But if a pastor can use them for his own ends, he may possibly reap the fruits of their sowing. However, as a rule, the result of the transient preacher have been disappointing. Whatever supplementary efforts are to glean after faithful catechization, it is best that the pastor and his people do the work themselves. What he cannot accomplish, perhaps other denomina-

tions may do. What neither he nor they can effect, must abide God's own time or remain undone forever.

Too much emphasis can not be placed upon the fact that much depends upon the locality of one's work. We sometimes criticise a brother for doing in his parish what, upon an exchange of places, we ourselves would do. The rural pastor can not operate exactly as does the urban, and especially not as the metropolitan minister. Much good may be done by the technically called "institutional church," which tries to reach the soul through the athletic, aesthetic, social, literary, histrionic, musical, and even the dietetic tastes of men. There are many homeless young people in our large cities who must be attracted in some way which will supply them with at least the substitute of a hearth-stone and the Church. Woe to that town in which the saloon is the most sociable public place, and where the warmest welcome is extended in the club rooms! Let us have all the "institutions" and "settlements" that will help to bring about the regeneration of the human race.

In every community there are older people who have grown up under influences adverse to our educational system. Without any fault of their own, they are outside of the Church. They have arrived at man's or woman's estate, perhaps without having been baptized. The ministers of a former age would not admit these to church fellowship without going through a course of instruction. For the sake of example this was probably the safer plan. Because no elasticity in the mode was allowed, many of this class, who, for instance, had intermarried with our families, did not become of us, though they were disirous of so doing. By relaxing somewhat from the stringent interpretation of our law, the present writer has received no small number of such into the Church through adult baptism or confirmation, without requiring them to sit with the children to learn the simple lessons of the catechism. Private religious instruction also is allowable and may be very fruitful. Thus there should be more than one way of dragging the net and catching men. We can not always be the masters of our environments, because they were created by

causes which existed before us and over which we have no control. We must, therefore, make the best of the situation. The very fact that there are others using different methods in the same field is proof that we can not always do as we please. Competition always alters conditions.

To the question then, "Shall we Supplement the Catechism?" an affirmative answer must be given, because it takes for granted that the catechism remains the present, as it has been the historic, norm of the Church. It is to be supplemented, not superseded. But we can not too earnestly warn against a merely formal process of catechization. The purpose of it is not to railroad the children into the congregation and get their names on the record; not to instil a scientific knowledge of religion into their minds; not chiefly to implant the Creed into their memories. They are to be brought to repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. They are to become living branches of the Vine bringing forth all the fruits of the Spirit. Anything short of this must be considered a failure spelled large.

There is one form of Christian activity that certainly must supplement catechization, and that is personal effort with individuals. Year in and year out, in season and out of season, not only the pastor but every one of his flock should be seeking the lost. This work must not be limited to the catechetical period of the church-year, or to any other season of special activity. The pastor and congregation must not be warm by spells, but zealous all the time. The powers of evil never sleep, and there is no excuse for ease in Zion. Certainly, if there be no personal activity except during the few weeks of catechization, ground will be lost in the evangelization of the community. In the choice of methods, much may depend upon the environment and customs: but there can be no difference of opinion on the question of constant, vigilant, personal, individual effort.

Of late years much has been written and spoken concerning the unchurched masses of our country. Scarcely any ecclesiastical convention has failed to discuss the subject. It has formed the theme in all city ministerial associations. It has

been the occasion of the fling that Christianity is a failure. Even the "ethical culture" and liberalistic forces have taken up the refrain. It has furnished much material for the fiction of our times. Novels of the socialistic type present a hero who gets out of harmony with the Church and starts out on his own account to regenerate the world. If all the enterprises for the amelioration of the submerged elasses, which are so charmingly depicted in such moral-mission romances as "*Robert Elsemere*," "*The Master Christian*," and "*In His Steps*," and a hundred others, had been realized, then at least Chicago, New York and London would no longer have a tenderloin problem to contend with. Again, if all the statistics of all the so-reported wonderful revivals were correct, there would be little to say of unchurched masses. No doubt, there are several unchurched millions in the United States, but to speak of the masses as unchurched is incorrect, for such language leaves the impression that the majority of the population is outside the influence of the sanctuary. More than once has the declaration been made that there are nearly fifty millions of unchurched people in this country. These enormous, but utterly false, figures are produced by a very simple process. The entire population is taken as being about eighty millions; the members of all the denominations are estimated at about thirty millions; the less number is then subtracted from the greater, and thus over half the souls in our country are counted as unchurched. Nothing could be more misleading. In such a census the great army of Sunday-school children, from the cradle-roll to the adult class are placed in the column of the unchurched. This is palpably an unjust classification.

Nevertheless it is true that there are some millions (hardly above twenty) who are as yet unchurched. But this is far from saying that none of these are members of the church, or even that most of them are either indifferent or inimical. Many of them are foreigners and their children, who have not yet had time or opportunity to connect themselves with a Church. Many have located on the wide prairies. Many help to congest our large cities. Not less than seven millions form the home-mission field of the Lutheran Church. No other de-

nomination has anything like such a field and we are cultivating only its border-land. All our own, as well as much of the other material, can be reached with the Catechism. In fact, the greater part of the unchurched population of this country could be more easily gathered into the fold by the educational method than by any other. If only we had the men and the buildings with which to do it, success would be sure. Surely the evangelistic method is making very little headway in our metropolitan centers, though many of its advocates are making praiseworthy efforts. The fact is that the conservative way of the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Lutherans is much more successful in our teeming city populations. So the voice of the latest religious statistics teaches (see Carroll).

It must be confessed that it is the urban and not the rural congregations that leave most Philistines unsubdued. It is in our cities that the unchurched are massed, and cause most anxious thought. Assuredly, if these multitudes, so deeply in need of the Gospel and yet so indifferent to it, will be saved without the Catechism, if revivalistic schemes can turn them from darkness to light, we must be broad minded enough to rejoice in the good work. If our own methods fail, let us employ a thousand others, borrowed from anywhere, to make our Church efficient in saving souls. Without controversy, unless we yield to the Spirit so that he may reach men and women, he will forsake us and chose other agents to do the work. Of course, in no case is our high ideal ever reached, but under all circumstances let that not be our fault, but our misfortune. Therefore, after the most painstakin g employment of the ancient and usually efficient method of catechization has failed to do all that we had hoped, let it not be discarded, but after and side by side with it, let all legitimate, reasonable and evangelical means be prudently tried, so that, if not all, at least the greatest possible number may be won. As the great apostle said, "To the weak I became weak, that I might gain the weak; I can become all things unto all men, that I might by all means save some," (1 Cor. 9 : 23). Surely, if we exhaust all the potentialities of planting and watering, God will give the iucrease.

ARTICLE VI.

THE RELIGION OF PALESTINE AT THE TIME OF THE ISRAELITIC CONQUEST.

By Henry W. A. Hanson, A.M., B.D.

Though uninteresting and insignificant from the standpoint of material fame and influence, small in size, with a large part of its territory rugged, barren and waste, still Palestine possesses an interest and charm which time intensifies rather than diminishes. In entering upon a study of its past one does so with a feeling of reverence as though conscious of treading upon holy ground. This country has also exerted an influence upon the world's development out of all relation to its size and natural resources.

What Greece was to philosophy and art, what Rome was to Law and government, that Palestine has been to the world of religious life and thought. The great influence subsequently exerted by this small country in the moulding of the world's thought has received renewed interest owing to recent archeological research.

The Children of Israel were in a peculiar sense God's chosen people, who more fully than any other nation of the Orient entered into a knowledge snd appreciation of God's nature and relation to the world. Still we cannot see in Jehovah the God of a mere tribe or race—he was God of the Canaanites and Amorites, though they realized it not, as well as of the Israelites. He exerted his guiding and governing power in Egypt as well as in Israel—he sent his prophets to Phoenecia * and Nineveh† as well as to Israel.

God reveals himself to mankind in proportion to their ability of comprehending him. The sun shines for all, but some are blind; some see its beauty but imperfectly; while others see more. So in the History of God's revelation of Himself to

* I Kings, 17 : 8.
† Jonah 1 : 2.

mankind. The "Light of the World" shines for all, but some are spiritually blind and see not, some see but dimly, while others can trace its beauty and live in the sunshine of divine revelation.

God's dealings with man are based upon principles deeper and wider than the range of human comprehension. Still as we study the history of God's revelation of Himself we cannot but feel that there must have been a special sense in which the Children of Israel were to a greater extent than any other people of the Orient capable of comprehending God's truth and will, for God is never arbitrary nor partial. There must at all times have been among them such sainted souls as Simeon * and the Prophetess Anna, † who by their purity of life, simplicity of faith and devotion to God saved their nation from the depths of sin surrounding them.

As we then enter into a study of the Children of Israel as a nation what could give us a better appreciation of their early history than a study of the religion of the Canaan which the Children of Israel faced when they stood on the banks of the Jordan after the long and bitter journey from the bondage of Egypt?

Our study of the religion of Palestine at the time is practically a study of the religion of the Canaanites, since it was their religion which was predominant, and which at that time was, with a few modifications, the worship of all Palestine and Syria. The Hittites had, upon their southward movement, a religion which was perhaps somewhat different from the Canaanitish rites, yet the influence of the latter upon the Hittites was similiar to the subtle, deadly influence which it also exerted upon Israel. The Hittites conquerors were soon the conquered.

Our sources as to the nature of the religious ideas of Palestine at the time are threefold. We have the religion of Phoenecia, which, being a development of that which their brothers in the interior of Palestine had, would naturally throw much

* Luke 2; 36–38.
† Luke 2; 25–35.

light upon the worship of the Canaanites. We have, secondly, the warnings in Scripture which at different times singled out the specific features of the Canaanitish worship in order to enable the Isralites to avoid them. Our third source, modern excations, in a remarkable way supplements and verifies the conceptions which we derive from the two other sources, and while from them all combined we all too often receive but a meager outline of that which we long to see expanded to even the minutest details, we must content ourselves with a study of the facts which we have.

I. THE IDEA OF DEITY.

To form a just conception of the Canaanitish worship it is necessary to grasp their idea of deity and their conception of the nature religion. Each country had its own god or gods. These gods of the family and State were the peculiar heritage of each generation, upon whom devolved the sacred duty of guarding their interests and worshipping them with all the zeal and devotion which had characterized the worship of their forefathers. "When a God was spoken of as father and his worshippers as his offspring, the meaning was that the worshippers were literally of his stock, that he and they made up one natural family with reciprocal duties to one another." His duty was to give them good crops, guard their interests and in case of war give them victory. Their duty was to maintain his worship, build him temples and offer sacrifices and incense to him. *He was theirs; they were his!* There may have been some whose souls caught a glimpse of something higher and better than the low, depraved forms of popular religion, yet if such existed we learn nothing of their existence. Who knows but that even there pious souls arose who strove to turn the eyes of their fellow countrymen heavenward, and who paid for their efforts with their lives? "Religion did not exist for the saving of souls, but for the preservation and welfare of society, and in all that was necessary for this end every man had to take his prescribed part or break with the domestic and political community to which he belonged." Religion was a matter of tribe

and State. The individual was only a leaf upon the tree. Though entirely different in every other respect, the Israelitic conception of Jehovah was something similar in this. The Israelites looked upon Jehovah as *their* God. Had He not brought them out of Egypt from the house of bondage, promished at Sinai to be *their God,* and had He not gone before them in a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night leading them to the land of Promise? He was their shield and protector, and they were *his people*, who built his temples and offered him sacrifices and worshipped Him. It was centuries later, when the Children of Israel had lost sight of their heavenly mission, and were grovelling in the lust and vice of those about them, shielding themselves with the assurance that Jehovah was *their God*, and was under obligation to protect them, that Isaiah and Jeremiah thundered out the proclamation that Israel must fall, and that the great unit in religion was the *individual* and not the State—that *religion was a question of the individual soul.* Amos put an entirely new interpretation on the doctrine by proclaiming: "Jehovah is indeed your God, and you are his people—as his people you have had superior advantages—of these advantages you have not availed yourselves—but have gone into the depths of sin, as deep as those without your advantages; hence you shall be the first to suffer. Jehovah shall destroy you first of all,since 'to whom much is given, of him much is expected.'" Such ideas were now undreamt of. The Moabites had their Chemosh; Damascus its Remmon; Babylon its Nero; Assyria its Assur; and Canaan its Baal; and as long as they offered their appointed sacrifices, built temples, and held the usual feasts, their moral consciousness was entirely at rest. *In their idea of Deity there was no conception of any moral requirements.* Devotion to a God was utterly divorced from all morality and consisted solely in rites.

A glance at the nature of the Canaanitish worship explains its influence and the reason for its ascendancy. In the first place the cosmopolitan Canaanites, while theoretically worshippers of Baal and Astarte were always willing to add a new God to their Pantheon. They were not like the Hebrews, the

devotees of a single God. This liberality upon their part would naturally facilitate their making friends with other people, and at the same time the lewd nature of their worship, which not only allowed but exalted and gloried in the lowest vices and crimes, made it a temptation and snare to all with whom they came in contact. The chief God of the Canaanites was Baal. Baal was originally looked upon as the God of the Heavens and protector of the Phoenecians and Canaanites. He was the God of creative power, bringing all things to life everywhere.

While this seems to be the primitive idea of Baal, it was changed long before the Children of Israel reached Palestine. At that time Baal was localized—each city had its Baal, as originally each city of the Hittites had its *Sutekh* as we learn from the treaty between Ramesses IInd, and the Hittite king Khata-sir. Along with this male type of deity there was associated the female, and even as man was the head of the family, so the female deity was subordinate to the male. This chief female deity was Astarte or Ashtoreth. She was looked upon as the great counterpart of Baal. As the great receptive and reproductive principal. Along with these two chief deities there were perhaps many others, but from the Scriptural narrative we are led to believe that these two were the popular deities at the time of the Invasion. We also find many traces of Moloch, whose exact position in the divine world is difficult to ascertain, but of whose worship we treat later.

II. NATURE OF WORSHIP.

To speak of the Canaanites as *non*-religious would be far from just. They were fanactically religious. From every hill incense and the smoke of offerings arose. The shaded groves were the scenes of the most shocking crimes; the temples, of which there seemed but few—the chief place of worship being apparently in the open air—were always thronged, and upon the great feast days, young and old, rich and poor, joined about the altar to worship their gods. The very source of

their ideals, their moral and religious life, were poisoned—hence we could expect but little other than we find.

It seems that the Baal of each city was worshipped chiefly in open air upon the High places or hills. Baal was usually represented by images or statues around which the devotees gathered and before which sacrifices were offered. The exact idea which they entertained concerning this statue is hard to grasp. It is hardly possible that they looked upon this image as of any intrinsic divine power, except as it stood for their god. It was the god's representative or symbol. Any worship before his image was acceptable to the God. Any insult to this image was an insult to the God and was punishable with death.

Often temples were built in honor of Baal, in which his image was placed and in which he was worshipped. As an illustration of the wild fanaticism connected with the worship of Baal we find one of their feasts or demonstrations at Carmel during their contest with Elijah. Four hundred of the priests, or *prophets of Baal*, as they are termed perhaps to contrast them with Elijah the *prophet of Jehovah*, gathered together to worship their God and demonstrate his power. In calling upon their god they leaped and danced and slashed themselves with knifes and lances. But while the worship of Baal is often placed alone, it is more frequently connected with the worship of Astarte. The worship of Astarte was characterized by the lowest forms of unchastity. Nude as the counterpart of Baal, as the productive principal, she was worshipped with prostitution and sensuality. She is variously represented as a naked woman with her hands supporting her breasts, sometimes as a woman nursing her babe and occasionally as the modest and retiring Venus de Milo. *Like* Baal and most frequently *with* Baal she was worshipped in groves, which thronged with prostitutes who had given up their lives to worship their goddess in the most shameless and vile indecency. In these groves occurred daily the most shocking crimes. Each maiden before marrying must prostitute herself in "Astarte Grove" at least once. And those whose moral consciousness allowed them

thus to consecrate their lives to Astarte were looked upon as holy and sacred. It was the lewdness and sensuality which made the worship such a deadly poison. What life! What nobleness of feeling! What divine impulses could there be, among a people so utterly and hopelessly entangled in the quagmires of lust! The practical influence of such worship is shown us in the experience of the Angelic visitors to Sodom * and Gemorrah and of the Levite at Gebeah. † Again and again this low form of worship gained the ascendancy in Israel and one cannot but feel that this was the most fatal power that sought to undermine the Hebrew State. Again and again it was destroyed only to spring into life under some sensual king. Gideon, Elijah, Jehu, Johoiada, and Josiah destroyed it, yet under such rulers, as even the wise Solomon it sprang up as the grass after an April shower. Not content with prostituting themselves in natural ways, there arose the low order of Galli, or Sodomites. The Sodomites were men who had, by effeminacy and prostitution become so feminine that they could offer themselves for purposes of lust to either sex. Special cities were often dedicated to Astarte, to which pilgrimages were made and in which, during great feasts the city was but one mass of prostitution. The God Moloch was worshipped with ceremonies less indecent, but equally horrible as those of Astarte.

As the Phoenician Legend has it, the great God El, during a period of dire distress for his country offered, up his son Leond as an expiratory offering. Hence the fire god was worshipped with the sacrifice of infant children, usually the first born son of each family. Moloch is represented as a monster of metal, with a bull's head, man's form, and as having his arms outstretched. During the great feasts the image was heated by a roaring fire within, and when all was ready the instruments of music began to play, the priests shouted and leaped in ecstacy, and the mothers came forward and placed their children in the burning arms of the monster and saw them roll from the

* Gen. 19 : 4–11.
† Judges 19 : 22 sq.

arms down in the molten mass within. The child's screams were drowned by the shouting of the priests, and not a tear must the mother shed, as a single tear would annul the entire offering.

This leads us to a consideration of human sacrifices, and sacrifice in general, which lay at the basis of the Canaanite as well as all the forms of Semitic worship. Sacrifice was the fundamental principle of all the earliest forms of religion. The gods had given men all they had, and in gratitude why should they not, *by sacrifices*, make some little return? Gradually as their theology grew more advanced a very simple argument led to human sacrifice. God had done all for them, they must express their gratitude; in what way could they better express it than in sacrifice. The greater the sacrifice, the more it would please their gods. What was dearer to a mother or father than their first born son? Yet was it not their duty to their gods to offer up that which was dearest to them? Hence it became the rule, not only among the Canaanites, but also among all the earliest Semitic peoples to offer up their first-born son. Abraham, before his faith was tried on Moriah, saw upon every hand parents offering up their children upon the altar or in the Moloch's cruel iron hands. It would seem from excavations that the usual child offering was not by fire but by burial alive in a large jar.* This is contradicted by Scripture, however, in that the Israelites are again and again cautioned against putting their children through the fire, which in Num. 18 : 21, we learn its equivalent to offering them up to Moloch, but in not one single place do we see even the most casual reference to burying their children alive. In times of extreme danger a human sacrifice was made to propitiate the angry God and secure the victory. The more honored and esteemed the person, the more effectual the sacrifice. Hence we learn that when Jehoram king of Israel and Jehosaphat king of Judah made war upon Mesha, king of Moab, that the latter took his son who would have reigned in his stead and offered him up a sacrafice to Chemosh, the God of Moab.

* *Palestine Ex. Fund.* 1903, p. 19.

That human sacrifice was usually by fire we are probably correct in stating. Whether it was generally by the fires of Moloch or on the altar cannot be determined. At stated times Baal as well as Moloch received human sacrifices.

In the excavation at Gezer the skeleton of a female of advanced age was found deposited under the corner of a house. Whether from this single incident one is warranted in inferring that it was the custom to offer a human sacrifice upon the foundation of a new house seems to my own mind exceedingly questionable. Especially now since it is proven that burials sometimes took place within the walls.*

The more usual sacrifices were, however, the sheep, ox or goat. The animal was slain and placed upon the altar on which the fire was already burning. Here as the animal was roasting and the smoke ascending heavenward, the people would gather around, pray to, and adore, their gods. The great aversion to the swine which was so characteristic of the Israelites existed also in the Pre-Israelitic days of Palestine.

There existed among the Canaanites most paobably three classes of sacrifices. (1) The sacrifice of the first born, the reasons for which have been elsewhere considered. (2) The votive sacrifice which we find illustrated in the vow of Jephthah (Judges 11 : 30 s. q). In an hour of danger or at the beginning of a great undertaking a vow was made that, on condition of success, a fixed sacrifice would be given the god to whom their prayers were made. (3) But that sacrifice which was given most frequently was the ordinary *expiratory* or sin offering. Among the Canaanites one sees in it a peculiar significance. What sins were not termed religious rites? What vices did not pass under the stamp of sanctity? They would offer their sacrifices perhaps, because they had not been zealous enough in their worship of prostitution and shame. One cannot but feel, however, that the popular conception of sacrifice was that the sacrifices had on the gods an effect similar to food and drink upon human beings. *They were necessities*, hence only

* Palestine Ex. Fund. 1903, p. 224.

the best of everything was considered worthy of the sacrificial altar.

III. PLACE OF WORSHIP.

As was previously noted the temples were rare, the usual place of worship being the *high places* where an image of the god was set up and altars and asheras placed near it. Such heights were nearly always characterized by the presence of green groves (Deut. 16 : 21; Ex. 31 : 12; Deut. 7 : 5; 2 Kings 18 : 4). This fact is not difficult to explain. In the Eastern countries the intense heat makes living in doors almost impossible. When the angels came towards Abraham they found him not in his tent. They found him in front of it. (Gen. 18 : 1). When Deborah sat as a judge in Israel she sat beneath the palm trees between Ramah and Bethel. The tents were sultry and the houses were built with very small windows so as to keep out the intense heat and hence would be but dimly lighted even at midday. It is this fact which adds such vividness to our Saviour's Parable of the lost coin, as given in Luke 15 chap.

Under such circumstances what is more natural than that the favorite place for worship would be beneath the cool shadow of some beautiful grove? Perhaps Prof. Benzinger is correct also in stating * that the trees played an important part in ascertaining the will of the gods. Even in II. Samuel 5 : 23 it seems that by the rustling of the leaves David could learn the will of God, and the fact that the terebinth by Sheckem bore the names, "Tree of Oracles" (Gen. 12 : 6) and the "Magicians Tree" (Judges 9 : 37) seems peculiarly significant.

In this connection it is entirely relevant to consider the character of the *Ashera* which are found by every altar. From Judges 6 : 23 we learn that the ashera were made of wood, and the use of such verbs as כרת "to cut down." Ex. 34 : 13. גדע "to hew down." Ex. 7 : 3, and שׂבר "to burn with fire." II. Chron. 12 : 3, seems to agree with the authorized rendering "groves." On the other hand we learn from II

* *Hebraische Archeologie* p. 375.

Kings 16 : 23 that they were *made*, and again from II Kings 23 : 6, that they are *portable*. From these considerations we are doubtless correct in considering the asheras religious symbols which were made of wood and set up beside the altars. *

What led to the selection of certain places as places of worship? The following appeals very strongly to me as the most plausible reason: When Jacob, fleeing from the wrath of his brother, slept upon the stone at Bethel he had a vision of heaven. Upon awaking he marked the place with a stone and by all, to whom he related his dream, that place would be considered *holy*; it was a spot on which God had revealed himself and was hence *really* a Beth-el or house of God. It was a spot to which God was peculiarly close. Here the people would gather to worship. In later years when men's spiritual vision was atrophied and they were grouping about in the darkness they still clung to these places which marked revelation and theophanies. Many such places would be marked. Padan-aram where Jacob struggled with the Angel; Moriah where Abraham's faith was so sorely tried, etc. When the places thus consecrated were no longer numerous enough, any *high place* could be selected as a place of worship. As soon as the image, altar and asheras were set up it was a *holy place*.

The altar used was usually of stones. Perhaps from the injunction of Ex. 20 ; 24–26 we are correct in surmising that the Canaanitic altar were made of *hewn* stones, and were about three feet high.

In connection we read of the matzeboth or pillars (2 Kings 3 : 2-10-18-24, etc.) We are told in Gen. 35 : 14, "and Jacob set up a mazetah in the place where he had talked with Him (God), even a *pillar of stone* and he poured forth a drink offering and he poured oil thereon." This pillar was what is now termed a menhir. It was usually a rough stone set up to mark some place as sacred, and upon it sacrifices were offered. In this connection the modern excavations reveal dolmen which until recently was supposed to exist only in the East Jordanic

* Driver Com. Deut. p. 202.

countries. That but few of these altars or menhirs and dolmens are discovered by present research is not surprising. Even though in earlier times they existed everywhere, but very few of them could have escaped the determined efforts of Hezekiah and Josiah to blot them out. The dolmens were composed of three parts—two side pieces standing upon their edge and upon them rested a flat stone which served as a top. Upon this stone dolmen offerings were made. To see in these dolmens burial tombs is perhaps in some cases not entirely unwarranted, but in the overwhelming majority of cases the body buried in a dolmen would be exposed to sight through the ends of the stone structure—a fact which makes it *very* probable that they were used only as offerings.

Among the most interesting discoveries at Gezer has been the unearthing of a temple of the Immediate Pre-Israelitic Period. It consists of *five* parts.

(1) A sacred cave beneath.
(2) An alignment of pillar-stones.
(3) The socket apparently for the asherah.
(4) The temple area.
(5) The boundary wall.

The cave consisted of two distinct parts which were connected by a passage which to the ordinary eyes was invisible. Mr. McAllister's surmises as to the use of this cave are very plausible. "The system of the caves would thereby become a very simple and obvious means of delivering oracles. The inquirer would be admitted into the accessible chamber—a confederate of the priests having been previously stationed in the inner room. The passage is crooked, so that it is impossible to see through it; but it is so short that sacerdotal ingenuity could no doubt devise many methods of announcing the god's will and purpose by its aid." While this is of course only a supposition it comes with great force, especially since a method somewhat similiar was in use in the East as late as a decade or two ago.

The uses of the pillar-stones, eight in number, is difficult to understand. That they could not have supported a roof is

evident from the fact that they are of irregular sizes and heights. It is suggested that their use was perhaps that given in Lucians description of the two pillars standing in front of the temple of Hieropolis. "Once each year a priest ascended to the top of one of these pillars and remained there for seven days, during which time he acted as a mediator between the suppliants and the gods." Such a use does not appeal to one very strongly, yet it is possible. In heighth these stones vary from five to ten feet, in breadth, from one to five feet.

Among the ruins is found a beautifully polished stone six feet one inch long, five feet wide, and two feet six inches thick, which was probably the socket for the asherah of its temple.

The exact area of the temple is not ascertainable. In connection with these ruins it is interesting to note that among the spoils taken by Thotmes III we find mention made of an ARK OF GOLD Can it be that the ark was used in the temple worship of the Canaanites as it was in that of the Israelites? If so it is very strange that we read in the Old Testament Narrative of the Israelites destroying the temples, asherahs, idols, altars and groves of the Canaanites, but never once do we find mentioned an ark.

In the stratum of earth immediately under the temple a cemetery of infants, buried in large earthen jars, is found. These jars have usually two handles and taper towards the base, the infants being placed in head down.* Only two of these bodies show any sign of having been burnt, and hence, if sacrificed, they were brobably buried alive. It seems very strange that all the bodies found here were of *newly-born children.* Could it be that only newly-born children were buried beneath the temple? Or, are these the first-born children who were offered to the gods? It is not unreasonable to suppose that there was some connection between the Canaanite rule that each young woman must at least once give herself to prostitution before she could marry and the fact that her first born son—begotten perhaps in this temple prostitution—was offered to

* Pal. Ex. Fund. 1903, pages 32–33.

the gods as sacred. Be this as it may; we know of the prevalence of the offering of the first born to God among the Semitic people from the fact that even among the Hebrews we find an acknowledgement of God's entire ownership of the first-born in Ex. 13 : 13, where we read that they must *redeem* it from the Lord at a *fixed price.*

Among the ruins of the temple a *bronze figure of a serpent* has been found. Can it be that this gives a clue to ophiolatry among the Canaanites? Was this bronze figure only an ornament or was it worshipped and feared as demon or God? This strange discovery strikingly draws our attention to the narrative of Numbers * where we are told of the brazen figure of a serpent erected by Moses, and also to the second book of Kings (18 : 4) where we are told that Hezekiah, king of Judah, dragged the brazen serpent from the temple and destroyed it *because it was worshipped.*

In these temples served the priests, who, naturally in an age of so much superstition and ignorance, exerted the greatest influence. They stood in rank and influence second only to the king and it was often the case that the king made himself high priest of the chief deity of his city that his supremacy might thereby become the more complete. That there were swarms of these priests in Palestine we have every evidence. Ahab could without any difficulty collect 450 of them from a single section of the country (1 Kings 18 : 22). They were supported by the people who gave their tithes to the temple with a regularity even more marked than that with which they gave their annual tax to the king. In giving their tithes to the temple they were giving them to their gods whose favor they sought and who would all the more abundantly bless their labors in the following season

Whether these temples were served by a single tribe as was the case among the Hebrews is not known. The priests lived in their own houses and their duties were primarily the offering of the sacrifices and taking part in the religious ceremonies which played such a large part in the national or city life. We

* 21 : 1–8.

are alas not able to definitely affirm the existence of a special day upon which the people gathered for worship—a day which like the Hebrew Sabbath, was devoted entirely to worship and rest. Such a day one finds in Babylonia, and because of the unbounded influence of Babylonia upon Pre-Israelitic Palestine—an influence which became so pronounced that even its *language* became the language of Palestine as is revealed in the Tell el Amarna letters which are in the cuneiform—we should *without a doubt* find a similar day (of worship) existing among the inhabitants of Palestine, if our sources were not so fragmentary and incomplete.

There were priestesses as well as priests—both alike finding in prostitution and the most horrible orgies the necessary service of their gods.

While these were the chief representatives of the gods there were others who rise up in the shadows as mystic awe-inspiring wonders. Such a character is *Baalam.* This strange prophet of Baal dwells in Bethor. Of his life, his position, his occupation we are told nothing—he is introduced merely as *the son of Beor.* As the children of Israel advance with firm, victorious tread Balak sends in fear for Baalam saying, "come now I pray thee, curse me this peaple, for they are too mighty for me; peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them and that I may drive them out the land; for I know that *he whom thou curseth is cursed.*" The bearers of the message come laden with presents, but Baalam gives them no answer at once—he must go to one higher than himself for his answer —only on the morrow can he give his answer. To whom does he go? Who says to him, "Thou shalt not curse this people for they are blessed?" Whence comes Baalam's marvellous insight and foresight? whence the inspiring power of his mystic weird personality?

Climbing to the heights with the king by his side Baalam looks down at his feet and sees the tents like specks upon the plain—he has been brought to curse, but lo as he gazes out upon Israel's camps he breaks forth in "How can I curse whom God hath not cursed? How shall I defy whom God hath not

defied? From the top of rocks I see him, from the hills I behold him: lo this people shall dwell alone and shall be reckoned among the nations." Three different heights they climbed, each time Balak, the king, at the strange prophet's side beseeches him to curse the invading host. At last the prophet lifts up his voice and touches one of the sweetest strains in all prophetic language. *

* Num. 23 : 5.

"How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,
And thy tabernacles, O Israel
As the valleys are they spread forth
As gardens by the riverside
As lign-aloes which Jehovah hath planted,
As sedan trees beside the waters."
"God brought him forth out of Egypt,
He hath as it were the strength of the wild-ox *
He shall eat up the nations of his enemies
And shall break their bones in pieces."
"Blessed be every one that blesseth thee
And cursed be every one that curseth thee."

When reproached he answers, †

"*If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of Jehovah, to do either good or bad of mine own mind—what Jehovah speaketh will I speak.*"

Too noble to deceive—too honest to be bribed, Baalam returns to his home. Only once more do we hear of him. When the troops of Israel storm Bethor, we read that Baalam son of Beor was among the slain. How touching his experiences—how exalted his character! Were all of God's prophets in Israel? We see in Baalam one of those lofty personalities who towers like the mighty mountain peak above the clouds—though having the clouds below and above him he could see above them and catch a wider vision of God's character and purpose.

Strange, exalted and alone he stands
How wonderful—how sublime!

One other character of whom we find an account in the Old

* Noted for its fierceness and irresistible strength.
† Num. 24 : 13.

Testament Narrative throws an interesting light upon religious Canaan prior to the conquest—it is the witch of Endor. Living alone in her squallid hut she seemed to possess the magic power of lifting the curtain and enabling others to peer into the future—even of recalling the spirits of the departed. Into her methods we cannot here enter—suffice it to say—she was one of a large class of diviners, witches and magicians which played such an important role in all of the Oriental lands.

BURIAL CUSTOMS AND IDEAS OF A FUTURE LIFE.

In the Canaanite mind as well as the Ancient mind in general we find no clear conception of a future life—their idea of it was hazy and confused and exerted but meager influence upon their living. In studying the magnificent sentiments which find expression in the 125 chapt. of "The Book of the Dead" one is impressed with the deeply sensible moral consciousness of the ancient Egyptians. Its confessions are strikingly like those of a modern Christian. Yet when we glance at their ideas of the future state, how intangible; how speculative and unreal they are. Babylonia with all its wise laws and its huge stage of civilization could offer nothing more pleasant in its conception of a future state than a place in which the departed souls lived like bats, fleeting about in darkness and feeding upon dust. It must be remembered, too, that even in the Old Testament the idea of the future state is not emphasized until more than four centuries after the Conquest of Canaan (c. 1000 B. C.). To the early Hebrew mind the future life seemed matter of but little importance—the commandments given the Israelites by Jehovah have promises attached which refer only to *this present life.* Their precepts may be summed up in *Be moral and righteous that it may fare well with you and your children.* The affairs of the present existence absorbed their entire thought and attention.

The races were looked upon as a *people*—they were rewarded as a people and punished as a people. The conception of the value of an individual which is the first step in the idea of immortality we find nowhere dwelt upon in certain tones until

the time of Isaiah and Jeremiah. This idea like all others was a growth, the mind must be prepared for it—it is but another illustration of that of development which underlies all human life and thought—"First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn."*

In the book of Job do we meet for the first time with a vital, hopeful conception of the future life. Hence among the people of Pre-Israelitic Palestine we can expect no exception to the rule. Still that they believed in some form of life beyond the grave is unquestionable. Beside each body, when laid to rest, they placed a vessel with water and others with food. The warrior had placed beside him in the grave his spear or knife. Was not the food for the use of the departed spirit, wherever it was, whatever its state? Saul saw in Samuel not one who had ceased to exist, but one who had left the sphere of tangible life and who dwelt in the land of shadows and mystery—hence he goes to the witch of Endor to call him back again.

There was in the earliest Semitic mind a consciousness that death did not end all, but their knowledge of the nature of this life beyond the grave was limited to the fanciful speculations.

We find in Canaan no such extravagant provision for the body as is characteristic in Egypt, they did not bury in pyramids nor stone vaults, neither did they embalm. The dead bodies were buried in the earth or in caves.† In excavating ancient Gezer a cistern-like hole supposed to be one of these caves has been discovered. It is shaped much like a modern cistern and is twenty feet six inches deep, having an average diameter of fifteen feet 3 inches at the bottom. The entrance is a hole in the top three feet in diameter. In this cistern-shaped tomb were found the remains of fifteen people, fourteen males and one female. The bodies could not have fallen into the pit since they were all arranged about the side, not one being under the entrance hole. In their arrangement there was no system, some were lying flat, others in a contracted position, one seems to have been placed in a squatting position against

* Mark 4 : 28.

† Gen. 23 : 19, 25 : 9, Josh. 24 : 32.

the walls, although the bones had naturally fallen in a heap.

In reading of the remarkable positions in which these bodies were found the question forced itself upon my mind; was this really a burial place or was it a pit in which criminals were placed to starve to death? From the silt on the bottom it is very evident that it was used as a cistern before the bodies were deposited in it. We receive a suggestion of such a practice of placing people alive in cisterns and allowing them to starve to death from Genesis 37 : 23-26, in which we clearly see that the original intention of Joseph's brothers was to make away with him by this method. Upon the basis of such an explanation the lack of uniformity in the position of the skeletons, as well as the remarkable fact that one was found in a sitting posture, would be very easily understood. Since the entrance was on the top would it not be more difficult of access as a burial vault or cave? Among the ruins of Gezer there was found in 1902 a burial cave very different from the above mentioned cistern-like pit. It had been artificially cut out, the pick marks being still visible and to make it more accessible stone steps led down to the entrance which was in one corner. The room was thirty feet long (east to west), twenty-four feet six inches wide and its height varied from two to five feet. The entrance was on the south west corner and through the roof was a shaft three feet six inches in diameter which was stopped by a very large rock. This burial cave is especially interesting in showing the transition from the age of cremation to inhumation. On one side of the cave the ground was entirely covered with ashes, scattered among which were charred bones. That this cave was used in perhaps the Pre-Semitic age, as a crematorium is further evidenced by the fact that an artificially made chimney is found in the soft porous rock of the top and on this chimney may still be seen the traces of smoke. This same cave was used later in the immediate Pre-Israelitic for inhumation. Many bodies were found here, the majority had been placed on the left side upon the stone floor in a contracted position.

Around the walls were enclosures which were probably for

persons of distinction. The floor of these inclosures consisted of stones cemented together with a kind of mortar. Usually but two bodies were found in each little cell, a man and wife, and scattered among the bones were the amulets, images of the Gods and of astarte and precious stones.

The usual place for burial was outside of the city walls,* though exceptions to the rule have been found.

Thus we see the land of Canaan as the Israelites saw it, a land stained by every sin and a people, in studying whose life, we find the reason for Jehovah's merciless command to the conquering Israelites. Either they or the Israelites must of necessity be assimilated, and while an apparently cruel measure, it was after all a *merciful* one.

* Josh. 7 : 24.

ARTICLE VII.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTIONS OF GOD.

By Rev. A. E. Deitz.

The chief problems of philosophy are these four: The problem of God, the problem of man, the problem of the world and the problem of knowledge. Dealing with these problems, philosophy necessarily bears a close relation to theology. Unfortunately, however, its conclusions have not always been in harmony with the teachings of the Divine Word and of sound theology as based upon that Word. In their conceptions of God, philosophers differ widely both from the conclusions of one another and from the statements of inspired Scripture. Each school of philosophy takes up the problem of God in its own way, looks at it from its own standpoint and offers its own solutions. Gathering these various solutions together and arranging them in ascending order, we have presented for our acceptance or rejection these philosophical conceptions of God, viz., Atheism, Agnosticism, Deism, Pantheism and Christian Theism.

Strictly speaking, Atheism can hardly be classed as a conception of God at all, since it is rather a denial of His very existence. It is the teaching of Materialism, that form of philosophy which seeks to account for all things in terms of Matter, Force and Motion. Its foremost advocate to day is the German scientist Haeckel, whose works are widely circulated and whose aim it is to destroy the belief of men in the three fundamental verities of God, Freedom and Immortality. In spite, however, of Haeckel's learning and logic, Materialism and with it Atheism have steadily lost ground in recent years. The science and thought of our day call for higher and better conceptions than those of Atheistic Materialism.

To some who thus turn away looking for a more satisfactory solution of the problems involved, Agnosticism seems to present an attractive scheme of thought. This is the philosophy

of Herbert Spencer, which admits or rather asserts the *existence* of God, but denies that we know or ever can know anything whatever as to His nature and character. The point upon which Mr. Spencer lays great emphasis and which is really the beginning of his whole argument is the assertion that it is impossible for the finite to know the infinite. No finite mind can grasp the thought of infinite space or time. Enlarge our imagination as we will and beyond every point that we can fix, no matter how remote, there rises up at once the idea of still further space or further time as the case may be. The finite mind is always baffled in its attempt to conceive or know the Infinite, for with us to know anything is to fix in thought its limits, and so the unlimited must remain forever unknown and unknowable. No true image or conception of it can ever be formed in minds constituted as ours are.

Of this psychological principle, Mr. Spencer makes important use. He analyzes the three suppositions which may be made as to the origin of the universe, viz., that it is self-existent; or that it is self-created; or that it is created by an external agency, and shows how each and all of these suppositions involve the idea of some independent and eternal existence. Something must have existed at the first by itself and must have so existed from all eternity. But this is the assertion of an existence in infinite time and that as we have already seen no finite mind can conceive or know. Hence the First Cause of all is inscrutable and unknowable. That such a first cause exists we are sure, but what its nature is no man can tell. No attributes of any kind can be ascribed to it. Even the question of its personality must be left undecided as the first cause may possibly belong to some order of being as far above personality as personality itself is above mere material existence. Such is Agnosticism, which leaves to religion only this one fact of an insolvable mystery beyond and at the beginning of things and turns over to science the whole realm of the known and the knowable. But Mr. Spencer's positions are open to question. We may admire his skill in argument and his vast and profound learning, but must dissent from his conclusions as

illogical and unwarranted. It is true that the finite mind can not conceive or image or know the infinite. It is true that we can form no real conception of God's existence in eternity, nor can we conceive any of His attributes, as His power or love, as being infinite in measure. Unlimited power and love *are* beyond the reach of our thought. But power and love in themselves we do know. The essence, the quality of such attributes we know. When applied to God, it is only their measure, their quantity that lies beyond our reach. And so we can know what God is even if we can not conceive how He is this eternally or in infinite measure. Our knowledge is real so far as it goes though as theology has been wont to recognize it is not adequate to reach the eternal and infinite fullness of God. We *may* know the love of Christ even though it be a love "that passeth knowledge." We *may* know the power of God even though He is "able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think." A limited Agnosticism is true and scriptural, but not the sweeping Agnosticism of Spencer and his school.

Deism, the next philosophical conception of God to be considered need not detain us long, since it has little if any philosophical standing to-day. It is the idea of an absentee God, one who created the universe in the beginning and then left it to fulfill its destiny by itself. There are many practical deists in the world—men who live "without God and without hope" —but as a theoretical system, Deism does not commend itself to the thought of our time.

Far more readily and widely do men of the present day turn toward that conception of God which comes next in order, viz., Pantheism. This is a system in some respects the direct opposite of Deism. It brings God near. It beholds Him everywhere, in all things. God is all and all is God. The whole universe of things and men constitutes, but the outward, the changing and temporal expression of the inward and eternal life of God which pervades and animates the whole. This Pantheistic Philosophy has prevailed from time immemorial in the East. Nor is it lacking in advocates and influence

in the West. Our popular fiction and poetry are pervaded with its spirit. The teachings of Christian Science are strongly pantheistic in their statement and tendency. Thus in many forms, in philosophical systems that have come down to us through many centuries and in some of more recent origin as well as in the productions of many a popular teacher and author, pantheistic ideas are expounded and enforced. But this identification of God with the world is fatal to all the highest interests of men. Its idea of God is low and unspiritual. As usually formulated, it makes God impersonal and unconscious, merely the principle of life that pervades the universe. Its idea of man is equally unsatisfactory, for it makes him to be but the fleeting and temporal expression of that divine life, destined soon to be re-absorbed into the unconscious principle whence he came. It is a philosophy that leads to fatalism, man's individuality and freedom and responsibility being obscured, or else positively denied. Attractive as it may seem in some respects, this surely is not a philosophy that we can accept.

But some further attention must be given to that modified form of Pantheism which bears the name of Idealistic Monism. This philosophy is one of the most powerful and subtle foes which the Church of our day is called upon to meet. It is taught from the philosophical chairs of many of the leading universities in the United States. It issues its regular periodicals, and is set forth in numerous books by eminent authors. It is undoubtedly making some headway in our midst, especially among the educated and cultured classes, and is worthy of careful study in order that its error may be seen and its danger be understood. In the works of Professor Royce of Harvard, we find a typical expression of its principles and views.

The system of Professor Royce is based on Idealism, not in the crude form in which it was maintained by Berkeley, but in a more logical and consistent form. Professor Royce denies that there is any distinction to be made between Mind and Matter, and maintains that apart from minds and their ideas

nothing exists. He interprets material nature to be the expression of a finite, conscious mind, in essence similar to our own. The so-called material is in reality spiritual and mental. And then upon this basis of Idealism, he rears the structure of Monism, maintaining that in the final analysis we can admit the existence of only one Mind, one Absolute and Eternal Consciousness, which includes within itself all finite consciousnesses,so that the mind or consciousness of any particular man is but a part of the mind or consciousness of the Absolute. Thus in a deep, literal and exclusive sense God is all and in all, and outside of Him nothing is. Man's mind is but a part of God's mind and man's life is but a part of God's life. God is conceived as the infinite, personal self-conscious being, and such attributes as omniscience and omnipresence are ascribed to Him. But in Idealistic Monism man is degraded from his true place and position in the world, and in spite of Professor Royce's attempt to ascribe to men a certain relative independence and freedom his scheme of thought leaves to man no real and true responsibility for his deeds and affords no sufficient incentives to high moral endeavor. God in fact becomes responsible for all that men think and do. The distinction between right and wrong is obscured if not entirely obliterated and no place is to be found for such doctrines as Sin, Atonement by Christ and Regeneration by the Holy Ghost. Idealistic Monism, however plausibly its advocates may argue for it, is nevertheless a highly objectionable system of Philosophy, for if generally accepted its effect would be to destroy all true religion, to undermine the foundations of morality and to destroy that sense of individuality and freedom and responsibility which has been one of the prime causes of the world's progress and achievement in modern times. Thoughtful men may well hesitate to accept any such scheme as this.

And so finally we come to Christian Theism as the only satisfactory conception of God. This is the idea of God which has usually been coupled with that form of philosophy known as Natural Realism or Natural Dualism, a philosophy which maintains the distinction between Mind and Matter, and also

the other important distinction between God and the World. Natural Realism holds that even after the profoundest research and analysis no good reason can be found for setting aside the ordinary and common-sense view of men that Matter and Mind are two separate kinds of being, both of them real and neither of them capable of explanation in terms of the other. In accordance with this God is conceived to be the Infinite and Eternal Mind, the Creator of all other minds and of matter. Himself forever imminent in creation and yet forever transcendent above it, and man is conceived to be God's creature, a true self-conscious individual or person, endowed with freedom, destined for immortality and accountable to his Maker for the right use of his opportunities and powers. This is a system of thought that exalts man and glorifies God. It is a system that gathers up and includes in itself all those elements of truth which, mixed with error, are found in other systems. It recognizes the presence of a certain mystery in the nature of God, a fact which Agnosticism has strangely over-emphasized and developed in a one-sided way. It recognizes the transcendence of God, a fact which Deism proclaims, but proclaims in an exclusive way. And at the same time it recognizes the omnipresence of God, His imminence in the world and His indwelling in the hearts of men, facts which are taught in Pantheism and Idealistic Monism, but taught there in such a way as to give but a partial and erroneous view of the truth while other facts which ought to be considered are hid from sight. The Christian conception of God thus stands out as the highest, the most complete, the most logical and satisfactory idea of God that the human mind has been able to frame or reach. and it comes to us backed by the authority of divine revelation and so stamped as *the truth* which we are firmly to believe and steadfastly to defend.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION.

By Rev. J. B. Thomas, A.M.

The great moral as well as the great natural miracle of history is the person of Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of Man. His life is the centre of history. He is the very heart of Theology in all its branches; and His work and teaching form the basis of Christian ethics. Well chosen and fitting are the words of Dr. Philip Schaff: "His person rises in solitary grandeur above the surrounding plane of a fallen and sinful race—the one only sinless and perfect man, in whom 'all the fullness of the God-head dwelleth bodily.'" (Col. 2 : 9).

All of the biographers of the life of our Lord (even Strauss and Renan) acknowledge the uniqueness of His life and personality in the history of the world, and admit that the principles of true religion—that religion which is pure and undefiled before God the Father—reach their highest exponent in Him.

The perfection of His sinless humanity compel the recognition of his divinity. The Son of Man, born of the Virgin Mary, is truly the Son of God. Were it not so, his amazing claim and wonderful life become unintelligible. The solution of His miraculous works can only be found in His divine origin and character.

And it is with this divine origin of the Lord Jesus Christ that this paper, under the heading, *The Miraculous Conception* has to do.

The doctrine of the miraculous conception presents to us a many-sided figure of truth. Definitions of this wonderful occurance are legion. But I find none so satisfying to my mind as that given by the renowned Theologian David Hollaz. He says of the Miraculous Conception that it is "A supernatural act, by which the flesh of Christ, produced from the mass of the blood of the Virgin Mary, received in her womb its ori-

ginal being, consubstantial with her own, through the superven-tion of the Holy Spirit."

Orthodox Christianity agrees with this statement. Another learned divine says that "The miraculous conception is the point at which dates the essential union of the Son of God—the 'Logos' of John's Gospel—with humanity as subsisting in the flesh."

But before proceding further it will be in place to turn to the sacred narrative itself and read the beautiful and sublimely delicate account given by inspired men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.

First the account thereof as given in the Gospel according to Matthew: R. V. Ch. i. vv. 18–23:

"Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise. When His mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. And Joseph, her husband, being a righteous man and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily. But when he thought on these things, behold an angel of the Lord appeared unto Him in a dream, saying, Joseph thou son of David, Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus: for it is He that shall save His people from their sins. Now all this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, Behold, the Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call His name Immanuel; which is being interpreted, 'God with us.'"

It will be seen at a glance that this announcement of the angel is made to Joseph. The account given by Luke in the Gospel bearing his name tells of a different announcement; an announcement made to the Virgin, and is on this wise:

"Now * * * the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man, whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And he came in unto her and said,

hail, thou that are highly favoured, the Lord is with thee. And the angel said unto her, fear not Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shall call his name, Jesus.

"And Mary said unto the angel, how shall this be, seeing that I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore, that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God (or as the marginal reading puts it, the holy thing which is to be born shall be called the son of God)."

These two accounts, though differing widely in the details of the narration, agree in this, viz: that Joseph had no share in the parentage of Jesus, and that the place of a human father was taken by the direct action of the Holy Spirit, called 'the overshadowing.'

Mark's Gospel is silent with respect to the event, but this is not to be wondered at, when we consider the fact that he deals with Christ's public ministry, and therefore passes by much that appears in the other Synoptists.

John's writings, though nowhere referring directly to the miraculous conception, yet go further than the other Scriptures in affirming the reality of the incarnation as a cardinal truth (see John iv. 2, 3), and in asserting the pre-existence of the Son of God with the Father, John i. 1-2.

The same thing may be said respecting the remaining portions of the New Testament Scripture. While nothing is said directly upon the "how" the Christ became flesh, there is emphatic and explicit teaching concerning the divine side of our Lord's being, His pre-existence and His agency in ths work of Creation. In the words of another:

"As to the silence of the Epistles about the miraculous conception, be it observed that even Meyer cannot deny such statements as the following: 'Him who knew no sin, He made to be sin for us;' 'God sending His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin;' 'the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot unto God;"

"The precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot," statements which would be emptied of all their meaning if understood only of the *actions* of Christ, and there were no background of a sinless nature. And if the absence of such sinlessness of nature would be fatal to the redemption on which our hopes are built, are we to hang our belief of it on the poor thread of a *conjectural* sinlessness of birth, in place of the doubly attested way of it in the history itself?"*

Now, when on the one hand, we consider the scantiness of particulars concerning the miraculous conception of our Savior which the Gospels supply and, on the other hand, the fact that the Lord Himself has left no trace of personal teaching respecting His earthly origin we feel inclined to ask the question "Why?" and satisfy our mind with the answer given by Edersheim, that "the design of the Gospels was manifestly not to furnish us with a biography of Jesus the Messiah, but in organic connection with the Old Testament to tell the history of the long-promised establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth;" accepting what the loving Apostle says in his Gospel, xx : 31 : "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through His name."

But is this scanty record of the miraculous conception true? Can we accept the accounts in the First and Third Gospels as facts, or must we take them simply as tradition, or as legend, such as has come down to us with respect to the birth of Buddha?

That difficulties and problems should exist in connection with the details in the Scripture narratives of the wonderful way in which the Logos became the Son of man is to be admitted. And that the negative, anti-supernatural school of critics should make the most of them is nothing more than what is expected of them. Nevertheless the scantiness of the records on this point are more trustworthy than the arguments of those who seek to explain it away.

* Rev. Principal David Brown, D.D.

Now in looking at this phase of the question it is well to keep always in mind that the Gospels are simply the records of facts concerning the life and work of the Messiah; and as a certain one has well said: "In the narrations of the events of His public life and teaching they never go back to the peculiar manner of His birth as furnishing a basis for such a life."

The synoptic Gospels are evidently from entirely different sources and complement each other. They are historically true. And their authenticity and integrity have never been successfully impugned. True it is that the portion of Luke's Gospel from chapter i. 5 to end of chapter ii., has been called in question because of its absence in Marcion's Gospel and because of its Hebrew character. But scholars have shown that this contention is without sure foundation.

But how are we to understand the absence of any direct illusion in the Fourth Gospel to the subject under consideration? A glance at the design of the Fourth Gospel helps us out of the difficulty that such a question raises. Whereas the object of the Synoptic Gospels is the relation of facts; the object of the Fourth Gospel is the revelation of the glory of the only begotten of the Father, the 'Word made flesh.' Then, too, the author of the Fourth Gospel must have been acquainted with the other Gospels, and must have thought it useless to speak again of facts and truths so well known. Neander's ideas are pertinent here, "This disciple—John, who leaned on the bosom of our Lord, and who understood our Lord's inner life as no other person understood it, must have desired to show that "He was made flesh, in an entirely different way than in every other case," and accepting the Synoptic explanation of how it came to pass, he thought it useless to repeat again facts so well known.

By way of reply to those who make much of the fact that there is no direct evidence to the manner in which the Logos became man, in the proclamation of the Gospel tidings as recorded in the Epistles, and who cast aside the miraculous conception of our Lord on this account, we humbly beg to say that such lack of direct evidence is no conclusive testimony

against it. For salvation is not to be had by faith in his miraculous entrance into this world, but by faith in His atonement, by accepting Him as our Lord who "was delivered for our offences and raised again for our justification." Rom. iv. 25. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, while we do not find in the Apostolic Epistles any express mention of the miraculous conception of the Messiah—as we have alluded to before—much is said and written about His sinless nature. And how is this sinlessness to be accounted for except it be true that "He was conceived of the Holy Ghost," in accord with the word of the angel?

We purposed entering into a brief review of the ante-Nicene, the Nicene, and the post-Nicene teaching on this subject. But time forbids. Permit us to say, however, that the orthodox creeds of Christendom, may be said to convey to us this doctrine on the subject.

In the Nicene Creed we have the declaration concerning Jesus Christ our Lord, that "He for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary and was made man."

In the analysis of the Chalcedonian Christology Doctor Schaff, in the Schaff-Herzog Cyclopedia, places first among the leading ideas of this Christology the "true incarnation of the Logos," by which is meant "the actual assumption of the whole human nature, body, soul and spirit, into an abiding with the divine personality of the eternal Logos, so that they constitute from the moment of the supernatural conception one undivided life forever."

Orthodox Protestantism accepts this part of Christology and adopts in their various Confessions of Faith either in form or in substance the teaching of the great Oecumenical Creeds on this point.

The Augsburg Confession declares that "the Word, took unto Himself man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary," Art. III.

Art. II of the 39 Art. of the Church of England declares: "The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from

everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance."

Note also what the Westminster Confession clearly says in Chap. VIII. sec. 2: "The Son of God, being very and eternal God, of one substance, and equal with the Father, did when the fullness of time was come, take upon Him man's nature, with all of the essential properties and common infirmities thereof; yet without sin, being conceived by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary."

"Thus," to quote from Principle Brown, once more, "the faith of the pre-Reformation Church in the true doctrine of the incarnation was taken reverently up by the Reformers, and held by all orthodox Protestant Churches, until rationalistic scepticism not only impugned the most sacred truth, which is the subject of this paper, but also sought to pull to pieces the great foundation of Christian belief."

And now a few paragraphs respecting the great fact of the miraculous conception itself, as it is narrated in the inspired Word.

The act of conception was by the virgin. This we are plainly told in the words of the angel to Mary, "Thou shalt conceive." The power which enabled her to so do, was not her own, but the power of the Holy Ghost. And this act was to come to pass in a supernatural manner; in a way impossible, humanly speaking, but not impossible with God, for, as saith the angel to the Virgin: "With God nothing shall be impossible."

Just how it took place is and always will remain a mystery to mortal man. All life in its beginning is mysterious. But this much is certain, to take upon Himself our nature, and be made in all points like unto His brethren, it was necessary that with respect to the Logos, there be a true, real, and proper conception on the part of the Virgin; however, as says Dr. Pierson, "Not after the manner of men; not by the common way of human propagation, but by the singular, powerful, invisible, immediate operation of the Holy Ghost."

Whether or not faith in the doctrine of the miraculous conception of our Lord, and in the facts set forth in the Scripture account is necessary to salvation we are not able to say. But as for the writer, he is willing to take his stand upon the inspired Word of God, and accepts unequivocally the words of the Scripture, the account of the men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, as historically true; and finds in the fact of the miraculous conception of our blessed Lord, the fulfilment of divine prophecy, "The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth; a woman shall compass a man," equivalent to "a creation wrought in a woman without man," Jer. 31 : 22; and that other prophecy, "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call His name, Emmanuel," Isa. 7 : 14.

ARTICLE IX.

PROFESSOR KAWERAU ON SECTS IN GERMANY.

PROFESSOR J. A. FAULKNER, D.D.

I do not wonder that the Protestant divines of the State Churches of Germany look askance at the growth of separate forms of Church life there, especially when these forms are the results of a deliberate missionary propaganda. Do they think we are heathen, that they must come over and convert us like a lot of Hottentots? So one could easily imagine them saying. As to Methodism especially it would be very interesting to make a study of German opinion, and I hope to do that sometime. But in the meantime a comprehensive statement of the whole sect question in Germany has just come to hand from the competent and not illiberal (for a German) pen of the eminent Church History scholar of the Evangelical Faculty of the University of Breslau, Gustav Kawerau.* It is worth while to inquire how the matter stands with him, for he represents the German Moderates, that large body who are neither fire-eaters on the one hand nor indifferent on the other, who have sincerely at heart the spiritual welfare of their fatherland, and who desire to see the Churches do their utmost for the salvation of their country. With the point of view of these men we ought to be familiar.

Kawerau first takes up the meaning of the word sect. It comes either from *sequor* or from *seco*, but from the latter only in so far as it is equivalent to *sequor* to follow. In the classical Latin it signifies one's method of thinking and acting, or the school of thought to which one belongs. The Vulgate translates *αἵρεσις* with it (Acts 24 : 5-15 ; 26 : 5-15 ; 28 : 22), where it means simply the religious school, tendency or opinion which one elects. But in the Epistles it has a different mean-

* Art. *Sektenwesen in Deutschland*, in the *Realencyklopædie fur Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, herausgegeben von Dr. Albert Hauck, Professor in Leipzig, 3 Aufl. XVIII (1906), 157-66.

ing, viz., the sets or factions or cliques within the Christian society, and is used in way of blame. In Gal. 5 : 20 it is coupled with squabblings and dissensions as one of the works of the flesh, and in 2 Pet. 2 : 1 the false prophets παρεισαξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας, secretly bring in sects of destruction (destructive opinions). The Church use of the word is in the same sense. Augustine says a "sect (*secta*) is one believing quite differently from others."* The Catholic Church did not make much use of the word. In Church law she kept the Greek word heresy, and distinguishcd between the two classes of separatists, those who withdrew on account of her doctrinal teachings and those who would not be under her hierarchy. Both were sectarians in a sense, but one party was heretic the other schismatic.

The mediaeval German Bibles translated αἵρεσις with *irrtum*, error, or *ketzerei*, heresy, in Acts 26 : 5 with *ordem*, and 24 : 14, according to the sect which they call a ketzerei. Luther kept the word sect (sekte) Acts 24 : 5, 14; 28 : 22; 15 : 5 and 26 : 5 and 5 : 17, and 2 Pet. 2 : 1. For αἱρέσεις he generally uses *Rotten*, sects, cliques, sets, Gal 5 : 20, 1 Cor. 11 : 19, and he translates οι απορίξοντες in Jude 19 as *die da Rotten machen.* In his own writings he uses the word sect (sekte) with an evil meaning, classifying sects (sekten) with fanatics, cliques, errors, † etc. The sects bring something beside the Gospel which is not the Gospel. ‡ So the word is in general use.

Kawerau distinguishes between the legal use of the word and the churchly use. Legally sects are those religious communities which exist by the side of the Churches recognized as such by the State and invested with special privileges. The determination of the peace of Westphalia, 1648, sec. 7, to the effect that "outside of the above named religions (Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed), no others are received or tolerated,"

* *Contra Faust. Manich.* 20 : 3.

† *Tischreden*, ed. Förstemann—Bindseil III. 351; *Works*, Erl. ed. 30 : 17; 40 : 266; 41 : 20.

‡ Ib. 52 : 237.

has given legal foundation to the word sect in Germany. In fact there are some theologians who use the word only in that sense. For instance, Loofs, the brilliant and learned Church History Professor in Halle, says: "The conception of 'sects' stands in indissoluble relation to that of the State Church, and is to be understood only in this connection." The word "sect" thus has only legal justification, not actual. The actual facts now-a-days have long since outgrown the limitation set by the Westphalian Peace.* Drews of Giessen is also willing to confine the word to this legal sense. "I accept," says he, "the expression sects so far as is to be understood under that word those religious societies which have not been provided with the right of corporation, societies not 'acknowledged' by the State." † This legal limitation of the word Kawerau rejects, as he does even more decidedly, of course, the use of the word not uncommon in the United States as equivalent to Church or religious society, a body, as for example in W. H. Lyon, *A Study of the Sects*, Bost. 1891. Lyon and many others refer the word to any and all parts of the general Church, thinking of the false etymology of sect-section, from *secare*, to cut. No, there is an ecclesiastical use of the word which does not coincide entirely with the legal. The State might entirely abolish all legal distinctions between Churches (as in the United States), and still there would be societies which are sects and not churches. The Church use of the word sect includes a blameing judgment; the complaint that in an unjustifiable way the peace of the Church has been disturbed by separation, and that the spirit which thus drives to separation is one which is strange to the German Reformation, and is therefore inimical to the Church. And the Church is not thought of as a State-Church necessarily, but as a national Church (Volkskirche) which in virtue of historical development has taken upon itself the task of the religious and moral work for the whole people. If we ask what is the special spirit in a society which make it a sect, Kawerau thinks the impelling power is usually the

* *Symbolik* (1902), I. 74.
† *Kirchliches Leben in Koenigreich Sachsen* (1902), 295.

Donatist conception of the Church, the demand for a holy Church, a demand which shoves in the background the universality of the Church, which looks upon the national Church as more or less a Babylon from which one must separate, a spirit which does not esteem the historical development which has brought the Church to its present state.

The next question is: What are the societies which exist in Germany by the side of the State Church? These fall into three groups.

(1). Those communities which were persecuted in other lands, and fled to Germany for refuge These include the Walloons and French Calvinists, the Bohemian Brethren, the Waldenses in Wurttemberg, and the Mennonites. Some of these have been incorporated more or less closely with the State Church, as the Bohemian Brethren in the province of Posen. None of these should be called sects. Even the Mennonites, who differ in organization and doctrine from the Church, should not be called a sect, because of their origin and because they do not endanger the position of the Church by propaganda. All they wish is a chance to live in peace according to their traditions. The Herrnhut Moravian Brethren are also excepted, partly because they are a peaceful settlement and partly because they only aim at forming societies for a richer spiritual life within or in friendly relation to the main Church. Nor would the Anglican, Presbyterian and other Churches which have been formed in large cities for foreign merchants, travellers and others sojourning for a shorter or a longer time in these cities, be called sects.

(2). Separations. These are of two kinds. There are those who cannot accept some change in organization or rite imposed by the authorities, which change they look upon as altering the very foundation of the Church. Thus the Union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in 1817 was an occasion of profound dissatisfaction on the part of some. So the change in the marriage formula after the introduction of civil marriages in Hanover, and the decision of school authorities to do away with Bible-reading caused splits. Then there are separations

of a purely local nature. Now these two classes of separations Kawerau is in doubt whether to call sects or not. If they actually develop in a Donatist direction they could be so called. But if they are able to participate in the theological development of the time, and can minister to the age in a large way and not consider their theology closed, then they could be called a Church. "Separations which keep on the ground of the German Reformation," says Dove, "do not fall under the judgment which is decisive for sects."* Even a national Church can degrade itself into a sect if it separates its clergy from the advancing development of theology.

(3). Sects properly so called: The dissenting English-American Christianity which has invaded the national Churches of the German Reformation. These are not separations occasioned by our own inner history, but are representative of another conception of the Church, of other views concerning the way of salvation, or other ideals of piety, which have come over here into Germany, have considered our Churches as Mission-territory, seek to win for their views awakened members of our societies, turn them from us and unite them into separate associations. This English American propaganda is now the special sect-danger with which we have to do. And this in two ways: first, they take away from our Churches the earnest living members, and second—what is still worse—they influence believing members of our Churches by their own conception of Christianity, and thus a spirit strange to our national Evangelical Church is brought into our Churches which works as an element of dissolution. These English-American commmunities differ from each other. The "Apostolic" societies of the so called Irvingites are altogether peculiar, and are to be distinguished from those which owe their spiritual physiognomy to the Methodist Revival of the 18th century. Still all represent a Christianity developed under other relations, on other ground, with another national character, a propaganda from the outside broken in upon us.

Our author now takes up a most interesting inquiry. What

* *Allgem. Kirchenblatt*, 1884, 344.

are the causes of the success of this propaganda? Why do the living members of the Church join the sects? Because they are drawn by the special *doctrines* of these denominations? I think not, says Kawerau. You must look deeper than that. It must be confessed that in our national Church there is a great difference between the religious conception, and the actual condition, of the Church. The national Church is the instructor of the race among whom it exists. Its parochial Churches include churchly and unchurchly, living and dead, members. The sects allure the living members by their prospect of a communion of pure living Christians. The national Church must use those members for her affairs, synods, etc., whose spiritual qualifications are often doubtful. The belonging to the higher ranks of the Church plays a greater part than the belonging to the children of God. This helps the sects. A worldly clergy does the same thing. So there comes a need on the part of the Christians for a close association with those of like feelings, the longing for a richer satisfaction of their religious needs, an opportunity for utterance concerning questions of the inner life or concerning the right understanding of Scripture. These unsatisfied needs prepare the way for the sects in our Churches. Thus it is not of great importance what special views these sects represent. The attractive power of the sects is mainly the close spiritual communion which they offer. Of course unworthy motives too frequently play a part, love of novelty, spiritual pride, insubordination, ambition, dogmatic disputatiousness, but those motives may be left out of the account. These, however, cannot: Dissatisfaction with churchly conditions, mistrusts toward ecclesiastical stipulations borrowed from political life and bureaucratic forms, opposition to the interweaving of the Church with the State and her manifold dependencies on it; uncertainty or anxiety in regard to the Church's fidelity to the Creed ("you have no doctrinal discipline") or to Christian life ("you have no Church discipline"), the offense which one bound to the old doctrine of inspiration takes to the development of theology and therefore the mistrust toward a clergy infected with "unbelieving" science at

the Universities, ignorance andmis understanding of evangelical saving faith, particularly the doctrine of justification (which becomes blended with sanctification), Methodist representations concerning the way of salvation, undervaluation of the significance of the Church, her offices, her sacraments and ordinances, with overvaluation of certain pietistic forms of Church life, mystical kinds of piety at the expense of the evangelical insight that the Church is referred simply to the Word of God and has in this the sufficient source of all spiritual knowledge, misunderstandings in the interpretation and use of Scripture, emphasis on single Bible passages torn specially from the Old Testament and the Revelation, etc.

The next point is the relation of the sects to the law of the land. Since 1648 the law authorizes only the Catholic, the Lutheran and the Reformed. These "received Churches" enjoy even to-day the preference that the State looks upon their clergy as public official, provides for their training at the State Universities by theological faculties, lends the secular arm for collections of taxes and other helps, protects and favors their festival days and grants donations and extra allowances from the public treasury. Other communites were not to be tolerated —except the Jews. But this law was relaxed step by step; exceptions were made. The dukedom of Prussia did not belong to the German Empire, so the Westphalian Peace did not necessarily apply there. As early as 1548 the Bohemian Brethren were received in Prussia. The rescript of Frederick William I, 22 March 1722, gave toleration to the Mennonites, which was extended to West Prussia, 29 March 1780. The Socinians also were tolerated in Prussia. The Herrnhut Moravian Brethren received many accessions in the same State, and soon these earnest Christians were specially favored by being placed just below the three priviledged Churches. Still they could not have bells on their chapels nor did their ministers have any special rights. The merely tolerated societies, like the Mennonites and Quakers, must send to the ministers of the parish notices of all births, marriages and deaths to be entered on the Church book. In regard to Church school taxes and surplice-

fees their members are reckoned as though they belonged to the State Church. The "perfect freedom of faith and conscience" mentioned in the laws of Prussia (t. 2, tit. 11, sec. 2), permits to adherents of a sect not *expressly* tolerated the priviledge only of worship at home. The Lutherans who separated after 1830 on account of the union of 1817 had to feel during the whole reign of Frederick William III. the full sharpness of the prohibition of conventicles dangerous to the Christian religion and the State. It was not till 1845 that they were conceded rights similar to those granted the Unitas Fratrum (Moravians). The Reformed who could not go into the Union (Kohlbrüggians) were tolerated by a grant, 24 Nov. 1849. The Baptists who came out in 1837 were denied formal toleration, 19 Oct. 1841, though it was added that they must not be sharply proceeded against. By the law of 1848, revised 1850, larger liberties were granted to all parties, though societies could still obtain corporation rights only by special legislation. These rights were granted the Mennonites in 1874 and to the Baptists in 1875. The above applies to Prussia. For the whole empire the law of 1896 provides that religious societies can obtain civil rights by registration in the court; still even then this is only voluntary on the part of the State, as the authorities can test the applicants, compel them to come to terms with the Church authorities, and even object to the registration. But even to day to obtain the right of a religious corporation an act of legislation is needed. The demand in the Frankfort law that no religious society shall enjoy prefential prerogatives is not yet realized in Germany, and is not in the interest of the State Churches, which for centuries have been leading factors in the moral and religious life of the people, and as national Churches have been instructors of the people. These must be estimated by the State differently from ephemeral associations of small circles which come and go, and have not proved themselves bearers of religious and moral culture. Both justice and policy equally oppose the demand of doctrinaires for equality.*

*Compare Richer, Dove, Kahl, *Kirchenrecht*. 8 Aufl. 324, and the Patent of 30 March, 1847, which says, "We are determined that the

What is the best antidote to the sects? How can they best be opposed? This is the point next taken up. And here Kawerau disowns all persecution, all calling upon the police. That only makes martyrs and injures the Church. Only excrescent sects which threaten public peace should be dealt with by the police. The only antidote worthy of the Church is to earnestly endeavor to satisfy with her own means the religious needs which lead her members to the sects. Every appearance of a sect is a monition to the Church for her manifold shortcomings and abuses which can to some degree be remedied. Kolde has formulated the principle that in every sect there is a one-sided emphasis on a thought or work which is justified in itself and for the time neglected by the Church.*

For it is the business of the Church to do away with the general and special causes for the formation of sects. There must be a richer and more living proclamation of the Divine Word, a faithful pastoral care, the institution of subordinate religious meetings, a care for the fellowship-needs of the awakened, the providing societies *within* the Church for religious and moral training, a spiritual life and spirit-filled preaching of pastors, the keeping out of mercenaries from the ministery, reaction against too much freedom of belief, a looking after discipline, a training of the congregational officers in co-working in *all* the concerns of the society, and draw upon earnest members for work according to their gifts in edifying the Church,

* *Die Heilsarmee*, Erlangen, 1885, 117.

Churches priviledged historically and by State treaties, the Evangelical and the Roman Catholic, shall be given protection hereafter as before, and shall be kept in the enjoyment of their special privileges." Perhaps this is even truer in Saxony. Presiding Elder Auner of the Leipzig district in explaining the small number of probationers who join the Methodist Church in full membership says: "The probationer must first appear before the superintendent of the State Church and express his desire to unite with us. After a strict examination and a wait of four weeks, he appears before the superintendent, and if his opinion is not changed he receives a certificate stating that he is a dissenter. This certificate must be presented to the courts and money payment made, the size of which corresponds to the size of the dissenter's family." *87th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, (for 1905), N. Y., 1906, 68.

such as helping in Sunday Schools, care of the poor and sick, and in the smaller societies of the Church. *

In regard to Church discipline of members who have joined the sects, on which different courses have been pursued, Kawerau thinks the following points are clear. (1) State clergy cannot remain in office who have come out in a positive relation to a sect. (2) School authorities must exclude all members of sects from religious teaching in the schools. (3) Members of a sect must not have offices of honor in the Church. (4) Reception of re-baptism is evidence in itself of actual giving up of membership in the State Church. Besides, persons who have been commissioned by the sects to preach or administer the sacraments must be looked upon as excluded, and persevering participation in the Lord's Supper in a sect must lead to exclusion.†

Lastly, statistics. From the figures cited we give only these. The Prussian statistics of 1900 number the Old Lutherans 45,594, Old Reformed 14,543, Unitas Fratrum (Moravian Brethren) 4,031, Mennonites 13,876, Baptists 38,143, Methodists and Quakers 5,226, Apostolic Church (Irvingites) 32,215, English Church Societies 2,557. Krose reckons for 1900 in all Germany 35,231,104 Evangelicals, and 203,793 members of the smaller Christian parties, or 0.36 per cent. of the whole population of Germany. In 1870–1890 in Saxony there left the State Church 5,400 for the Catholic Apostolic Church, 2,878 for the Methodists, and 1720 for the separated Lutherans (Missourians, who have congregations in the home-land). In 1900, 1,847, left the State Church of Prussia for the sects, in all the rest of Germany 1132, in all 2979, of whom 1044 went back. In 1904 in the older provinces of Prussia 2,370 went

*See the discussion by Berlepsch, in *Allg. Kirchenblatt*, 1884, 4768.

† According to a law of Saxony Altenburg, 24 Jan. 1851, no preacher of a sect can consider any one as belonging to his society who has not signified in writing to the police his exit from the Church and his recourse to the sect. While the Chief Church Councilor, 29 March 1852, said the sacraments must be denied to those who worked with the sects, others have freely given the sacraments in the Churches to the acknowledged heads of the Irvingites, on the principle that it depends on the godly judgment of the communicant, not on the pastor, whether he should receive the sacrament.

out, of whom 3,602 returned. "In any case," says Kawerau, "the sects are increasing and the attention of all friends of the Church must be turned to the right counter-action."

Thus Kawerau. This is certainly a large minded statement of the so called sect-question in Germany by a man of tolerant spirit, who evidently sees much to admire in the non established religious communions, and who strongly incites his brethren to imitate them. At the same time he looks with regret at their presence, and believes that no more liberty should be granted them. He stands firmly for preferential rights of the State Churches. It will not then be out of place if a remark or two be made on some of his points.

Why should the Methodists in Germany be called a sect? According to one of the senses in which the word is used in the New Testament (following Kawerau's exposition) Lutheranism is a sect in the same sense, and according to the other meaning no one but the wildest fanatic would call Methodism a sect. It is neither divisive in its spirit nor destructive in its teachings.

As to the legal sense of the word sect, which Loofs thinks is the only sense we have anything to do with, that is simply a technical designation of the accident of the non-state support. According to that, the Church of Scotland is a Church, but the United Church of Scotland is a sect. The Episcopal Church is a Church in England, but a sect in Scotland. If that is the sense of the word sect, all right, but it has been very unhappily chosen to express that meaning. Nor is Lyon's use of the word any happier—sect is any religious body. As a matter of fact all Roman Catholics, Greeks, High Episcopalians and many Lutherans use the word sect of other so called dissenting Churches, but never of their own, that is, they always use it as a word of opprobrium. This fact should make all Protestants avoid the word sect when speaking of their own Church.

Now what is Kawerau's idea of a sect? (1) A sect is a separating movement from an older Church which does not appreciate the historical task of that Church, nor contributes in

a large way to the national life. But this would condemn Lutheranism as well. It did not appreciate the task of Catholicism and according to Luther's Testimony it lamentably failed at times in the moral up-building of the nation. All Catholics look upon Lutheranism as an unjustified separation, therefore a sect. In fact this criterion of Kawerau is purely subjective. Who is to judge when one can serve God and man better by leaving old associations? Who is to judge whether a Church can be saved more quickly by working within or by stimulus from without? Who is to judge when a society is so defective that withdrawal becomes a duty? The very existence of Protestantism is a rebuke to that spirit which calls my society a Church but my neighbor's a sect. If the following of Christ with the disciples was not always a necessity (Mk 9 : 38-40), why should I cry "sect" to the demon expellers over yonder? The accident of long possession does not of itself make a Church.

(2). The peculiar spirit which makes a society a sect is, says Kawerau, the Donatist conception of a holy Church, which looks upon a national Church as a Babylon from which one must come out. I think there is something in this description. If I in a spirit of pride or self-righteoosness look upon a Church as entirely given over to evil, when a fairer judgment would show thousands who had not bowed the knee to Baal, and try to build up my society and tear down the other on the strength of this false judgment, I am acting the part of a true sectarian. But was this true of Methodism? The Wesleys clung to the national Church with pathetic tenacity. Stones and whippings and mobs could not drive them out of it. If ever a great movement was compelled by historical forces which its leaders itself could not control to become an independent Church, that movement was Methodism. "Regarded from the view point of the mediaeval Church," says Seeberg, "the Reformation may be considered as the last of the schisms in the Western Church. But it must in that case be freely acknowledged that it is profoundly and entirely different from all schismatic move-

ments."* Not less was the Methodist movement the result of an historical development which differentiates it from a schism or sect. Nor does Methodism in Germany correspond to the Donatist part of Kawerau's definition. It does not regard the National Churches as Babylon, nor exhort the people to come out of them. It acknowledges many saints in these Churches and their providential place in God's plans. It rejoices in the Reformers who founded them, and in their theologians and Christian workers who have been lights to all the world.

I think there is a little inconsistency in Kawerau's three-fold division of the outside societies, though he is more liberal here than many of his stricter brethren. Why should not Methodism have as kind a word as that which he speaks of the Unitas Fratrum—they are a peaceful settlement, only aiming at forming societies within or in friendly relation to the Church. Methodism is a peaceful settlement, and it would fain form societies—if not within—in friendly relation to the Church. Its spirit is that of Wesley: "I desire to form a league offensive and defensive with every soldier of Jesus Christ." If these societies are not in friendly relation to the State Church, they are not to blame. Harsh treatment is not a great magnet.

Again: Ought not Methodism to come in under the charitable judgment of our author concerning the Churches which held out under the Union of 1817? Has not Methodism, as well as they, contributed to the theological development of the time, has she not ministered to the life of the age, and is not her theology a living progressive thing—closed only to error which destroys Christianity? Does Kawerau think this is true of the Old Lutherans who rejected the Union and not of the Methodists? Dove says a society which still keeps on the ground of the German Reformation is a Church. Methodism was born of the same impulse which gave us Lutheranism—the Christ who saves by faith alone. If she has gone farther in the Protestant direction, does that make her less a Church?

But the chief thing that makes us a sect in Germany and the front of our offending is our mission work there, winning

* *Hist. of Doctrines*, Tr. by Hay, Phil. 1905, II. 225, note 2.

members from the State Churches. Now I think myself we might well bear in mind Wesley's great principle, Go not to those who need you, but to those who need you most, and in our foreign missionary work place chief emphasis on heathen lands. I think Germany might wait for China. On the other hand we must remember: (1) Every Christian Church worthy of the name must take the world for its parish. (2) It has been the providential mission of Methodism to pour the blessing of a vital earnest Christianity over lands already Christianized, to stimulate other Churches, to provoke them to love and to good works, and with hearty appreciation of their virtues to enter with them the common harvest field for their sakes and for Christ's sake. She has given to them far more than she has received. Often oppressed and even persecuted by them, a large proportion of their members have gone in the joy of their new faith in the Saviour from her altars to enrich their life and support their enterprises. If you would take from the pulpit and pews all she has given them, they would be left poor indeed. Wisdom is justified in her children. Once dispised and rejected by the Churches, there is not now a Protestant body in Christendom that does not from her heart thank God for her Methodist sister. Fearing perhaps at first that her success might mean their depreciation, they have learned what they might have known from her origin and history that she wins her way not by proselytism but by evangelism. And that evangelism sends thousands of awakened and converted people into other fields.

(3) Methodism in Germany is not so much a propaganda from without as a development from within. No missionaries are sent to Germany. The Church was started there by Germans who wished to bring to their own countrymen the joy of their own faith. They did not then nor do they now wish to win over pious people from the State Church, but win unconverted people to the Saviour. And though they have sometimes been bitterly opposed by the Church, they have sent thousands touched into a higher life into the latter. I have been reading the letters of the German presiding elders in the reports of our

Missionary Society. I have been struck with three things: first, the emphasis on revival, evangelism second, the good degree of success attending the efforts, but third, the large number of people thus converted who remain with the State Churches. * And so Methodism is still a comparatively small plant in Germany, but her life-breathing influence goes out far and wide to fructify all Church life in the Fatherland. The very exhortation of our author when he speaks of counter-measures is an evidence that this is already true.

(4). Kawerau unconsciously exaggerates the divergence of Methodism from Lutheranism in order to make the former a sect. It does not have essentially "another conception of the Church, of the way of salvation, other ideals of piety." Art. VII of the Augsburg Confession, *Of the Church*, expresses our view exactly. As to the way of salvation we say with Art. XX of the same Confession, that the "Holy Spirit is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, so put on new affections, so that they are able to bring forth good works." Of course Art. IX, *Of Baptism*, could not be agreed to by us because, as we think, it contradicts the fundamental Christian doctrine of salvation by faith, and it also really contradicts Art. XX. In fact Methodism is the logical sequence of Lutheranism, taking the formal and material principles of Protestantism (Bible the only Rule of Faith, and justification by faith alone) and making them the basis for the first time in history of a consistant evangelical

* Take one or two testimonies as a sample. "A large number of souls have during the year found pardon and peace. Thousands have been saved through our labors who have never appeared in our statistics, and have never been enrolled in our membership." Presiding Elder Walz, *Report* 1901, 57. "Those who are converted are very slow to join the society." Rohr, 1902, 64. In Stuttgart district more readiness was shown to join the Church, though here too the fruit was the result of revival. "Evangelistic services," says Sommer, "have been held in every circuit with most satisfactory results. More than 400 have found peace in Jesus Christ, and 315 of these have been taken on probation. Most of the converts were young people." 1905, 74. From the beginning Methodism has grown in Germany by revival,—conversion of sinners, not proselytism of believers. Cf. Reid–Gracey, *Hist. of Missions of Methodist Episcopal Church*, II. 290, 339.

and evangelizing Church. Nor has Methodism essentially different ideals of piety from Lutheranism. Following her closer adherence to Scripture she naturally emphasizes a more earnest and self-denying Christian life, but this is only a question of degree. Nor does Methodism represent another national character. She has no peculiar national character. She is equally at home in China and Norway, in Germany and Chile, teaching patriotism everywhere, and standing for an intelligent, moral and religious citizenship. The fact that she represents a Christianity developed on other ground ought not to be to her prejudice in Germany. Boniface was an Englishman. The question for a Church is not, Whence did she spring? but, What is she? Does she truly represent Christ and Christianity?

In this caveat against Kawerau's exaggeration of the differences between Methodism and Lutheranism I do not mean to deny that Methodism as a whole is sufficiently different from her older sister to give her a special mission of blessing to Lutheranism and to other types of our common Christianity. Most other types have recognized this, and now gladly welcome the late comer. And let me assure our brethren of the Evangelical or Lutheran Churches of Germany that, whatever forms Methodist work or teaching in the Fatherland may occasionally take, against which objection might fairly be raised, Methodism is there not as a selfish propaganda, not to win converts from the living members of the State Church, but as a great sister-daughter of the Reformation, as a truly German Church, planted by Germans, preached and maintained by Germans, to do her little part as God may give her grace and light to bless the German people and German Churches.

Madison, N. J.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Mental Development in the Child and the Race; Methods and Processes. By James Mark Baldwin. Price $2.25 net. Pp. 477.

The book under review belongs to a series in which the brilliant author has planned to treat the whole range of the psychology of thought genetically. The place and importance of this volume will be best understood from the scope of the author's plan and the part which this volume fills in that plan.

The present volume, the first in the series (I speak of series because there is a logical consecutiveness, whilst at the same time each separate volume is complete in itself), seeks to develop a theory of the origin of mental functions. It begins with a very valuable study in Child Psychology based on careful experimentation. The facts and principles there established are carried forward into the explanation of mental development in the race. The volume, as a whole, lays the foundation for the author's volume, "Social and Ethical Interpretations." These two volumes have enjoyed the more than ordinary distinction of passing into the fourth edition, and a seventh reprint within less than twelve years. Furthermore, they have received an even higher tribute to their worth by being translated into German. The force of this will be appreciated by those who are acqnainted with the fact that few English scientific works find their way into German translation.

Out of the above works grew a third, "Development and Evolution," which is an application of biological methods (as at present in vogue) to the problems of mind. Upon these three there shall follow three volumes (first volume appeared Dec. 1906) under the general title *Thought and things*, or *Genetic Logic*. The aim of these volumes will be clearer from the sub-titles of the separate volumes: I. Genetic Theory of Knowledge; II. Genetic Theory of Thought; III. Genetic Theory of Reality. Thus we have a plan which culminates in a philosophy of reality, each stage of which, from the culmination down, is directiy supported by scientific conclusions. At the foundation we find our volume.

After the introduction, the work is divided into four parts: Experimental Foundation; Biological Genesis; Psychological

Genesis, and General Synthesis. We can touch upon but a few of the most striking results of the work. In the first part he gives a summary of results of experiment in Child Psychology, surveys the conclusions from investigations in the trans-liminal field of consciousness, and attains his conclusion which is stated in The Law of Dynamogenesis: Habit and Accommodation. By Mental Dynamogenesis he means to express the psychologically equivalent principle, "that every change in sensory consciousness tends to be followed by change in motor consciousness."

With these results he proceeds to the part, Biological Genesis. In the first chapter (Chapter VII of the Book) he reviews the current theories of development, concluding with two valuable sections: The Origin of Consciousness, and Outcome; Habit and Accommodation. The theories of Spencer, Bain and Romanes are controverted. Of the Spencer-Bain theory he says in criticism: "It means that the organism starts with nothing equivalent to habit, with no native tendency to any kind of movement, with no teleology in its movements, no ulterior organic ends * * * Coming to supply this lack, * * * we find it necessary to consider that the repetition of movement is not at all what the organism is after, nor indeed is it what the principle of habit rests upon. It is not true that all movements are 'equal before law'—the law of habit * * * Painful movements are inhibited, they tend to be reversed, squelched, utterly blotted out; how can this be explained on the foregoing formula for habit? It cannot be explained" (p. 203 f.) His own positive statement is given immediately following: "Habit expresses the tendency of the organism to secure and to retain its vital stimulations.

On this view, a habit begins *before* the movement which illustrates it actually takes place; the "*organism is endowed with a habit* (italics mine), if that be considered not a contradiction," (p. 205). This leads him to a criticism of Romanes' Lamarkian theory of heredity. I can only give the result: Romanes is not correct. The other alternative is that life began with a habit, the very method of which does include a process which provides for the continual modification of its own results," (p. 207). I know of no more effectual refutation of the automatists and anti-teleologists.

The author carries this principle of habit and accommodation through to the end of the volume. It serves as the key in the General Synthesis. He repudiates the repetition view of the biologists, as well as the psychological theory of Spencer and Bain. Over against the "*lucky adaptive movement*" view

of the latter he sets the straightforward positive theory: "The stimuli as such are the agents of good or ill, pleasure or pain; and this pleasure or pain process * * * dictates the very first adaptive movement toward or away from certain kinds of stimulations," (p. 454).

The author's point of view is probably best judged from his concluding sentence, joined with one closely related which appears on the preceding page: "We have learned too much in modern philosophy to argue from the natural history of a thing to its ultimate constitution and meaning, and we commend this consideration to biologists. * * * The great question, which is writ above all natural history records, is, What is the final world copy, and how did it get itself set?" (466 f).

The work is marked by a vigorous style, a complete mastery of the wide range of investigation bearing on the subject, and a well defined theory towards which the reader finds the movement of thought steady—sometimes too circuitous—and persistent. The work is without doubt of exceeding great value. We can scarcely agree, however, with the reviewer who says of it: "Professor Baldwin's work is comparatively untechnical in character, * * * so that it will commend itself to unprofessional readers."

C. F. SANDERS.

The Religious Conception of the World. By Arthur Kenyon Rogers, 1907. $1.50 net pp. 284.

The author calls his book, *An Essay in Constructive Philosophy.* The type of his attempted construction is evident from his first sentence. "I propose in the following pages to defend a view of the world which is frankly religious and theistic, in opposition to certain modern types of philosophical thought which are now widely prevalent. The results which I shall advocate do not therefore depart very far from the presuppositions which underlie the ordinary Christian consciousness when these are interpreted not in a dogmatic, but in a broadly philosophical way."

Whilst the professional metaphysician may find much wholesome food for reflection in these pages, the book has rather the reflective average man of culture in view. Those who have been in contact with the popularisms growing out of Darwin and Spencer, and have felt that naturalism has swept away the foundations of belief in the supernatural, will find a strong hand here guiding back to the "old paths." The book is to be most heartily commended for its frank and thorough going theistic point of view. Preachers will find much stimulus in

reading it, and it will be a good book to place in the hands of thinking laymen who are trying to stem the tide of conflicting opinions and to come to a consistent world-view.

The method of treatment will appear from several Chapter titles. Chap. I., The Foundations of Knowledge; Chap. II., The validity of Knowledge; Chap. VIII, The Problem of Freedom; Chap. IX., The Problem of Evil; Chap. X., The Problem of Immortality.

The first Chapter shows the final result of pure empiricism as leaving over a residuum unaccounted for. The dilemma presented is to refuse to ask questions, or postulate the transcendent. Chap. II. brings out the importance of the *whole* mind being satisfied by valid knowledge and emphasizes the important truth so often neglected or ignored, "The consistency which truth demands is a practical rather than a merely theoretical one."

The vexed Problem of Evil receives very suggestive treatment. The pessimist who finds difficulty in reconciling experience with the Religious Conception of the world will find much illumination in Chap. IX, "An optimism which understands itself will never say: Things are as they should be: Everything is for the best in this best of all possible worlds. It will rather say: Things can be *made* right; and I have enough confidence in the possibility to induce me to go to work forthwith to bring it about." He meets the question of the reality of evil squarely, but he does not throw the argument into the lap of the pessimist by allowing to evil the total content of reality, or even a dominant part. "It exists as evil if we take it by itself; but we have no right thus to take it. It is not an independent existence but part of a larger reality. This reality is the process in which evil is overcome." "Reality is the whole system of selves. If we are conditioned by God's life. So too we condition it in turn. * * * There never was a time, then, when God might possibly have chosen a wholly different world but failed to do this. The world *is*, and the question has no meaning in such a connection." To the charge that the infinity of God is thus denied he replies; "The real is determinate in its nature. * * * There is no limitation in being shut out from doing that which one has absolutely no desire to do or thought of doing."

In the argument for Immortality he argues from the value inherent in personality, individuality and love. He accepts the charge of the rationalist that the demand thus raised is a postulate which rests on feeling, and replies that it is as valid a postulate as the postulate that the world should be a rational world.

It is not so much a solution of problems that is offered, as a suggestion to solution. The fallacy of proceeding theoretically to the prejudice of man's emotions and will is used to good effect. His philosophical conclusion would be that, as compared with mere theoretical rationalism the Religious Conception is quite as good; comparing the methods of procedure and validation the Religious Conception is incomparably superior because it harmonizes the demands of the whole man.

C. F. SANDERS.

Ralph Waldo Emerson. By George Edward Woodberry. A volume of the series "English Men of Letters." Pp. 205, 12mo., cloth. 75 cents net.

In this compact, well-written volume, Prof. Woodberry has given us a faithful portraiture of a great man, who occupied a unique place in American literature. Emerson was the friend and contemporary of a brilliant galaxy of literati—Carlyle, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Alcott, Channing, Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Of a very reserved character, his coldness repressed freedom of intercourse.

He was the descendent of generations of ministers, his father being pastor of the First Church in Boston, when Waldo was born in 1803. He was destined for the pulpit, but took small interest in his college studies, and was much hampered by ill health. After some years, spent in teaching, he was admitted into the Unitarian ministry, from which, however, he was forced to retire by his lax views. Nevertheless, he would preach now and then. His public service consisted in lecturing for about forty years, on a great variety of topics, throughout this country and in England.

His writings abound in paradoxes, and he was a paradox himself. Renouncing all creeds and accredited beliefs, he was yet, in a sense, profoundly religious, pleading for spiritual rather than temporal progress. He wanted freedom for himself and for all others. The individual was everything; the masses were detestable. He was the friend of the oppressed and took the platform to plead the cause of abolition. And yet on the whole he took little active interest in alleviating "the great miseries of the world."

He was a transcendentalist in philosophy, and a pantheist in theology. "The soul, he said knows no persons." "This denied the personality of God; nor did he at any time figure deity as a form of personal being. The general plea, urged with great spirituality of feeling, was that men should abandon the past, that is, in this case, the Church and Christ as its head,

and no longer seek truth there, but should return to the living fountain of the divine in themselves." He rejected the sacraments as a matter of course. He eliminated from his belief all the religious truths crystalized in Judaism and Christianity. He rejected the idea of sin or evil. Nor did he believe in immortality. His conceptions were after the order of the pre-Christian philosophers, though they excelled him in clearness and rationality.

An eccentric, orthodox preacher of his day said that he did not know what to do with Emerson. "His doctrines," said he, "will surely keep him out heaven; while his character will surely keep him out of hell." He was a strange, visionary man who was an object of astonishment to the world and a delight to the people of Concord where he spent most of his life.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Freedom in the Church or the Doctrine of Christ, &c. By Alexander V. G. Allen, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge; Author of "Continuity of Christian Thought," &c. &c. 12 mo. Cloth. Pp. 223. Price $1.50 net.

The occasion of this book is "The Situation in the American Episcopal Church" in which "the cause of religious freedom and of freedom of inquiry in theology" is involved. The particular matter under discussion is the Virgin-birth. The question to be decided is whether an acceptance of this doctrine is necessarily involved in faith in the Incarnation; and whether a person can be an Episcopalian while denying the Virgin-birth.

The author says, "There is no denial in this treatise of the Virgin-birth. It as accepted as the miraculous or supernatural mode by which God became incarnate in Christ, as the resurrection and empty tomb mark the exodus of Christ from the world. But criticism is directed against the misinterpretation of the Gospel of the Infancy or against arguments used for its support which not only go against God's Word written, but give to it a prominence which changes the perspective of the Christian faith as revealed in Scripture. The Apostles' Creed needs to be supplemented by the postulate of the larger faith in the primary and essential importance of the life of Christ, and not only of His birth and passion,—His life and character, His deeds and teaching; in other words, the historical Christ portrayed for us in the Gospels."

From this quotation it will be surmised that Dr. Allen champions the cause of sincere believers in the divinity of our Lord who yet find the difficulties in the Virgin-birth too great for their acceptance. He presents his case with great clearness and much learning. Without meaning to reflect upon the candor of so great a scholar and so good a man as Dr. Allen, his effort appears to us to savor much of "special pleading." Frankly speaking, he has not proved his case.

The opening chapter is an apologetic for the Episcopal Church. Very large claims are made for it—claims greater than are warranted by facts. The credulous reader is confronted by statements like this: "The Anglican Church set forth anew the doctrine of the Incarnation, and placed it again on an historic basis, by refusing any longer to ascribe to the Virgin Mother titles or attributes which exalted her above her Son—or led to her worship and finally to her practical installation in the place of Christ. * * * The Anglican Church directed the axe to the root of the evil when it rejected from its formularies the title *Mother of God*," (p. 4). This apparently exclusive claim is practically abandoned a little later (p. 7) where it is said, "The designation "Mother of God" was rejected at the Reformation not only by the Anglican Church, but by the Lutheran Church, and by the Reformed Church in all its branches."

And pray whence came the setting forth of doctrine by the Anglican Church? It is undeniable that the chief sources of the Thirty-nine Articles are Lutheran, especially the Augsburg Confession. Our learned author, however, fails to allude to the latter.

The most curious argument is offered in reference to the authority of the Apostles' Creed. "In the VIIIth Article it is declared that 'The three creeds, the Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Scripture.'" (p. 7). According to Dr. Allen this Article gives only a very general endorsement to the Apostles' Creed. He enters into an exposition of the growth and interpretation of the Creed, the gist of which is that the Creed is to be taken with a grain of salt. He denies that the Episcopal Church in Europe or America "enforces upon her clergy * * * an oath to receive the Apostles' Creed and to believe it and recite it with some authoritative sense attached to each phrase, under penalty of incurring the stigma of dishonesty and perjury" (p. 70).

Moreover, Dr. Allen thinks that the purport of the clause—

born of the Virgin Mary—was not primarily to assert the Virgin-birth but the actual human birth; and that the name Virgin Mary is given for some other reason, either because it identified Christ with the house of David or for the purpose of identification and exactness. The term Virgin may mean simply a good woman (p. 110, 111, 127)!

In short, this learned, able work by an orthodox Christian scholar furnishes ammunition for the destruction of a doctrine, which the author himself believes to be biblical and true.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Book of Psalms. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., and Emilie Grace Briggs, B.D. Vol. II. 1907. $3.00 net.

It would be difficult to imagine a more complete piece of work than is furnished by these two volumes, the first of which was reviewed in a former number of this QUARTERLY. Into them Dr. Briggs has packed the scholarship of forty years. During that long period his deep interest in Hebrew poetry has made him alert for everything relating to this fascinating subject. Innumerable clues have been followed by him. One recalls the story of Edison's indefatigable testing of three thousand filaments before finding one that satisfied him. With a patience and devotion characteristic of the student's enthusiasm Dr. Briggs has paralled the achievements of the modern scientists. Any theories or presuppositions which he may have had about his subject he banished long ago, his search being for facts. All his opinions are based upon apparently incontrovertible substance and not upon guesses, nor are they spun out of imagination. One wonders whether Dr. Briggs has imagination. One is sure his judgment will never be clouded by the vapid piety or sentimental fear which throws a curtain over the Scriptures as if these formed a Holy of Holies which one may not enter. Through the rent veil of such a feeling Dr. Briggs does not fear to enter. Going along with him the reader of these volumes sees the bugbear of Higher Criticism flee away as a shadow. For Dr. Briggs is always reverent, even devout, and his work in this case is not at all iconoclastic, but soundly constructive. It will confirm and strengthen one's faith in the fundamentals of true religion. Modern religion is not read into the Psalms, as is done by so many commentators in their ardor of defending the faith, but the ancient religious spirit of the wonderful Hebrew race appears, shorn of the false senti-

ment with which certain phases of traditional piety has invested it, shining out, radiant, glorious, inspiring from these stately poems, so magnificently translated. As was remarked in my review of the first volume, it seems as if it would be better to translate "Jahveh" by rendering it "The Eternal," for that conveys the Hebrew thought rather than merely giving the Hebrew name for God. Nevertheless the primitive simplicity of the original is preserved by the author's retention of the ancient title, and the substitution can be made by any one desiring to do so.

Every preacher who values the spirit of the Psalms will wish to have these volumes ready to his hand; he will find them an inexhaustible mine of riches. The work is called a commentary. It is something infinitely better than a commentary. Every phase of the Psalms, metre, grammar, diction, historical setting, the social, religious and political background, and the personality of the writers we have here. We have it, not elaborate and ornate with verbalism; but we have it clear, concise, exact, as material for study, with no more explanation than is necessary. Perhaps the average preacher and student will avoid the immense mass of detail which bristles in serried array as a defense of Dr. Briggs' views, and will be amazed at the amount of labor suggested by all this. For all the rest he will be unspeakably grateful. For here he has a history of the Psalter, of the Hebrew text, of all the versions; a calm and confident recital of opinions concerning the Psalms from ancient Jewish scholars down to the latest modern student; a defense of the canonicity of the collection; a presentation of interpretations of the Psalms from those of Jesus, through those of the Catholic and Greek Fathers, the mediaeval scholars, the Reformers, and students of all ages since the Reformation, down to the present. If there is anything wanting, one wonders where it will be found.

DAVID WALKER WOODS, JR.

Telling Bible Stories. By Louise Seymour Houghton, with introduction by Rev. T. T. Munger, D.D. Pp. xv. 285. $1.25 net.

This is an admirable book on a very interesting topic. Mrs. Houghton brings to her task fine scholarship, deep sympathy and maternal instinct. She "does not write what is to be read to children, but instead plays the part of a decoy to tempt adults to learn from her pages what the stories mean." She believes that the stories of the Bible are true in the lessons they convey, though she denies the historicity of the first eleven

chapters of Genesis and of other parts. She adheres also to the theory of composite authorship. Concerning historicity Dr. Munger says, "Mrs. Houghton deals with it in the same way that a sensible parent deals with it—out of her own parental instinct—suffering the literal accuracy to take care of itself, while the truth wrapped up in the story goes straight to the mind of the child."

Whatever may be thought of Mrs. Houghton's opinions on historicity, there can be no doubt that she has the true art of the story-teller. Happy the children, who hear the stories from her lips! She insists very properly that the Old Testament stories surpass all others in their adaptation to the mind and to the wants of the child. The Old Testament is the product of a child-nation and, therefore, the book for the children of every nation. The Hebrews possessed a child-like nature, "with all the artless spontaneity, all the sensuous impressionability, all the delight in color, in melodious sound and rhythmic motion, all the quick sense of humor, the boundless reach and compelling authority of imagination, which characterize the child everywhere, in all ages."

We trust that the book under review is but the introduction to a volume of these stories retold by Mrs. Houghton. She has blazed the way for mothers, but we fear that she presumes too much on the motherly instinct and wisdom. There will be comparatively few mothers, or fathers, or teachers who can tell the story as Mrs. Houghton would. She can serve our boys and girls in no better way than by actually telling the story, and giving other mothers the privilege of reading it or telling it over to their children.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. Edited by James Hastings, D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, D.D. and (in the reading of the proofs) of John C. Lambert, D.D. Royal 8vo. Vol. I. Aaron-Knowledge. Pp. XII. 936. Price: in cloth $6.00 per volume; in Half Morocco, $8.00 per volume. Sold only by subscription and only in sets of both volumes.

This fine volume is uniform in size and appearance with the *Dictionary of the Bible*, the supplemental volume of which appeared in 1904. The five volumes of the *Dictionary* have taken high, probably the highest, rank in the treatment of biblical subjects. The point of view may be stated as the advanced conservative. By this we mean that the integrity of

orthodox theology is generally maintained and yet not by dogmatic statement. The method is that of Biblical rather than of Systematic Theology. There is throughout great thoroughness of treatment by well known specialists.

All this is true of *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.* If there be any difference between this and the former work, it is that the latter is more practical. It is meant to be in a sense complementary to the *Dictionary of the Bible.* It includes everything that the Gospels contain, whether directly related to Christ or not. Its range, however, is far greater than that of the Gospels. It seeks to cover all that relates to Christ throughout the Bible and in the life and literature of the world, including estimates of him from the Patristic, the Mediaeval, the Reformation and the Modern periods.

The articles correspond in title in the two works in many cases, but the treatment is new and more full and by other men. Moreover, there is a large number of new titles. This must be the occasion and the apology for these volumes; for the question will naturally be asked why the matter was not incorporated in the earlier *Dictionary.* Ministers will find both works complete in themselves. The later work is thoroughly independent, and not a repetition of the earlier.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

EATON AND MAINS, 150 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK.

The Coming Man. By Gardner S. Eldridge. Eaton and Mains, New York. 75 net.

The fault of this book is its lack of vitality. It is a piece of pompous, pretentious, would-be metaphysical bombast. Bearing a title which might remind one of Bulwer's "The Coming Race," or that most charming and intimate study, "The Coming People," by Dr. Dole, it disappoints any expectations of prophetic instinct. For it has not the least indication of insight, the first essential of a prophet, nor of foresight, that discernment of tendencies which qualifies one for outlook and predictions. Dedicated to "The Manhood of America," its purpose is to give the reader a vision of man. It treats of the "Potential" man, his genius, prophecy, and poise; the "Dynamic," man, his spirit, tidal force and creative force; the "Social" man, his place, part and task; the "man that is to be," his making, ability and service, but of the real man in real life we find nothing.

D. W. WOODS, JR.

Modern Poets and Christtan Teaching. Tennyson, By William Emory Smyser. *Matthew Arnold,* By James Main Dixon. *Lowell,* By William A. Quayle. *Robert Browning,* By Frank C. Lockwood, *Sidney Lanier,* By Henry Nelson Snyder. *Richard Watson Gilder,* By Edwin Markham. *Edward Rowland Sill,* By David G. Downey. Cloth, Gilt top. 12 mo. About 200 pages each. Price $1.00 net.

The series of "Modern Poets and Christian Teaching," of which six volumes have appeared, each independent of the other, forms a valuable addition to any library. The books are neatly printed and bound. Each volume contains a portrait and a brief biographical sketch of the author or authors considered. There are also quotations of striking or well-known passages and of entire brief poems. The purpose of these volumes, however, is to set forth the attitude of the poets toward Christian teaching. This is done, as far as we have observed without fear or favor.

The faith of Tennyson is traced from its early struggles as evidenced in "In Memoriam" through the course of his poetry, showing with advancing years greater depth and clearness, until at length we see the aged poet awaiting death with the calm confidence of one who

> "Hoped to see his Pilot face to face,
> When he had crossed the bar."

As he was "crossing the bar," his son prayed for him in the language of his father, "God accept him! Christ receive him."

Matthew Arnold's lack of living faith is candidly portrayed. Christ is to him only a historic personage, in whom we after all do not find the help men looked for.

> "Now He is dead! Far hence He lies
> In the lorn Syrian town;
> And on His grave with shining eyes,
> The Syrian stars look down."

Respecting the atonement, Arnold says:

> "No man can save his brother's soul.
> Nor pay his brother's debt."

> "Alone, self-poised, henceforward man
> Must labor; must resign
> His all too human creeds, and scan
> Simply the way divine."

In his "Sir Launfal," Lowell shows a correct apprehenslon of the ethics of the Gospel. Practical Christianity is living as Christ lived, and loving as Christ loved. But Mr. Quayle says of him, Lowell's religious faith is not vital." Yet "he was

chaste and strong and manly, a poet whose life was brother to the purest and the best."

Of Browning it is said, "his poetry is saturated with the Christian idea." "He was a Christian by the necessities of his nature." "He found in Christ all that his nature sought." "He accepted the life and teachings of Christ as adequate, authoritative, and supreme in the spiritual realm."

Sidney Lanier saw God everywhere. Nature always spoke to him in tender accents of the Creator and awakened new faith in him. Even the marshes, invaded by the sea, submerged by the rain and scorched by the sun were to him a picture of

> "The Catholic man who hath mightily won
> God out of knowledge and good out of pain,
> And sight out of blindness and purity out of stain."

Richard Watson Gilder's faith may be seen in one of his lyrics, entitled "*The Song of a Heathen:*"

> "If Jesus Christ is a man—
> And only a man,—I say
> That of all mankind I cleave to him,
> That to him will I cleave alway.
> If Jesus Christ is a God,—
> And the only God,—I swear
> I will follow him through heaven and hell,
> The earth, the sea, and the air!"

Markham is a Christian social reformer, who in his efforts to lift up the wronged and to cast down the oppressor, sings:

> "I stand by Him, the Hero of the Cross,
> To hurl down traitors that misspend his bread;
> I touch the star of mystery and loss
> To shake the kingdoms of the living dead."

In regard to Edward Rowland Gill, Mr. Downey says that while there is not in his writings any sustained attention to such themes as Christ and Faith as we find in Gilder, nor the religiousness of Markham, yet it will be "found that his whole thinking is suffused with the spirit and truth of Christianity."

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE NEALE PUBLISHING CO. NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.

Sundays in London with Farrar, Parker, Spurgeon and others. By Luther Hess Warnig, M.A. Cloth 12 mo. pp. 126.

This is a handsome little volume, suitable as a gift book. It is filled with bright sketches of some of the great churches in London and with brief biographical notes of celebrated preachers, most of whom our author heard during his Sundays in London. There are also a number of sermons preached by the great pastors.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY.

Christian Missions and Social Progress, a Sociological Study of Foreign Missions. By Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., Vol. III.

This work, of which this is the concluding volume, had its origin in a series of lectures delivered before the students of Princeton Theological Seminary, and subsequently repeated before the students of three similar institutions. The particular aspect of the subject, as indicated in the title, was suggested by the students. The author's conception and division of his theme may be best understood from the titles of the several lectures, as follows: The Sociological Scope of Christian Missions, The Social Evils of the Non Christian World, Ineffectual Remedies and the causes of their Failure, Christianity the Social Hope of the Nations, The Dawn of a Sociological Era in Missions, and the Contribution of Christian Missions to Social Progress. In the delivery of them these lectures were limited to an hour each; in their publication they have been recast and expanded into three massive volumes aggregating more than fifteen hundred pages.

These volumes embody the results of the diligent toil of twelve years. No adequate account of their content, and the discussions, conclusions and generalzations based thereon, can be given in a necessarily brief notice. They must be consulted in order to become acquainted with their wealth of material, pertaining practically to every phase of this complex and widely related theme. Every page bears evidence of wide and careful research. Books almost innumerable, magazines, archives of mission Boards, and three hundred missionaries scattered throughout the principal mission fields of the world, were put under tribute. This mass of material, so extensive as to be bewildering, the author has placed in orderly form, illuminated it with a large number of illustrations, and made it easily available to his readers by a full index. Of course, it would be too much to expect that every one who turns to this source for the facts pertaining to this subject as they exist in a particular field will certainly find them. Not every thing could be included, and so there will be some disappointment. It is safe to say, however, that this work stands at the head of its class. The work has been described as "monumental," and such it is. The task was a truely great one, and for its performance Dr. Dennis richly deserves the grateful recognition of every friend of missions. The wide distribution of this work in libraries, public and private, will greatly aid the cause in the interest of which it was written. In addition it has a very direct apologetic value. Is Christianity really in a class

by itself, or is it one of many religions? Is it really divine, based upon a supernatural revelation, or is it human, the product of a people peculiarly gifted in this direction? In varied forms this question is widely prevalent. It is indeed not directly raised here, but the effect of the entire discussion is to bring the claim of Christianity, as the divine and therefore universal religion, to the practical test of results. Nor need any Christian fear for the outcome of the trial. The verdict is clear and decisive. By the humanly speaking utterly inadequate agencies with which it has wrought, by the difficulties overcome, by the oppositions conquered, by the moral and spiritual regenerations wrought in individuals, families, communities and tribes which under every other religion were steadily sinking into deeper degredation and misery, by the social, intellectual, industrial and political transformation which it has effected in vast areas of the heathen world, the gospel of the Nazarene is authenticated as from heaven.

L. KUHLMAN.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for March the first contribution is a poem on Longfellow—a beautiful and appreciative tribute by his fellow poet, Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Since then Mr. Aldrich has crossed the bar also, and he deserves a like tribute, for his own words may be applied to himself:

> "They do not die who leave their thought
> Imprinted on some deathless page."

Among the articles are the first installment on "The Statesmanship of Cavour" by Andrew D. White, the second installment on "The Spirit of Old West Point" by Morris Schaff, "The Centenary of Longfellow" by Bliss Perry. Another very timely paper is that of William H. Allen on "Efficiency in Making Bequests." Its poems and stories and other contributions are of the high grade which the *Atlantic* so successfully maintains. The excellent "Contributors' Club" closes this fine number of this "Prince of Literary Magazines."

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Natur, von H. Weseloh, Pastor der ev-luth. Immanuels-gemeinde zu Cleveland, O., pp. 172.

This book is very attractive to the eye, and its contents are worthy of its appearance. Its theme, "The Glory of God in Nature," is discussed in thirtyone brief chapters, setting forth the wonder and the beauty of the natural world. The chapter

on "Hidden Beauty" is strikingly illustrated with various cuts of microscopic wonders, greatly magnified. The topics are not systematically arranged; and while the treatment is popular rather than technical, yet there is evidence of accurate scientific knowledge throughout. The interest is well sustained. The style is lucid and flowing. The spirit is devout. The author is a Christian of the old school, and sees no ground for the evolution theory. The wonders of nature are to him the proofs of the deity of their Author. This book ought to find a wide circulation among plain people.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN, COLUMBUS OHIO.

Christmas Eve at Eddington Place. By Rev. G. W. Lose. 12mo. Pp. 144. Price $0.30.

Ralph the Orphan. By Rev. G. W. Lose. 12mo. Pp. 88. Price $0.20.

Rev. G. W. Lose is an excellent story-teller. His books for boys and girls are well written, clean, and of an elevating character. They may be read with profit by older people, and should find a place in the Sunday-school library. The makeup is very good, especially for the price asked.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

FRED. J. HERR, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Ramuldu. By W. Schmidt, Professor in Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minn. 8mo., pp. 296.

This is a religious novel of the Ben-Hur order. "The reader is led into the darkness of Brahminism, over against which even the Old Testament revelation, faint and shadowy as it was, appears as glorious light." Ramuldu, the hero is a noble young man, the son of a rich, benighted Hindoo and his wife, Atossa, who knew something of Jehovah. Ramuldu was was doomed to be cast into the Ganges, but escaped this fate by the adroit substitution of a dead babe. He becomes a great athlete, and performs many acts of prowess, and has numerous hair-breadth escapes. The book is bright and dark with the varied scenes of India. Love and marriage are introduced as matters of course. The wedding takes place in Babylon in the Jewish colony. The despair of the Hindoo gives way to the hope of the Jew.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JULY, 1907.

ARTICLE I.

THE OLD LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF FREE-WILL: A SUPPLEMENT.

(CONCLUDED FROM P. 225.)

BY PROFESSOR J. W. RICHARD, D.D., LL.D.

VII. THE THREE CAUSES.

Having in the first part of our discussion shown the meaning of Article XVIII. of the Augsburg Confession, we proceed to exhibit the fuller realization of *The Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free-will.*

If we recur to the Article itself we find that it declares that the ability to work spiritual righteousness "is wrought by the the Holy Spirit, who is given through the word of God"; or as it is presented in the Latin: "This is effected in hearts when through the word the Holy Spirit is conceived." The conception is that the Will is made active, that is, is potentiated by the Holy Spirit, who uses the Word as the instrument of his energy. "When grace precedes, the Will follows." With Augustine we may call this *assent*, or with the Council of Orange we may call it *consent* or *coöperation.* In the divinely potentiated Will there is an activity, a doing, and this activity, this doing, extends beyond hearing and reflecting on the Word preached and heard. It involves a cessation of resistance, a choice, an acceptance of the grace, assistance, operation. Any other conception takes from conversion, and from the doing of spiritual righteousness, all ethical significance, and utterly vacates the ethical personality of man, for it is man who is converted, or rather, *converts*, that is, becomes changed in

character, and works spiritual righteousness. It is not the Spirit who is converted, or who does spiritual righteousness; it is the man. The three causes, as Melanchthon subsequently more fully explained, are here present: The Word, the Spirit, and the human Will not wholly inactive. The activity of the subject is always implied when we use the words grace, assistance. We assist an invalid into or out of bed, but the invalid's Will is in some sense active. We place a stone in the wall. We lead an ox to the slaughter. The conceptions are entirely different, because the subjects of our action are different, and we suit the conception and the word to the subject.

Hence there is no escaping the conclusion that in some sense man is an *active* concurrent in conversion, in conceiving faith, in doing spiritual righteousness, unless we are prepared to say that he is a stone, a beast, has no Free-will, is only *subjectum convertendum*, and we know that no such conceptions of man were entertained by Melanchthon when the Confession was written, and we know that no such conceptions of man had ever been enunciated by standard teachers of the Church, much less endorsed by the Church herself. The Word and the Holy Spirit precede—the one inherently active, and the other very activity, life itself. When the Spirit through the Word begins to illumine the understanding and to correct the Will, the Free-will, the man, is passive in that he receives an impression. But the correlate to passion, not separated in time, but in the order of cause and effect, is *action*. The two are so related that in noting the former we are bound to connote the latter, that is, to include the two in a common concept, just as we do in the case of parent and child. The Will is *causa concurrens*. There is not one word in the eighteenth Article nor in the corresponding Article in the Apology to justify any other conclusion. The subsequent treatment of the subject by Melanchthon does not exhibit any change of view, but only fuller and more formal statement of that which exists in the essential qualities and causes already named, the Word, the Holy Spirit and the Will. But in such teaching there is not, and there never was intended to be, a single intimation of Pelagianism or of Semi-pelagianism. And in all that Melanchthon wrote on Free-will

—and we affirm this as a challenge—he never attributed anything *meritorious* to the Will's activity in conceiving faith, or in doing "spiritual righteousness"; and nowhere does he teach that the Will takes the *initiative* in performing what he calls "a good action," nor does he intimate that it is *causa efficiens*, nor does he even use the word coöperate, nor does he ever intimate that the Will acts only by its own powers in conceiving faith or in doing "spiritual righteousness," or in "performing a good action," and should anyone contradict these propositions he does so absolutely without warrant. But for proof of our propositions we point to the damnatory paragraph of the eighteenth Article, which first appeared in the *editio princeps:* "They condemn the Pelagians and others who teach that without the Holy Spirit, solely by the powers of nature [these words had appeared already in the *Excursus* to the Scholia on Colossians] we are able to love God above all things," and to the declaration in the last edition of the *Loci* (1559) in which he says: "The human Will without the assistance of the Holy Spirit is not able to perform spiritual works." That is, from the day on which Melanchthon wrote the Augsburg Confession he never changed his doctrine of Free-will. In his later writings, both private and official, he only expanded, systematized and expounded what he had stated in simpler form in the Confession. In the Confession, in the *Loci* and in the Reply to the Bavarian Articles we have the same three concurrents, namely, the the Word, Holy Spirit and the Will. In the Latin edition of the Confession published in September, 1531, known as *editio octavae formae*, he did not change one word in Article XVIII. In the German edition printed at the close of the year 1532, known as the German *Variata* of 1533, and prepared, Weber thinks, in 1531, but more likely in the second half of 1532, there is not the change of a single word in Article XVIII., except that in the antithesis, instead of "nicht thun," we have "one den heiligen Geist nicht thun," which adjusts the antithesis to the thesis. In the German *Variatae* (two editions) of 1540, Article XVIII. is printed word for word as it had been printed in the *Variata* of 1533, notwithstanding the fact that in the *Loci* of 1535 the author had more fully and more clearly expressed

the doctrine of the three concurring causes, and had given a slight expansion to the doctrine of Free-will in the Latin *Variata* of 1540, which is supposed to have been prepared in the year 1535, and which, he publicly and officially declared, does not differ in meaning from the Confession as it had been previously known to exist; to all of which must be added the fact that to the latest day of his life he confessed himself, without making distinction of editions, to the Augsburg Confession of 1530 and to its Apology.

There is also another fact: There does not exist a single line of evidence to show that anyone (not even Luther himself) ever challenged the *Loci* of 1535, or that of 1543–44 or intimated the existence of discrepancy between the teaching of the Confession and that of the *Loci* on the subject of Free-will, until, led by political animosity, the Weimar princes had determined to erect the Jena Academy into a university in theological antagonism to Leipzig and Wittenberg, and had called to their aid such personal enemies of Melanchthon as Nicholas von Amsdorf * and Matthias Flacius Illyricus, the former of whom had lost his bishopric of Naumburg, and the latter, so Melanchthon charges, had left Wittenberg because he had not been appointed to succeed a certain deceased professor.

Now this is the conclusion to which we are brought by the facts in the case: Beginning with the *Excursus*, August, 1527, we henceforth find no trace of predestinarian determinism in anything that has come down to us from the pen of Melanchthon. In the Confession and in the Apology he brings together the three concurring causes of a good action. In the *Loci* of subsequent periods he simply expounds, illustrates and applies the proposition which he had laid down in the Confession and had amplified in the Apology.

But this conclusion is based on internal evidence—on what Melanchthon himself has said and written. It may be invalidated by the supposition that Melanchthon was insincere when he declares, to the end his life, that the Confession and the Apology express his faith; or by the exhibition of some contradicting

* See *Das Erste Jahrzehnd der Universitæt Jena.* By Schwartz, pp 43, 61.

passages from his writings; or by the testimony of the pupils who, generation after generation, sat at his feet from the year 1530 to the close of his life. As for the first supposition, let him defend it who has a mind to do so; as for the second, we make bold to say, after having read on the subject all that has come down to us from the pen of Melanchthon, that no passages can be found that contradict or even seem to contradict the Confession and the Apology *de libero arbitrio*, not even the famous *liberum arbitrium in homine est facultas applicandi*, etc., when explained and applied as Melanchthon declared that it should be; * and as for the third supposition, we have that in official form.

It speaks for itself:

VIII. THE TESTIMONY OF MELANCHTHON'S PUPILS.

Here we have information which, we think, will be entirely new to the readers of the THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY. It is taken from several *opinions* rendered by the theologians of the churches of Pomerania. The first is dated at Old Stettin, May 12th, 1578, and was called forth by the Bergic Book, which had been sent to the churches for their signatures. The theologians point out numerous changes that had been made in transforming the Torgau Book into the Bergic Book, and give reasons why they cannot subscribe the latter, which they call "the revised Formula Concordiae." Especially do they condemn the *status controversiae* in regard to Free-will. They declare that some of them had been students at Wittenberg during the lifetime of Luther and Melanchthon, and that for years they had heard them lecture on and discuss the article of Free-will. They then testify as follows: "The *Opinion* of the coöperation of man's Free-will in spiritual things by its own natural powers, which Illyricus (Flacius) and his followers have, in a way that causes distrust, charged against Melanchthon's *Loci* and against the passage from Chrysostom: God draws, but draws him who is willing; and the passage from Melanchthon: In the struggle of conversion the human Will is not absolutely inactive, and which *Opinion* is now presented

* See THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for 1905, pp. 325 *et seqq*.

in the revised Book of Concord, which has been laid before us for subscription—of such *Opinion* we never heard or saw a trace during the lifetime of Luther. On the contrary, we heard and were taught, and by God's grace have taught others, that in conversion to God man's Free-will by its own powers can do and does do nothing, and can contribute nothing of itself or by itself to his conversion. But also that in conversion to God man is not absolutely like a block or a stone. But when through the instrumentality of the Word of God he is moved and drawn by the Holy Spirit, he then, as a rational being, has a movement in himself. By carnal wickedness he can oppose God. Or by the grace of the Holy Spirit, without whose grace man can do nothing by his natural powers, he can by using his Will submit to God and his Word, and can become obedient to the same, though there is still much weakness in the flesh." They then affirm that already during the years 1531–1534 Melanchthon had taught on the article of Free-will exactly as he taught in the *Loci* of 1535, viz: "In lucta spirituali videmus conjungi has causas, verbum Dei, Spiritum Sanctum et voluntatem hominis non sane otiosam, sed repugnantem infirmitati."

They say further that the identical doctrine taught by Melanchthon in the *Loci* of 1542–4, had been taught them orally by Melanchthon, and that such doctrine, not only had not been rejected by Luther, but had been approved by him in his discussion of the passage in Paul: Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri, and in the Preface to the first Latin volume of his works.

They also say that nowhere in the *Loci*, whether in the earliest, or in the later or in the latest editions, "is it taught that man by his own natural powers in this corrupt nature can in any sense obey God, or believe the Word or approve it unto his salvation, or by his own powers prepare himself or fit himself for conversion. But on the contrary we have always read and found in the said books that he steadfastly with great earnestness and zeal taught in opposition to Pelagians and Papists that man's Will without the grace of the Holy Spirit, by his own natural powers, can do nothing and can understand

nothing in divine matters, *neque volendo, neque inchoando, neque efficiendo.* * * * Melanchthon always laid down the fundamental principle: The Will without the Holy Spirit is not able to will, to begin or to effect the spiritual conduct which God requires." They then refer to the fact that in the *Confessio Saxonica* (1551) Melanchthon had declared that "in conversion the Will of man, when the Holy Spirit has been accepted, is not inactive," and that in *The Reply to the Bavarian Articles*, he had said: "The human Will, in so far as it has begun to be healed, is the follower of the Holy Spirit." *

The Pomeranian theologians in Synod assembled, August 5th, 1581, declare: "We never approved Synergism in the sense that the powers of the flesh begin or effect conversion. Nor are we now able to find that Melanchthon in the *Loci* of 1543 and 1545, published while Luther was yet living, taught or approved it as has been charged by Flacius and his followers. Nor does that paragraph which was inserted in the *Loci* shortly after Luther's death against the Manichaeans and the Enthusiasts, or on account of the Epicureans, or in the interest of anxious consciences in our Church, confirm that Synergism in regard to the powers of the flesh without the Holy Spirit, (if pious candor be used). Hence we beseech V. R. to consider whether, against our conscience, and in the face of known truth we can approve those horrid clamors, those malignant, false columnies, and accusations, which with the utmost virulence have been circulated against Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*." They then say that they cannot approve it that the proposition: "The Will of man in conversion is not inactive like a block, but does something, be categorically rejected and condemned, as has been done in the Form of Concord without explanation, whereas in the first Torgau Book, which in the year 1576 had been sent to the churches, it had been piously and properly explained." And further: "We know also that the authors of the Book were piously and faithfully warned by the theologians in the Church, and in the University of

* These quotations have been made from Balthaser's *Andere Sammlung zur Pommerischen Kirchen-Historie*, pp. 116 *et seqq*. Original Documents.

Rostock, before the unfortunate publication of the Book, that they should not reject the union of the three causes in conversion, but should retain them and explain them piously and properly." *

Of the Augsburg Confession of 1540 the Synod of Stettin in 1578 said: "Luther himself for more than six years before his death had seen this more fully explained changed edition, which in the year 1540 and subsequently was used at the councils. Had he scented in it such corruption, and seductive, sacramentarian, antinomian, papistical or Pelagian teaching, he would not have kept silent on the subject." †

And as proof that these Pomeranian churches were not Calvinistically inclined, we have the declaration of the Stettin General Synod of March 7th, 1577, that they (the theologians) accept the Articles on the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ and the Descensus ad Inferos as they had been set forth in the Torgau Book; also the Article on Predestination, that on Original Sin, and that on Free-will with the understanding that Melanchthon's doctrine of Free-will is in fundamental agreement with that of Luther on the same subject. But when that Book was transformed into the Bergic Book and had been Flacianized, they refused to accept it, and raised serious objections to the changes that had been introduced into it in favor of the Flacianist extremes.

Also Jacob Rung, Superintendent of Wolgast, declared: "The authors of the Concordia did indeed aim to remove Calvinism, but in the effort they very artfully established and smuggled in Flacianism." ‡ And that this allegation about Flacianism is true we showed from official sources in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for October 1905, pp. 490–4, and that the Flacianists themselves so understood it is shown by the fact that in their subscription to the Formula of Concord, January 12th, 1579, the Prussians, led by Hesshus and Wigand, the most uncompromising of Flacianists, declared that they find

* Balthaser, *Andere Sammlung*, pp. 231 *et seqq.*

† Minutes in Balthaser's *Erste Sammlung*, pp. 325 *et seqq.* signed *inter alios* by John Cogler, Superintendent of Stettin, and by Jacob Rung, Superintendent of Wolgast.

‡ Balthaser, *Andere Sammlung*, p. 254.

"the corrected copy [that is, the Bergic Book] in harmony with the Word of God;" and further do they declare that only this and no other exemplar of the Formula would they subscribe * That is, they subscribed after the revisers of the Torgau Book had introduced into the Article on Free-will the things demanded by the *Prussian Opinion*, which had been sent in the preceding year. †

Here now in these official documents, quoted above, we have information in regard to the teaching of Melanchthon, and indeed also of Luther, on Free-will, which carries us right back to the year 1531, the year in which the Augsburg Confession and the Apology were published in Latin and in German and later in the same year published again in Latin, absolutely without any change of Article XVIII. These competent theologians, pupils of Melanchthon, testify that in that year, Melanchthon taught the very same identical doctrine on Free-will and on the three causes that he published in the *Loci* of 1535. The chain is absolutely complete. The testimony shows how Melanchthon understood and interpreted Article XVIII. in the Confession and in the Apology, and why it was that to the end of his days on earth he could appeal to both as exhibiting his faith. According to these witnesses Melanchthon never taught, as the Flacianists alleged, that man by his natural powers can turn himself to God and can work spiritual righteousness. Also: He did not teach that in conversion to God man is like a block or a stone, or is *absolutely passive*. He put no such interpretation on the Article in question, for we must emphasize, by repetition, that the *editio octavae formae* was prepared in 1531 and the second German edition was printed in 1532 both unchanged absolutely in Article XVIII., except as noted above, p. (307), while also in 1531 he wrote to Brentz that "predestination follows our faith and works," ‡ and in his commentary on Romans, 1532, he distinctly declares that "in conceiving faith there is a struggle in us," and that in election

* Heppe, *Geschichte des Deutschen Protestantismus*, III., 260, and Herzog 2, XVII., p. 110.

† See THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Oct. 1905, pp. 490–4.

‡ C. R. II. p. 547.

"there is some cause in the accipient in that he does not reject the promise extended." "All the old writers, except Augustine, place some cause of election in us." "But neither can the promise of mercy be accepted, nor can confidence be conceived except as the Holy Spirit by the Word moves hearts, as is said: *No one comes unto me except the Father draw him.* Moreover, let the Will do all that it can, it must never be thought that salvation depends upon the measure or value of our action, but upon the promise, so that justification be not separated from trust in mercy." *

Such is the *status controversiae* as regards Melanchthon. The facts and the testimony can be resisted only by a will hardened in its determination to believe and to reiterate and to perpetuate the Flacianist calumnies, and to be more Lutheran than Luther himself, for it is demonstrably certain that Luther not only did not reject or find fault with the *Loci*, but lauded and commended the edition of 1535 and that of 1543–4 almost above measure, though we cannot see why Luther should be *norma normans* for the correct interpretation of the Scriptures and for doctrine, and Melanchthon only *norma normata.* The former was a great religious genius; the latter the more learned theologian and the better logician. They differed from each other, but they did not disagree. A few disappointed and infuriated admirers of Luther, by canonizing views expressed in the *De Servo Arbitrio* which Luther had let fall into the back-ground, succeeded in setting the one in array against the other after that both had become forever united in the bosom of their common Lord and Master. *Pro Pudor!*

IX. THE SYNERGISTS.

Conrad Schlusselburg, a rabid Flacianist, in describing "the sect of the Synergists," names Melanchthon as "the author of this sect." He was followed by George Major, John Pfeffinger, Paul Eber, Victorine Strigel and Paul Crell. "Also the anti-

* This Commentary on Romans does not appear in the *Corpus Reformation.* It was prepared early in the year 1532, and consequently joins on immediately to the teaching of 1531, and is contemporaneous with the second published editions of the Confession and Apology. Galle, p. 291–4.

Lutheran Wittenbergers, degenerate disciples of Luther, in many accursed books, undertook to defend the *synergia* of the carnal Will in spiritual things."*

Having before us the most important of the writings of these men *de libero arbitrio*, we are enabled to show exactly what they taught on this subject. We begin with Pfeffinger, inasmuch as we have disposed of Melanchthon.

1. In the year 1555 John Pfeffinger, Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig, published a small book entitled: *De Libertate Voluntatis Humanae. Quaestiones Quinque.* In the first question he asks whether there is liberty in the human Will to perform external righteousness, such as to abstain from murder, theft and the like crimes. He answers the question in the affirmative. He then says: "When it is asked whether and to what extent the Will is able to obey the law of God, let it be replied truly and without qualification that human nature is not able to satisfy the law of God because of the depravity born in us, since the law of God requires not only external obedience, but also internal cleanness and purity of heart, and complete and perfect obedience.

"It is certain that men do not have the freedom to get rid of this depravity that is born with us, just as they do not have the power to get rid of death." To substantiate this proposition he appeals to Romans 8th, and to the words of Christ: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy mind." He then continues: "When inquiry is made about spiritual actions, it is rightly answered that the human Will does not have such liberty as to be able to perform spiritual deeds without the assistance of the Holy Spirit." [The very language of the Augsburg Confession.]

"We must not resist the Holy Spirit when he moves our minds, but we must assent to him. For in this way the Holy Spirit is accepted by those who seek, that is, by those who do not spurn, do not resist, but with groaning seek assistance. In Acts it is said: He gave the Holy Spirit to them who obey him."

Then while on the one hand he declares that the virtues

* *Catalogi Haereticorum, Liber Quintus*, pp. 13-16.

which agree with the law of God cannot be performed without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, he affirms on the other hand: "Nevertheless the Will is not inactive, nor is it like a statue, but three acting causes concur, the Holy Spirit, who operates through the Word of God, the mind thinking, the Will not resisting, but in some sense obeying the Holy Spirit now operating, and by earnestly seeking the assistance of God, as is said in Mark 9th: Lord, I believe.

"Hence some assent or apprehension on our part must concur, when now the Holy Spirit shall have illumined the mind, the Will, the heart. Hence Basil says: Only will, and God anticipates. And Chrysostom: He draws, but he draws him who is willing. And St. Augustine says: He assists those who receive the gift of the call with becoming piety, and, as far as in man lies, conserve the gift of God. And again: When grace precedes, the Will follows."

Then Pfeffinger denies that the Will is like a stone, a statue, and declares that it is not inactive. "If the Will were inactive there would be no difference between the pious and the impious, or between the elect and the damned, between a Saul and a David, between a Judas and a Paul."

"Some persons vociferate that the assistance of the Holy Spirit is weakened and diminished if even the least bit be attributed to the human will. Though this argument may appear specious and plausible, yet pious minds know that by this our doctrine, according to which we allow some *synergia* to our Will, that is, some assent, some apprehension, absolutely nothing is taken away from the assistance of the Holy Spirit. We affirm that the first parts must be given and attributed to him, since he first and primarily through the Word or the voice of the Gospel moves hearts to believe, to whom we ought to assent, as far as in us lies, and we ought not to resist the Holy Spirit, but we ought to submit to the Word, as Christ says: Whosoever hath heard of the Father, and learned cometh to me etc. Nor does our doctrine contain anything opposed to the words of Paul: Faith is the gift of God. For we are justified not on account of our quality or worthiness, but for the sake of the merit of Christ, which we lay hold on by faith,

which faith or confidence the Spirit kindles in us when we do not resist, but consent and try to obey."

We thus see that Pfeffinger teaches in full harmony with Melanchthon, to whose *Loci* he directs those who desire further information on the subject. That is, Pfeffinger attributes no *causa efficiens*, no *causa meritoria*, to the action of the human Will in attaining salvation; nor is it said, nor even intimated, that man by his own natural powers assents to the Word of God, but only does he have the power to assent when he is moved and assisted by the Holy Spirit. And in no sense does Pfeffinger attribute the *initiative* to the human Will, nor does he even once use the word *coöperate*. Justification is for the sake of Christ, whose merit is seized by faith, which is the gift of God.

Pfeffinger also teaches, in harmony with Melanchthon, that "the promise of grace is universal," that "all the saved are chosen for the sake of Christ," that "the cause of election and of justification is the same," namely, "the mercy of God reconciled by Christ, who was made an offering and a propitiation for the sins of the human race."

It will be seen that in this teaching there is not a word that justifies the allegation that Pfeffinger taught that man by his own natural powers can prepare himself for the gift of the Holy Spirit, or that by his own natural powers he can work spiritual righteousness. But now at the beginning of 1558, when the Jena Academy was about to be erected into a University in the interest of a reactionary Lutheranism, Nicholas von Amsdorf, a rigid determinist and a holder of the doctrine of particularistic election, sent forth his *Public Confession of the Pure Doctrine of the Gospel and Confutation of the Fanatics of the Present Time.**

In this Confession, which we have read from the beginning to the end, the author confesses his firm adherence to the Augsburg Confession, the Apology and the Schmalkald Articles, and condemns the Schwenkfeldians, the Osiandrians, the Sacramentarians, the Adiaphorists and the proposition that good works are necessary to salvation, saying finally: "In addition

* Printed in Jena by Thomas Rebart.

to these five there are yet some articles as those of Dr. Pfeffinger and his faction who teach and contend that man by the natural powers of his Free-will can fit and prepare himself for grace so that the Holy Spirit shall be given to him, just as the Sophists, Thomas, Scotus and others have taught. For in his Disputations on Free-Will, which he delivered two years ago, he concluded such absolutely shameless and absurd teaching with about the following words: Man by his natural powers is able to assent to the Word, to embrace the promise and cease resistance to the Holy Spirit. Therefore we must not resist the Spirit, but we must assent to him when he moves our minds and hearts. For in this way the Holy Spirit is given to those who do not spurn nor resist him. Haec ille, si recte memini."

Then after interpreting and refuting these alleged words from Pfeffinger, he says: "Such sophistry should be consigned to the Devil, and pious Christians should not be hounded by it."

Pfeffinger promptly replied in a small book bearing the title: *Refutatio Manifesti Mendacii.* He republished his *Quaestiones Quinque* without the change of a word, and denounces Amsdorf's method of quotation as "an atrocious accusation and a capital crime: "Haec ille, si recte memini, because by a word he would cut the throat of a brother for whom Christ died." He not only repudiates Amsdorf's false quotation, but repudiates the doctrine which had been attributed to himself. He not only states in the most positive manner that because of innate sin human nature cannot satisfy the law of God, but also: "In regard to spiritual things man is not so free or so strong of himself that he can of himself awaken or excite a truly spiritual thought or inclination to spiritual deeds, to say nothing about perfecting or completing the same. But the Holy Spirit must precede us in everything; must awaken and excite the heart, mind and spirit to good works, which is properly laying the first stone. But when the Holy Spirit does this, then we must not resist him, but must obey, and must call upon God, and pray that he will give us his Holy Spirit which then indeed is done, as it is written: Acts 5: God has given the Holy Spirit to them that obey Him." And again: "The Holy Spirit precedes the Will of man and excites

it. The Will of man must not resist the Holy Spirit, but must follow him, and in his weakness he must call upon God for grace and assistance that he may be redeemed and saved." He closes by declaring that his doctrine is in harmony with the Apostles,' the Nicene, the Athanasian, Creeds, and with the Augsburg Confession, the Apology and the Schmalkald Articles. Thus his reply contains not only a denial of Amsdorf's allegations, but a complete refutation of Amsdorf's *manifestum mendacium.*

But the *pseudos proton* was now launched, and it has gone on its mission of defamation and schism to this day. The words *synergism* and *synergists* were applied, as terms of reproach and of heretical discrimination, to all who refused to adopt Luther's fundamental predicates in regard to Free-will as contained in the *De Servo Arbitrio*, viz., that Free-will is a nonentity, and that man is like a block, a stone, and is absolutely passive in conversion; and in the face of denials and protests to the contrary the Flacianists continued to misquote, to garble, and to misinterpret the writings of all who asserted that in conversion there is some activity of our Will. They charged in particular that the "Synergists" taught that there are three efficient causes in conversion, and that man can assent and coöperate by his own natural powers, and by his own natural powers can prepare himself for the grace of God. This was done by Flacius again and again in the Weimar Colloquy in 1560, notwithstanding the fact that Strigel in the fundamental propositions which he had laid down before the Colloquy began, had again and again declared that man by his natural powers, without the Son of God, without the gift of the Holy Spirit, is not able to begin the work of a true and saving conversion to God, and the "Will cannot assent to the Gospel, except God assist, sanctify, illumine and vivify."* But all protests and denials were unavailing, and the defamation and columniation and persecution went on.

2. That Strigel was not a Synergist in any such sense as was charged is shown conclusively by his *Declaration*, made in

* *Disputatio Vinariensis*, edidit Musaeus, 1562, pp. 2, 3.

1563, which was pronounced orthodox by Jacob Andreae and others who bore the fame of being true Lutherans.*

The falseness of the Flacianist allegations against Strigel is also demonstrated in his private writings. For instance in an essay (dated 1564), handed down to us in Schlusselburg, we read as follows: "In true conversion to God it is necessary that the mind be illumined by the Son of God through the Gospel and that the will be effectively drawn by the Holy Spirit. When this is done the mind assents to the promise of grace, not by its own powers, but by the agency of the Holy Spirit, who in this mode through reflection on the Word, and not otherwise, is effective. Of such a declaration there are many clear testimonies in the discourses of Christ and of Paul." Then after making numerous quotations from Christ and Paul, he proceeds as follows: "But though the Holy Spirit kindles this faith, as I have said, by reflection on the Word, yet he is not efficacious in man, as if he were a block which does nothing. But he so draws and converts man that in adults who know some doctrine he means that there is some action of the Will which may accompany his own activity. Hence we must know that faith is the gift and work of God, but it is bestowed on those who are called and who assent, that is, who hear the Word of God, and reflect on it and embrace it by assent, resist doubt and in this struggle seek assistance from God. These things are to be learned in daily prayer, in which conversion either is effected or increases. But by no means are those to be heard who imagine that man in conversion not only defiantly resists the Holy Spirit, but even rages against God."†

These views are supported by the author with many quotations from the Greek and Latin Fathers. He repudiates both Manichaeism and Pelagianism, and nowhere does he exhibit a single trace of a conception that man can perform spiritual righteousness, or can prepare himself for conversion, or can consent to the Word of God, by his own natural powers. And we find the same identical teaching in his *Loci Communes*, published, after his death, in the years 1582 and 1583.

* THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for 1905, pp. 456–7.
† *Catalogi Haereticorum*, V. p. 69.

3. "The anti-Lutheran Wittenbergers." In the year 1561 these "degenerate disciples of Luther" published a *Confession and Opinion on Free-will.* They reject the conception that man is like a block and is converted while resisting, but they say that "when man consents, he does not do this by the power and worthiness of his own Will, but by the efficacious operation of God (*efficacia Dei*) who in this mode operates through the Word and the voice of the Gospel and not otherwise." *

Referring to the accusation of Flacius and his colleagues that Melanchthon in his *Loci Communes* teaches that "man by the power of Free-will applies himself to grace," they say: "That is impudens mendacium, for the passage has not up to this time been shown."

In the year 1570 these same "degenerate disciples of Luther" issued a manifesto entitled *A Summary of the Confession of the University of Wittenberg.* It is signed *inter alios* by Nicholas Selneccer, who subsequently performed a most conspicuous part in the composition of the Formula of Concord. Under the subject *Of Conversion*, Propositions XCVII., XCVIII., they say: "The entire work of conversion is the beneficient action of God alone, as the Prophet cries out: Convert me and I shall be converted, because thou art my Lord God, for after thou hast converted me I will repent etc. But God has established this order, in order that conversion may be effected in us. God by the Word draws and moves the Will, so that it may not oppose nor expect compulsion, but may follow the Holy Spirit who draws it, as is said in Romans 8th. For so long as the Will altogether resists the Word of God who draws, no conversion takes place. Therefore our churches have always taught that conversion takes place according to the declarations of the ancients: When grace precedes, the Will follows; also: God draws, but he draws him who is willing; and Nazianzen has very modestly said: All strength is alone in God, but it is given to those who are called and who assent."

Then they condemn the Manichaeans and the Pelagians,

* Schlusselburg, *ut supra*, p. 529.

and "execrate the madness of the Sckwenkfeldians and of the Anabaptists, who contend that God communicates himself to men without the ministry or without reflection on doctrine. But on the contrary in conversion these three always concur: the Word of God, the Holy Spirit and the Will of man assenting to and not resisting the Word of God." They also say as against the Flacianists: "But in the common exercises of the call, of faith, of invocation, of obedience toward God, the human Will, in so far as it has begun to be healed, follows the Holy Spirit who operates through the Word, and when it is assisted by the Holy Spirit it is not like a block or a stone."

So much for this book. In its several hundred pages there is not to be found a single sentence that justifies the allegation of the Flacianists that the Wittenberg theologians taught that man by his natural powers of Free-will can apply himself to grace, or can come to conversion; nor is there one word to show that they regarded the Will of man as *causa efficiens* or *causa meritoria* in attaining faith, conversion, salvation. On the contrary, nowhere in all Lutheran theological literature is the doctrine of justification by faith alone set forth with greater clearness, and with more frequent use of the *particulae exclusivae*, and of the *Propter Christum*, than is done in this *Summary*. The teaching is exactly that of Melanchthon as set forth in the *Loci Communes*, 1535, 1543–1559, viz., that when the Will is drawn by God through the instrumentality of the Word, and is assisted by the Holy Spirit, it is not entirely inactive, but assents to the Word and does not resist.

But the many protests and explanations made by the "Synergists" availed nothing with the Flacianists. They went on with their calumnies and accusations. At the Altenburg Colloquy (1568-9) the Ducal theologians (Jena-Weimar) still accuse the Electoral theologians (Leipzig–Wittenberg) with teaching that "the natural man as regards his natural powers is able in his conversion and regeneration to attend to, to understand, to apprehend the things of God"; "that corrupt man by his natural powers is able not only to attend to the Word, but also to understand it"; "that man by doing what is

in himself is able to prepare himself for the grace of God"; that "Free-will is the power of self-application to grace."*

The method of these Ducal theologians is to garble the statements of their opponents by tearing sentences away from their connection. Then they make comments that are in no sense justified either by the text or by the context, and in places they do not distinguish their own comments from the quotations, so that the reader may know which is quotation and which is comment. In a word their method of representing their opponents is perverse in the extreme; and, which is equally perverse, they declare that their own views, which are absolutely deterministic, and are avowedly based on Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*† and other of his writings, are in full harmony with the views of the Church Fathers, and with the Augsburg Confession and the Apology.

But the claim which they make in regard to the Fathers, the Confesssion and the Apology, is utterly without foundation. The Fathers never taught, as these Ducal theologians do, that man in conversion is absolutely passive, is like a block, like a stone, is a pillar of salt, as was lot's wife; and we have shown that no such conceptions can be found in the Confession and in the Apology. Melanchthon's position in regard to the doctrine of Free-will at the time he wrote these celebrated pieces, and the purpose for which he wrote them and the declarations in the former—"nothing new," "differs in nothing from the Catholic Church" etc—render such a supposition not only gratuitous, but inconceivable. Melanchthon could not then have written a doctrine of Free-will which he had completely abandoned at least three years before, and which he knew, and impliedly declares, was not taught by the Fathers, and which *we* know was not taught by the Fathers. Hence we can no more make the *pure passive-lapis-truncus-subjectum patiens* doctrine of Free-will (whether found in the writings of the Flacianists or in the Formula of Concord, which in Article II. is essentially Flacianistic) harmonize with the eighteenth Arti-

* See *Colloquium Altenburgense*, Printed at Jena, 1570, *Art. De Libero Arbitrio.*

† *Colloquium Altenburgense*, Jena, p. 548. See also THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Oct. 1905, p.

cle of the Augsburg Confession and with the amplification of the same in the Apology, and with the Fathers, historically, theologically and practically, than we can make the Russian Bureaucracy harmonize historically, politically and practically with the Constitution of the United States. The conceptions in regard to Free-will in the one case are fundamentally different from what they are in the other. The elements are so diverse that they have no elective affinity. The only union of which they are capable is mechanical, not organic. The *pure passive* theory does not grow logically out of the simple didactic affirmation found in the Confession. Moreover, the holding of such a theory of Free-will places the holder thereof out of harmony with the Catholic Church of Christ, for no such doctrine has even been sanctioned by the Catholic Church of Christ.

To the accusations of the Ducal theologians the electoral theologians (chiefly those of the Universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg) made reply in 1570: "If the question be raised as to whether man by his natural powers can remove death and innate evil inclination from this corrupt nature, and can merit the forgiveness of sins, or become acceptable to God; also whether man by his own powers can convert himself to God, and can begin internal obedience in the heart without the operation of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit, without the knowledge and acceptance of the Gospel, this is unqualifiedly evident: No man can of himself, or by his own powers, remove death and the innate evil inclination and corruption of this nature. On the contrary this is effected alone by the Son of God, who says: O death, I will be thy death. And in this there is no operation of our own power, for we are not able by our natural powers to become well pleasing to God, nor to merit the forgiveness of sins, for it stands written in Titus 2: Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but by his mercy hath he saved us.

"Moreover this also is true, namely, that we neither can nor are able to satisfy the law of God, neither can we begin internal obedience in the heart, without the working of God, without the Son of God, without the knowledge of the Gospel and without the Holy Spirit."*

* *Endlicher Bericht*, Wittenberg, 1570, pp. 70, *et. seqq.*

These theologians reject Pelagianism with vehemence, and declare "that man is not a block, a stone, but he should hear and not despise the Word of God, nor resist it, nor put from him the assistance and operation of God."

They also declare that what they teach is in accordance with the Augsburg Confession as they had heard it explained from the year 1530, and with the Apology and with the Scriptures and with the Fathers.

So now the parties stood in the year 1570. Twelve years of bitter controversy had not brought them closer together. The one party maintained that the Arbitrium is in no sense free, but is immutably the captive and slave of evil; that man is like a block, a stone, a pillar of salt, as Lot's wife, that he is absolutely passive in conversion, and charged the other party with teaching that there are three efficient causes in conversion and that man by his own natural powers can apply himself to grace. The other party denied the allegations made about their teaching, rejected the doctrine of pure passivity, and maintained that under the influence and activity of grace and by assistance of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit, man can assent to the Word of God and can cease to resist. Both parties claimed that their respective teaching agreed with the Augsburg Confession, and with the Apology and with the ancient Fathers of the Church. Both could not be right, since the teaching of one party was not only antagonistic to that of the other, but even contradictory to that of the other. The fundamental conceptions and premises of the one contradicted those of the other. The Flacianists based their doctrine on the premises, that in regard to spiritual things man is absolutely dead, is utterly corrupt, that Free-will is a nonenity, that salvation is intended only for certain individuals (particularistic election). The so-called Synergists maintained that man is not, in regard to spiritual things, absolutely dead, but is dreadfully wounded, lacerated, and depotentiated by sin, that the promise of salvation appertains to all men (*promissio universalis*), that Free-will as the faculty of knowing and choosing exists in all men.

Of these two series of premises, which one harmonizes with

the Scriptures the reader is left to judge for himself. But we are absolutely certain that no foundation for the Flacianist premises can be found in the Augsburg Confession, nor in the Apology, nor in the Fathers, if we except Augustine in the matter of election, whose views on this point were not sanctioned by the Catholic Church, and have not been sanctioned by the Lutheran Church as such, though in the judgment of most competent scholars and theologians they have been instaurated and for a quarter of a century or more have been defended by the theologians of the Missouri Lutheran Church, who, in their discussions on Free-will, Conversion and Regeneration, and in their methods, have shown themselves to be the *manipulares* of the Flacianists. Not only have they restored the controversial use of the fundamental predicates of the Flacianists *de libero arbitrio* but they charge that their opponents teach that man by his own natural powers can coöperate with grace in conversion to God, and in effecting spiritual righteousness.*

The authors of the Formula of Concord must be placed in the same category. Contrary to their own antecedents, as we

* The opponents of Missouri emphatically declare that "the Verhalten (demeanor, behaviour, (line of) conduct; attitude, way of acting) of man is not *causa efficiens* or *causa meritoria*." "Conversion is always conceived as a process." "The Scripture always says: Man shall turn himself (Der Mensch soll sich bekehren); not that God does it. Man is to understand, is to lay hold by faith. Immediately that God comes with his Word there arises a *Verhalten*. * * * In the process of conversion there is a certain synergism, but not of an anti-scriptural character." "When God treats with us according to his order, then man is responsible, for God makes this order. But man retains the freedom of the Will." "The physician gives medicine to the sick. We teach *auxilium gratiae* and *sufficiens gratia*. When grace assists then man does something which previously he could not do: He gives up resistance." So Drs. Richter, Schuette. and Schmidt at the Inter-synodical Conference, held in Fort Wayne, Indiana, Oct. 24th and 25th, 1906, as reported in *Theologische Quartalschrift* for April, 1907.

Such views are Melanchthonian. They posit some action of man's Will in conversion, and that is exactly what Melanchthon did. He held, as has been several time shown in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, that when the Word of God is heard, and the Holy Spirit assists, operates, moves, the Will of man is then not absolutely inactive but does something. By its natural powers it resists grace, but *adjuvante Spiritu sancto* it can assent to the promise.

showed in the THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for October, 1905, pp. 455 *et seqq.*, they not only incorporate in Article II. the typical language of the Flacianists, as *stock*, *stone*, *pillar of salt*, *Lot's wife*, *pure passive*, but in the *stratus controversiae*, they refer to a party who has held and taught that "before regeneration sufficient natural powers survive for him (man) to prepare himself to a certain extent for grace, and to assent, although feebly," * and they reject this as "false doctrine," but they do not say one word about or against the teaching of the Flacianists, and that for the reason that they are about to incorporate it in the didactic portion of the Article. Moreover, they even go so far as to write: *De tribus causis efficientibus, concurrentibus in conversione hominis non renati*, † which from its very form, as well as from the intention of the authors of the Formula of Concord, is meant to represent the teaching of the "Synergists," but which we do not hesitate to say cannot be found in, nor according to meaning, extracted from, the writings of Melanchthon, Pfeffinger, Strigel, nor from the writings *de libero arbitrio* of any man named by Schlusselburg as a follower of Melanchthon in teaching "synergism," for not one of them ever published such a sentence, or taught that man's Will is *causa efficiens* in conversion. Hence the authors of the Formula of Concord either adopted it from the Flacianists, or invented it, or picked it up in the circles of university students. At all events it is a fabrication, and it was used to bring the "synergists" into ill repute, and *per contra* to support and to propagate a doctrine of Free-will which never had authorization in the Catholic Church of Christ, and which had no authorization in the Lutheran Church during the first fifty years of its existence, and which has been a prolific cause of controversy, alienation, and schism, and which cannot be shown to be a generic and ecumenical doctrine of Lutheranism.

* Very properly does Dr. Jacobs say that this has reference to the "Synergists," "Philippists." *Book of Concord*, *The Confessions*, pp. 498, 551, marginal notes. See also Jacobs' Translation of *Book of Concord*, p. 567. Sec. 4.

† Müller, *Symbolische Buecher*, 7th ed. p. 610. Jacobs' *Translation*, p. 369, sec. 90. Dr. Jacobs appends a note to his translation of this Latin sentence as follows: "Melanchthon in *Loci Theologici* (1535), Pfeffinger, Strigel and others," meaning of course that the Formula of Concord refers to those men.

ARTICLE II.

LUTHERAN GERMANY AND THE BOOK OF CONCORD.

By Professor John O. Evjen, Ph.D.

(concluded from page 194).

VIII. SAXE-WEIMAR * (Grand-Duchy).

Saxe-Weimar was formed into an independent Principality in 1640. After a temporary subdivision the Principality was finally, on the death of the last duke of Eisenach in 1741, united into a compact whole under Ernest Augustus (1728–1748). At the Congress of Vienna a considerable increase of territory, together with the title of Grand-duke was awarded to Duke Karl August. The Constitution of the Grand-duchy was granted, May 5, 1816, the first liberal Constitution granted in Germany.

The area of Saxe-Weimar is 1,388 sq. miles, the population is 362,873, of these 347,144 are Protestants. The Established Church of this State is the Evangelical, "in fact a Union Church, even though the establishment of the Union can not be literally proved." † In 1818, due to the consort of the Grand-duke, Princess Sophia of the Netherlands, the Court and Garrison Church in Weimar was declared united. In 1824 a small residue of the French emigrant congregation, receiving concessions in the eucharistic rite, joined the Lutheran Church in Hilburghausen. Since 1843 one of the churches in Eisenach has been regarded as united, Hessian Reformed uniting with Lutherans in a special communion.‡ There are a few Reformed in the Grand-duchy, they have their own confession and ritual but stand under the supervision of the Lutheran Superintendent, and join to some extent with the Lutherans in com-

* Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Meiningen (see XII.). Saxe-Altenburg (XIII.), Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (XIV.), Schwarzburg-Rudelstadt (XVI.), Schwarzburg-Sondershausen (XVII.), Reuss, Elder Branch (XIX.), Reuss, Younger Branch (XX.), constitute Thuringia and are treated under that name in a work like Herzog-Hauck. But as Thuringia has no longer any distinct terminal significance, we treat each State in the order observed by the Statesman's Year-Book, or Mullert.

† Löber, p. 33, n. (Cf. Köhler, *Deutsch-ev. Kirchenrechts*, p. 28).

‡ Article *Thüringen*, P. RE. 2nd ed. XV, 650.

munion. A minister can pass from the Reformed, formerly Hessian, Church to Lutheran charges in the established Church, and vice versa, without any special formality. *

The Established Church of Saxe-Weimar shows that a de facto Union Church can confess the whole Book of Concord. The candidate for ordination swears to the following form: "You will swear that you will sincerely abide by the Pure Doctrine and Christian Confession as the same are grounded in the Books of the holy Apostles and Prophets, and contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, also comprehended and set forth in the Christian Book of Concord, so far as these later symbols agree with Holy Scripture; furthermore, that you will, to the best of your knowledge and ability, teach and adhere to the Pure Word of God, according to the principles, and in the spirit, of the Evangelical Church."

Saxe-Weimar has, approximately, 350 ministers. Its university † is at Jena, whose theological faculty, nominally Lutheran, is, and has been, a leader in rationalistic theology, no supporter of the so-called vulgar rationalism, however. At the *Allgemeine Konferenz* in Lund, the Church of Saxe-Weimar was represented by Kirchenrat Dr. Resch, of Jena.

IX. MECKLENBURG–STRELITZ (Grand-Duchy).

Mecklenburg Strelitz was separated from Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1701. The Congress of Vienna, 1815, acknowledged both as separate Grand-duchies. The area of Mecklenburg-Strelitz is 1,131 sq. miles. It has a population of 102,602, with 100,568 Lutherans, 70 pastors, and 153 Churches (Lutheran). In culture and advancement Mecklenburg–Strelitz is the same as Mecklenburg–Schwerin. The Grand duke is one of the wealthiest of German sovereigns, more than one half of the country being his private property. The morals of the people of this most thinly populated State in Germany are, with respect to the sixth commandment, the same as those of

* Mulert, p. 60.

† This university is common to the four Saxon Duchies: Saxe–Weimar, Saxe–Meiningen, Saxe–Altenburg, Saxe–Coburg–Gotha.

Saxony, the most densely populated State: the lowest in Protestant Germany. *

The Confession of M.–S., according to the Mecklenburg Church Order of 1650, is the Book of Concord. The stipulations regarding the rigid binding of theological research to the symbols, stipulations still in force, have not been applied for a long time (M. 61).

X. OLDENBURG (Grand-Duchy).

Oldenburg embraces an area of 2,479 sq. miles. The population of the chief divisions was in 1900: Duchy of Oldenburg, 318,434; Principality of Lübeck, 37,340; Principality of Birkenfeld 43,406. Total 399,180. 309,510 are Protestants. The State has accordingly three independent Established Churches.

1. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Duchy of Oldenburg has 238,078 Lutherans, 75 per cent. of the population. Since 1853 the ordination vow of this Church reads thus: "I swear that I will preach * * * the Word of God accord- to the contents of Holy Scripture, being guided by the Augsburg Confession" (M. 61).

2. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Principality of Lübeck, with 36,912 members, 99 per cent. of the total, uses the same vow (1). In the call, the clergy are required "to preach * * * the Word of God, according to Holy Scripture and the fundamental principles of the Augsburg Confession." Though this Principality accepts only the Augsburg Confession, it was represented at the *Allgemeine Konferenz* at Lund by Kirchenrat Supt. Eutin.

3. The Evangelical Church of the Principality of Birkenfeld,

* It is statistically uncertain whether Creed as such exerts a determinable influence on the high percentage of illegitimate progeniture. The percentage of illegitimate births, based on the records for ten successive years, is highest in Bavaria, (13.63), where the Catholics are in majority. Then follows the Lutheran States of Mecklenburg–Strelitz 12,75; Saxony 12.74; Mecklenburg–Schwerin 12.35; Hamburg 12.03; the Thuringian States 10.45.

The average for the whole Empire is 9 per cent.

Below this average are Oldenburg 5.35; Waldeck 6.82; Lippe 5.05 Schaumburg–Lippe 3.80; Baden 8.00; Hesse 7.82; Alsace–Lothringen 7.98; Prussia 7.04.

with 34,520 members * (79 per cent.), uses, with a slight change, the same vow. For the words, "guided by the Augsburg Confession," as substituted: "having conscientious regard for the Augsburg Confession." It was in the thirties that the Union was established in this Principality, twelve Lutheran congregations uniting with two Reformed.

In the middle of the last century the Oldenburg Churches acquired some celebrity in attempting self-government. They were really favored, in 1849, with a democratic Church government, separate from the State. But in 1853 it was superseded by a new government, chartered without opposition. This restored the episcopacy to the ruler of the country; and transferred the government of the Church to a High Consistory, and the ecclesiastical legislation to a national synod (34 members). At the following synods the liberal and orthodox parties were standing in sharp opposition to each other. The orthodox had succeeded in carrying the motion that for membership in an ecclesiastical jurisdictive body, agreement with the Confessions of the German Reformation was necessary. But the Synod of 1870 (when a petition was circulated asking that liberty of conscience might be guaranteed), passed this resolution: "In consideration that the demanded agreement with the Confessions of the German Reformation is to be understood, not as agreement with every doctrinal tenet, but as agreement with the essential faith-content of the Confessions, the Synod enters upon the transaction of the day's business. †

XI. BRUNSWICK (Duchy).

The area of this State is 1,424 sq. miles, the population 464,333. Nearly the whole of the inhabitants of the Duchy are members of the Lutheran Church—432,570. Brunswick has 332 Lutheran Churches, 69 Chapels, and 26 "Betsälen." Since 1871, the Church has had a synodic form of government. The synod, consisting of 14 clericals and 18 laymen, meets every four years. For ecclesiastical legislation its sanction is

* For statistics see: H. A. Krose, *Konfessionsstatistik Deutschlands* (1904) p. 80; and P. RE. XIV. p. 353. The work of Krose (Catholic) is a good complement to Pieper's Church Statistics.

† Hase, *Neue Kirchengeschichte* II. 2, p. 552

necessary. The Consistory has charge of the special superintendency of church matters. Göttingen is the national university since 1809, when the University of Helmstedt was closed. Almost instinctively we associate the latter, one of the nine Protestant Universities of Germany founded in the sixteenth century, with the irenic theology of Calixtus (†1656), whose watchwords were concord and tolerance. The students of Helmstedt learned from him to enlarge the Confessional horizon—a welcome lesson when Calov, in Tholuck's words, "the mathematician of religion and Grand-Inquisitor," swayed the sceptre of dead orthodoxy. It was the more so, since the pastors in the city of Brunswick had so completely misunderstood and misinterpreted John Arndt and his "True Christianity," the irenic classic of the seventeenth century. *

Brunswick accepts all the Lutheran symbols excepting the Formula of Concord. Its clergy subscribe to the Corpus doctrinae Julium of 1576, the content of which has been specified elsewhere. (L. 18). Brunswick was represented at the *Allgemeine Konferenz* in Lund by Bender, Bosse, Dettmer, Eissfeldt, Grethe and others.

On the whole, the church life in Brunswick shows less activity than that of many other German states. † When the synod assembled in 1872, it turned down the motion to begin the sessions with prayer and Scripture reading.‡ But that this laxity in liturgy did not mean laxity in Creed, was shown at the next meeting in 1876, when the synod, receiving a protest against the Apostles' Creed as an integral part of the order of service, because it would curtail liberty of conscience, declared: "The Confession is in general norma normata, not norma normans credendorum."

XII. SAXE–MEININGEN (Duchy).

The line of Saxe-Meiningen was founded by Duke Bern-

* THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Oct. 1905, p. 547 f. Arndt repeatedly emphasized that he held the theology of the B. C, But, as Luthardt says, (Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik I. 270) a very charitable interpretation is needed to make Arndt's mystic a part of Lutheran teaching.

† P. RE. III. 362.

‡ G. Koffmane, *Abriss des Kirchengeschichte des 19 Jahrhunderts*, 116; Mulert, 64.

hard, third son of Ernest I. of Saxony, the friend and companion in arms of Gustaf Adolf of Sweden. The Duchy was only one-third its present size up to the year 1826, when by the extinction of the ancient family of Saxe-Gotha the territories of Hildburghausen and Saalfeld fell to the father of the present Duke. The charter of the Duchy bears the date Aug. 23, 1829.

Saxe-Meiningen has an area of 953 sq. miles, a population of 250,731. 244,810 are Protestants. The Church is Lutheran. She possesses no fixed formula for ordination. But the minister after his ordination but before entering upon his duties in the congregation signs a vow that has been in use since 1843. In this vow he promises and swears that he will "preach * * * the Pure Doctrine contained in the uncorrupted Word of God; that he, will be guided by the fundamental principles of the Evangelical Church, giving conscientious attention to the public Confessions of the same. * * * ." The Confessions of Saxe-Meiningen are the Book of Concord. (See the Church order of Casimer). In the *liber ordinatorum* (till 1840) the ordinandi have subscribed to the symbolical book *quia et quod* (not *quatenus*) and later only to sacred Scriptures. The congregational and symbolical order of Jan., 1876, declares: "The Confession is not an object of ecclesiastical legislation. Nevertheless, this statement shall in no wise bind free research in Scripture, and the progressive construction of doctrines resulting from this research" (M. 65).

XIII. SAXE-ALTENBURG (Duchy).

The Duchy has an area of 511 sq. miles, a population of 194,914, of which 189,855 are Protestants. Many of the inhabitants are of Slavonic origin. The peasants of the eastern part of the Duchy are reported to be more wealthy than those of any other part of Germany, and the rule prevails among them of the youngest son becoming the heir to the land and property of the father. Estates are kept for generations in the same family, and seldom parcelled out.

The force of custom is also seen in the religious sphere. Saxe-Altenburg follows at the ordination the liberal formula

used in the Kingdom of Saxony. This has been the rule for twenty years. Nothing concerning the formula has been prescribed by law. On the other hand the law prescribes that the pastor elect shall subscribe to the symbolical books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The promise, which he signs is contained in a book deposited with the *Kultusministerium.* Its present form (from 1807) reads as follows: "Ego, (nomen) natus * * * rite vocatus et ordinatus, ex animi sententia polliceor et sancte in me recipio, in tradenda religionis Christianae doctrina sacram utriusque foederis scripturam tanquam normam illius unice rectam me bona fide secuturum eandemque salutarem doctrinam libris symbolicis ecclesiae Evangelicae-Lutheranae ad istam normam compositis convenienter traditurum esse.* The interpretation of it seems to be left with the subscriber.

XIV. SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA (Duchy).

The area of this state is 755 sq. miles, the population 229,-550. It numbers 225,074 Protestants. The state consists of two duchies, that of Coburg and that of Gotha. Each of these duchies has its own Established Church.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Coburg, with 64,821 members requires every candidate for ordination to subscribe to the Book of Concord, but he is permitted to add qualifying statements which exclude a binding to the letter of the Confessions. This has been the practice for several decades (M. 66. L. 70). The call stipulates "preaching of the Word of God * * * with conscientious regard to the * * * Confessions of our Evangelical Church * * * ."

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Gotha, 160,253 members, confess the Book of Concord. The clergy must promise as a duty "piam libri concordiae perlustrationem," also "ut * * * doctrinam orthodoxam pia et decenti vita * * * ornent." But in Gotha, as well as in Coburg, the clergy is re-

* L. 69, 69, Cfr. "*Beitræge zur Statistik der deutschen prot. Landeskirchen*, 1846." (Leipzig) p. 31. This work (name of author not given) contains about 30 forms of Confessional Subscription then in use. Many are still in use. We have compared them (as well as those in Johannsens Untersuchung * * * Altona 1833) with those give by Löber and Mulert. We quote from the latter.

quired to preach "with conscientious regard for the * * * Confessions," etc (as above). (L. 70).

XV. ANHALT (Duchy).

The area of Anhalt is 906 sq. miles, the population 316,085. It has 301,953 Protestants. The "Statesman's Year-Book, 1906" makes the claim that "nearly the whole of the inhabitants belong to the Reformed Protestant Church." Kattenbusch calls it "united (reformed ").* But these statements need modification.

These are the facts: The relation of the House of Anhalt to the Palatinate, and the influence which the clergy of Franconia for a long time exerted on the churches in Anhalt, explain the endeavors of some Church leaders, supported by the Prince (at the close of the sixteenth century) to introduce certain customs from the Church Palatinate into that of Anhalt. But all the attempts to change the confessional status of the latter through formal acceptance of the Palatinate Agenda or the Heidelberg Catechism were in vain. The result of recent research is this: The designation "Evangelical Reformed" which was generally coupled with the Church of Anhalt rather indicates the Lutheran-Melanchthonian type which this Church has held fast to, over against the Lutheranism of the Formula of Concord.† The Catechism of Anhalt is Luther's, the text was officially adopted 1892. In some of the answers in the epitome, a few concessions have been made to the Reformed.‡

At one time Anhalt consisted of four principalities: Dessau, Bernburg, Cöthen, Zerbst. In 1606, these became independent of one another, and the Churches of the several principalities received their different modifications with the result, that Bernburg and Cöthen leaned toward the Reformed view, Zerbst stood for strict Lutheranism, Dessau emphasized what was common to both. The Dessau view gained the ascendency and paved the way for the Union, this the more easily, since Zerbst ceased to exist as an independent principality in 1793.

*P. RE. XVI. 144.
†Ibid. I. 548.
‡Ibid. X. 144.

In 1820 the Union was established in the Bernburg territory; in 1827, by joint communion, in the Dessau territory; finally in Cöthen by the *Unionsgesetz* of 1880. Thus entire Anhalt was Union. No infringement of the confessional status of the congregations was intended or made. They are at one in obligating the clergy "to preach the revealed doctrine of the Gospel according to the Confessions of our Church" i.e. the oecumenical symbols, the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology.* No mention is made of the Reformed Confession, either in the formula of subscription or in the questions put to the ordinandus.

The confessional consciousness is not strong in Anhalt. Formerly, whenever the religious census was taken, many, in designating to what Confession they belonged, would add to the more general designations of "Evangelical" or "Protestant" or "United," the special ones: "Lutheran, or Reformed."† Of late these specific designations have been omitted. It is therefore difficult to determine to what extent the inhabitants of Anhalt are Lutheran or Reformed. One thing is certain: United is not synonymous with Reformed. At the *Allgemeine Konferenz* at Lund, Anhalt had a representative in Harms, of Cöthen.

XVI. SCHWARZBURG–RUDELSTADT (Principality).

Area 363 sq. miles. Population 93,059. The Established Church is the Evangelical Lutheran, with 92,298 members. The Book of Concord is the Confession, subscribed to in the liberal ordination vow of the Established Church in the Kingdom of Saxony. (L. 60. M. 68. Cfr. THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Jan. 1907, p. 90). ‡

XVII. SCHWARZBURG–SONDERSHAUSEN (Principality).

Area 333 sq. miles. Population 80,898. 79,593 members belong to the Established Church, the Evangelical Lutheran. The Confession is the Book of Concord, especially the Augsburg Confession. The ordination vow of Saxony (as above) is followed. It was adopted in 1891 (L. 60. M. 69).

* P.RE. I.549; M. 68.

† There are about 100 Altlutheraner in Anhalt.

‡ S–R. sometimes follows the ordination vow of Saxe-Weimar.

XVIII. WALDECK (Principality).

Area 433 sq. miles. Population 57,918. The Established Church is the United, with 55,285 members. The Union was established in 1821, it guarantees integrity of the respective Confessions, but stands for open communion. The Catechism is the Consensus. The Union here calls for agreement with the "principles of the Reformation, which are contained in the Confessions of the Reformation, especially in the Augsburg Confession" (M. 70).

XIX. REUSS, ELDER BRANCH (Principality).

Area 122 sq. miles. Population 68,396. The Established Church is the Evangelical Lutheran, with 66,860 members. The Confession is the Book of Concord. The ordination vow is much the same as that of the Lutheran Church in Bavaria (L. 64).

XX. REUSS, YOUNGER BRANCH (Principality).

Area 319 sq. miles. Population 139,210. Established Church is the Evangelical Lutheran, with 135,958 members. Confession: Book of Concord. Ordination vow: that of the Church of Saxony (L. 60).

XXI. SCHAUMBURG–LIPPE (Principality).

Area 131 sq. miles. Population 43,132. The Protestants number 41,908. The Established Church is the Evangelical Lutheran, with eighteen churches (the Reformed have two). The Lutheran churches subscribe to the B. C., Formula of Concord excepted. This is prescribed by the Church Order of 1614. At ordination the ordinandus is asked if he will preach "the revealed doctrine of the Holy Gospel according to the Confession of our Evangelical Lutheran Church * * * " (M. 72). The Lutheranism of Schaumburg-Lippe is mild, not exclusive (P. RE. XI. 518).

XXII. LIPPE (Principality).

Area 469 sq. miles. Population 138,952. The Protestants number 132,708. Lippe has forty-one Reformed Congregations, five Lutheran. The Reformed accept the Augsburg

Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. The Lutherans accept the B. C., excepting the Formula of Concord. As a rule, they call ministers that have been ordained elsewhere, or they follow the order of ordination prescribed by Württemberg (L. 47, 69, 71). Lippe manifests a great deal of interest in church work. Home, as well as foreign, missions receive much attention. The schools are excellent.

XXIII. LUBECK (State and Free City).

The State and Free City of Lübeck form a republic. The State comprises a territory of 128 sq. miles, of which the population is 96,775. The area of the city proper is 115 sq. miles, the population 82,098.

The Protestants of Lübeck number 93,671. They belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The clergy subscribe to the Book of Concord. An example of the Dresden edition (1580) contains the names of the signers; the last signature was made in 1903. The subscriptions are various. Often the preacher signs his name with a "subscripsit" after it or with qualifying statements in periods of four or five sentences. The longest statements are met with in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth, brevity gets the upper hand. The following are examples of shorter ones: hanc confessionem corde amplector, ore profiteor, subscripsione approbo (1611); fida mente subscripsit (1704); libris symbolicis quia cum s. codice consentiunt subscr. (1748); libris symbolicis quatenus cum verbo divino consentiunt subscr. (1794); sincero animo subscripsi (1821). The present ordination liturgy contains no form of subscription (L. 14; M. 74). Lübeck has twelve parishes, twenty-one ministers, fifteen churches. The Senate is entrusted with the ecclesiastical government. Its sanction is necessary to the appointment of a minister. It empowers the *Kirchenrat* to act on its behalf, a council consisting of three clergymen, two of whom are senators, and three laymen. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century only Lutherans could be elected to the Senate of Lübeck. It was quite an event when the first Reformed senator was elected (1815). In 1848 political equality was attained. In January, 1905, the

"Bürgerschaft" did not number a single social democrat,* a most singular exception in the Parliaments of the separate German States. To maintain this condition a change was made in the Constitution (1905).

XXIV. BREMEN (State and Free City).

The State and Free City of Bremen (pop. in 1900, 208,815; in 1895, 195,510), form a republic governed by a Senate of sixteen members, chosen for life, forming the executive; and the "Bürgerschaft" of 150 members, invested with the power of legislation. The State embraces (a) the City proper (132,230 Protestants, with ten churches: six Reformed, three United, one Lutheran), (b) Vegesack (3,606 Protestants, one church, (c) Bremerhaven (16,773 Protestants, one Lutheran church, one United), (d) country territory (31,751 Protestants, twelve churches: nine Reformed, two United, one Lutheran). The Lutherans thus have the fewest churches. They are, however, numerically the strongest: Lutherans, 120,362; Reformed, 55,240; United, 8,758. The Dome is the only Lutheran church in the city, with more members than all the other churches. †

Bremen has no organized Church government. Through a commission on Church and Education, the Senate directs the external affairs of the Church. The separate congregations are autonomous. Inasmuch as the Confessional lines are very lax in Bremen, and the territorial boundaries of the respective churches a thing of the past, the congregations try to outrival

*In 1898, 2,100,000 German voters, of which at least 1,500,000 belong to the evangelical territorial Church, voted for social democracy. In Berlin three-fifths (157,000) were social democrats; in Hamburg two-thirds (78,000); in Saxony almost one-half (300,000),

In 1903–3,011,000 voted the socialistic ticket. Berlin, 218,000; Hamburg 96,000; Saxony 443,000; Out of Rostock's total, 9,648, the social democrats got 5,164 votes. They got 4,400 from the total in Bielefeld (7,771), the surroundings of which have more Christian monuments to show than any other city in Germany. Many of the social democrats are Church people, but this does not help to justify their platform (Gustav Ecke, *Die Evang. Landeskirchen Deutschlands*), 1904, 31 f.

† The statistics are for the year 1905.

one another through zeal in preaching and in charity work, thus practicing a proselytism which is far from healthful.

As to subscription, the Dome requires the ordinandus to preach "the gospel of Christ according to best knowledge and conscience, to hold such a doctrine and lead such a life as an upright servant of Jesus Christ can render account of before God." On the whole, all the churches of Bremen obligate, in one way or another, to the Augsburg Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism or simply to the preaching of the Gospel. In reality, the subscription in Bremen is, as Dr. Otto Funcke says, a "venerable form," to which no importance is attached in practice. In his church, Reformed, Lutherans, or United are equally welcome. In celebrating the Lord's Supper, "the bread is broken, not because the Reformed do this, but because the Lord distributed simple bread." Funcke leaves it with the individual to decide in what manner Christ is present in the Lord's Supper, "the Church has had just about enough controversy on this point." *

Doctrinal Indifferentism has swayed Bremen for a long time. Funcke characterizes the situation as a "veritable Tohu Wabohu." We can mention the bitter feeling which exists between the *Protestantenverein* and the *Evangelischer Verein;* the attempt to eliminate religious instruction from the schools; the abuse of Confession as it was manifested in the cases of the ministers Schwalb and Mauritz. Schwalb was allowed to remain in office and ministry, though his tenets were too radical even for the Protestantenverein.† Mauritz, at the Dome, used his own formula in baptizing, disregardful of the trinitarian formula. A stop was put to this by the decree of the Senate Feb. 3, 1905, which declared all the baptisms performed by Mauritz since May 1900 null and void. The decision was based upon the preacher's negligence in following the prescribed order. No action was taken against him for his preach-

* P. RE. III. 375 f.; M. 76 f.; L. 74 f.

† G. Ecke, *Die ev. Landeskirchen Deutschlands*, 259, note.

ing and teaching. He declared he would return to the use of the trinitarian formula. *

Those were the darker sides. And yet there is no city in Germany with so dark and deplorable phases that at the same time can show so many excellencies as Bremen.† As to activity, energy, self-sacrifice in Christian work, the citizens of Bremen are remarkable. The famous St. Stepani Church, built in the middle of last century, was the gift of seven citizens. Five other large churches, built recently, owe their origin to the same liberality. The great and noble missionary work, home and foreign, that Bremen conducts is most praiseworthy. Voluntaryism has a most staunch advocate in Germany's second port. It shows that the people, under no compulsion whatever, observe the church customs of old. Out of every hundred marriages, ninety-five are performed by the Church; out of every hundred children born, ninety-four receive baptism and are confirmed. But the percentage of those who commune is low: Fifteen per cent. The statistics for Christian burials is unfavorable: fifty-two per cent. The moral statistics are favorable.

XXV. HAMBURG (State and Free City).

The population of this republic is 768,349, of which 702,102 are Lutherans; 7,512 Reformed. The Lutherans comprise thirty-three congregations, with thirty-nine Churches. The formula of subscription obligates to the Book of Concord. It is long and rigid, covering no less than seven pages in the Agenda! In rigidness it is surpassed by no formula used by any other German territorial church. Rigid care is also taken to insure conformity with the Book of Concord by exacting repeated subscriptions. A theological graduate must, after his first examination and before getting his examination marks, subscribe to the B. C. He must again subscribe to it after passing the second examination. A third time, when he presents himself for ordination, and so on: Each advancement in

* Schneider, *Kirchliches Jahrbuch* (1906), 98 f.; M. 106; Weingarten-Arnold, *Zeittafeln zur Kirchengeschichte*, 6 ed. (1905), 236.

† G. Ecke, *l. c.* 259.

clerical rank means a new subscription. No qualifying statements, either oral or written, are permitted at the signing. The *quatenus*, at one time in use, is a thing of the past (L. 61 f. M. 79).

In sharp contrast to this Confessional rigidness stands the religious laxity, which characterizes Hamburg. The Church attendance is very poor.* In comparing Hamburg with the other German states we find that it stands lower than any other in the following particulars: In the percentage of those who attend communion † (8.83 per cent.); in the percentage of Protestant marriages solemnized by the Church ‡ (87.64); in the percentage of baptisms to births § (92.84 per cent. for legitimate children; 50.56 per cent. for illegitimate); in the percentage of burials solemnized by the Church || (32.45 per cent.) What an attitude of indifference!

The reason? It must not be lost sight of that Rationalism was a power in Hamburg fifty years ago, and that its destructive work cannot be effaced in one generation. Nor must it be overlooked that the State of Hamburg is, on the one hand, mainly city, without the redeeming qualities of country districts; on the other hand, a seaport with all attendant evils. But Berlin, too, is a city, and Bremen a port. But neither has such poor statistical showing in church matters as the great commercial emporium on the Elbe, notwithstanding that this is Lutheran, and those Union or "Unionistic." After all, does not some of the blame rest with Hamburg's pedantic and prelatic spirit of orthodoxy?¶

XXVI. ALSACE-LORRAINE (Imperial Land).

Alsace-Lorraine was reunited to Germany in 1871, when taken back from France, which had held it for more than two

* P. RE. VII. 383.

† Schneider *Kirchliches Jahrbuch* (1906) p. 313.

‡ Ibid. 302.

§ Ibid. 298.

|| Ibid. 315.

¶ It is no surprise to learn that in Hamburg the two catechisms officially adopted (1753 and 1818) are "ganz verältete Lehrbücher," (P. RE. X. 148).

centuries. Similar to our District of Columbia, but for other reasons, A-L is not included in any State. It received no autonomous government because it had become a member of the Confederation, not by agreement, but by conquest: It was put directly under the power of the Imperial government. The executive power rests with a Governor General, bearing the title of 'Statthalter'; he is appointed by the Emperor.

The area of the 'Reichsland' is 5,604 sq. miles, the population 1,719,470. According to the census of 1900, the inhabitants of German origin number 1,492,300, those of French 198,300. Many are bilinguals. The Foreigners counted were 65,251, a larger number in proportion to population than that of any of the other States of the Empire.

Of the total population, 372,078 are Protestants. Four-fifths of these are Lutherans, or members of the "Church of the Augsburg Confession," the name that the Lutheran Church in Alsace-Lorraine retains from the time that this territory was a part of France.* A body of five members called Direktorium, of which only one belongs to the clergy, is the Executive of the Church of the Augsburg Confession: it appoints the ministers, manages the finances and is the highest instance in disciplinary matters. The Direktorium is a part of the High Con-

*Only the garrison congregations are "Union." When Alsace was reunited to Germany, the Luth. Church of France received a most severe blow. Among her remaining 80—100,000 members there were two opposing tendencies at work, the unionistic and the pietistic; her very existence was threatened by the faction spirit. What would the confessional status be? The synod of 1872 proclaimed the Augsburg Confession as the only Lutheran symbol for the Lutheran Church in France. This saved Lutheranism for France. To adopt the B. C. would have been impossible; if possible disastrous. France has about 650,000 Protestants. They had from 1877 till 1906 a joint theological faculty (faculaté mixte) at the University of Paris: one-half of the teaching force was Lutheran, the other half Reformed. This, however, did not mean Unionism in creed. The Protestants in France, persecuted as they had been, did not contribute much to independent theological research before the seventies in the last century. But then the new wide awake Paris faculty established its reputation. Its distinguished professors † Lichtenberger, Menegoz, † Sam. Berger (Lutherans), † Sabatier and Stapfer (Reformed) and others are the pride of French Protestant theology. (P. RE. VI. 193 ff.)

sistory (twenty-eight members) which meets annually in Strassburg and corresponds somewhat to a synod.

The Church of the A. C. is divided into seven 'Inspections.' At the head of are stand two laymen and one clergyman called inspectors. The clerical inspector may be compared to bishop or superintendent. The ordinandi come to him for ordination. He decides what formula is to be used at ordination, for there are no less than seven that are used officially by the Lutheran Church in Alsace-Lorraine. Every candidate for the ministry has a right to petition the Direktorium to be ordained by the inspector from whom he wishes to receive the ordination.* This means that the candidate has his choice of formulas. Some of these are lenient, others more rigid. The seven formulas are the following: (1) The Hanau formula and (2) the Nassau-Saarbrücken formula obligate to the Augsburg Confession. (3) The Strassburg Church Order of 1670 calls for the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and the Formula of Concord. (4) The Württemburg Church Book calls for the Augsburg Confession. (5) A formula very similar to that of Bavaria 1853 calls for the Book of Concord. (6) The Palatinate Agenda of 1783 does not prescribe any Confession. (7) Entwurf einer Liturgie zum Gebrauch der Kirche Augsburgischer Konfession in Frankreich. 1856, calls for the Augsburg Confession. (L. 25, 26, 28, 43 ff., 50 f., 53 f.)

* * * * *

Having completed our survey, it is not amiss to make an attempt at summarizing.

First of all, we register the most certain and obvious fact that the established Churches observe no uniformity either as to the number of symbols accepted or as to the extent they obligate. The Confessional field at present very much resembles the political of a century ago, when every German statelet had its own measure, weight, and mint. It was an enemy that taught Germany the evils of political particularism, though the lesson of 1806 was not mastered before in 1870. Confessional Particularism, too, has received many blows. It may receive many

* L. 26, note.

more before it yields to better things. Though complete uniformity is neither possible nor desirable, there is nothing that can justify an order hard by the other extreme.

We will not attempt to find the golden mean, the difficulty of which is obvious to any one who has pondered the quoted words of Hauck in the first installment of this article. But we will not hesitate to broach two questions which must be answered before the golden mean can be found. They are:

(A) Should the Confessional subscriptions be rigid?

(B) Should all the symbols of the Book of Concord be subscribed to?

As to (A), all discussion concerning *quia* and *quatenus*—the watchwords which brought forth so much controversy in the thirties and forties of the last century—may be waived.* For, as Achelis says, "the principle of the Formula of Concord doubtless is the quatenus; it is first through investigation that *quia* may possibly be deducted." Loofs has the same view.† In trying to deduce *quia* from the Book of Concord, our difficulties are not a few. Limiting ourselves to what the Lutheran symbols say about the sacraments, we ask: "Do these recognize three sacraments or only two, or do they differ among themselves?"‡ Again, "Is Art. IX: *De baptismo docent quod*

* One party claims the symbols are authorative because (*quia*) they agree with Scriptures. The other claims they are authoritative so far as (*quatenus*) they agree with Scripture.

† Wenn auch hie "Apologie" order Verantwortung des christlichen Concordien-Buchs [gestellet durch etliche hierzu verordnete Theologen im Jahre 1583] * * * erklärte, alle Schriften ausser der hl. Schrift könnten und sollten nicht weiter angenommen werde *dann als Zeugen der Wahrheit und sofern als* sie mit der heiligen Schrift ubereinkommen, so war doch nicht nur für die persönliche Uberzengung der Theologie der Konkordien formel dies quatenus, ein quia, sondern es galten auch auf Grund dieser Ueberzengung die Symbole abweichendem Schriftverständniss gegenüber als *normae interpretandi*, welche die *alleinige* Autorität der hl. schrift illusorisch machten. (Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1906, p. 927 f.

‡ Kolde, in speaking of the Augsburg Confession, says "The author is content with stating in a few words the Lutheran doctrine concerning Baptism and the Lord's Supper. A rejection of the other Roman sacraments is wanting. The way the author brings in Baptism and Repent-

sit necessarius ad salutem " able to stand before a *quia ?* Achelis asks if an evangelical theologian can confess this genuinely Roman tenet without mental reservation or a forced interpretation. As a forced interpretation he regards the addition that John Gerhard makes to the *ad regenerationem et salutem necessarium*: " *interim tamen in casu privationis sive impossibilitatis salvari liberos Christianorum per extraordinarium et peculiarem*

---

ance (otherwise in the Variata) does not exclude the possibility of comprehending Repentance as a sacrament." (P. RE. II. 247).

Seeberg: "As the Augsburg Confession places Art. XIII. on the use of the Sacraments) after the discussion of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Repentance, it is evident that it recognizes three sacraments * * * but the Smalcald Articles enumerate two." (Seeberg, History of Doctrine II. 343, with note).

Loofs: "The three sacraments of Augustana and the Apology are Baptism, Absolution, the Lord's Supper." (Loofs, Dogmengeschichte, 1906, 824).

Kattenbusch: "In the two first editions of loci, Melanchthon regarded only Baptism and the Lord's Supper as the real sacraments. In the two following editions, as well as in the Apology, he recognized three: Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Absolution (P. RE. XVII. 373)." It was different with Luther: after breaking away from the belief in the seven sacraments, "he held fast to three till 1523, since then to two" (l. c).

Schmidt-Hauck simply states that Luther believed in three sacraments. (Dogmengeschichte, 1887, 340).

Achelis: "I fear that a disciplinary investigation would be started against any one who would confess with § 4 of the Apology: 'Vere igitur sunt sacramenta baptismus, coena Domini, absolutio, quae est sacramentum poenitentiae.' Where can a theologian be found in the Evangelical Church who does not depart herein from the symbolical doctrine and from the quite intelligible words of the Apology, but who does not directly contradict it in instructing a confirmation class, on the basis of another symbol—Luther's Catechism?" Achelis, *Zur Symbolfrage*, p. 11.

Both Kattenbusch and Achelis call attention to the fact, that with Luther, sacrament was a res sacra, but with Melanchthon a ritus. "But the ritus has the same, and no other, effect—neither more nor less—than the word of God. (Idem effectus et verbi et ritus, sicut praeclare dictum est ab Augustino sacramentum esse verbum vissible, quia ritus oculis accipitur et est quasi pictura verbi, idem significant, quod verbum. Quare idem est utriusque effectus)." Here again Achelis claims that the number of delinquent pastors would be great if their teaching were tested by the above, and that there would be no want of ecclesiastical authorities that would, to say the least, send a warning to those who would teach and catechize according to Apology, (ibid. II. f.; P. RE. XVII. 373).

dispensationem divinam. Necessitas enim baptismi non est absoluta, sed ordinata." (*Achelis, Zur Symbolfrage 1892*).

Quia will therefore have to be rejected as inadequate. But such a rejection does not mean the acceptance of *quatenus*, which is far less adequate than *quia*. With a *quatenus*, it has been said, a Protestant may subscribe to the decrees of Trent or even to the Koran. Really, nothing is gained by employing historic watchwards to conceal a dilemma.

Equally futile is a discussion of the concepts *norma normans* and *norma normata*, distinctions of but little practical value. The substantive being the same in both instances, its significance in the one concept cannot be greater than in the other: "A norm remains a norm, no matter how it got to be one." * Further, these concepts, as well as *quia* and *quatenus*, involve problems that concern Protestantism in general. The Episcopalians that subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Presbyterians that adhere to the Westminster Confession are as much interested in these problems as are the Lutherans. A solution, combining what is theoretical and universal, does therefore in the strict sense lie outside of the limits of this article.

In our answer to (A), then, we adhere to the practical phase of the question. We cannot but endorse the opinions of Mulert and Löber, now so well known to our readers as leading authorities on Confessional subscription.

Says Mulert in the preface to his valuable collection: "We have on the one hand striking examples which go to prove that the territorial Churches, in which a thoroughly Confessional theology is cherished, really have lenient formulas of subscription. We have on the other hand examples which show that the Churches, which adhere to rigid and antiquated formulas, are by no means noted for their strength in Confessional theology."

Löber closes his work with similar statements: "It may be easily seen that a rigid formula in itself offers no guarantee for the preaching of the gospel in demonstration of the Spirit and

* G. Braun, *Unsere Symbole, ihre Geschichte und ihr Recht*, (1875), 63.

of power; and that a lenient formula does not mean that religion runs the risk of getting shallow." Löber further states that the formula must be broad enough to take man's conscience into account. "Such a formula would be one where the doctrine of the symbols does not appear as the object of belief, but as an expression of belief. Not everybody will feel the burden of a rigid ordination vow: Certainly not he who is headstrong in opinion and faint hearted in criticism, and adheres to the traditional, because it is traditional; certainly not he who in spiritual sloth reposes on the couch of a mechanically acquired orthodoxy. It is a different matter with men of thought and conscience." Löbert, therfore, finds that many formulas stand in the need of revision. "But not even the most perfect revision will be of any benefit, where a congregation or church body interprets the normative significance of the Bible outwardly and values the Bible as a juridic quantity. * Of formulas that "are founded on a sound conception of Scripture and doctrine, and therefore do not burden the con science." he selects as models —Loofs † agrees with him—the formulas of the Lutheran Church of Saxony; that of the Lutheran Dome in Bremen; that of the Moravian Brethren. "But even such model formulas are not a sufficient warrant for evangelical preaching: The most important remains that the pastor feels himself obligated to Christ, that he has laid hold of Him and is a true Christian. Such a pastor will not easily forget what responsibility is resting with him."

We turn to the second question (B): Should all the symbols of the Book of Concord be subscribed to?

The answer has in part been given by discussing (A), as well

* "Und nur die Kirche oder Kirchengemeinschaft wird aufhören das zu thun, die sich ernstlich—nicht nur in der Theorie sondern auch in der Praxis—freimacht von der unlutherischen, ungeschichtlichen und bei allem schein des Gegenteils doch sehr massiven Vorstelling von der Unfehlbarkeit einer wörtlich inspirierten Schrift." (Löber 77).

† "In the nineteenth century most of the evangelical churches in Germany, introduced broad-evangelical formulas, of which the most exemplary is that of the Lutheran Church of the Kingdom of Saxony (Loofs, *Dogmengesch*, 1906, 946).

as by indicating the attitude of the several churches. In insisting on the subscription to the entire Book of Concord would be a disrespectful tribute to the wisdom and intelligence of the many Lutheran consistories and Churches that have never accepted the Book of Concord, or, if they had accepted it, have seen fit *either* to adopt as criterion a warrantable minimum, the Augsburg Confession, instead of the maximum of 1580, *or* to make the formula obligating to Book of Concord, so lenient that any true adherent of Scriptural Lutheranism might unhesitatingly subscribe to it.

A very calm and convincing discussion of the merits of the Augsburg Confession alone and of the whole Book of Concord as a symbol has been given by a Bavarian pastor, Braun, in a *Synodalarbeit* of 1875. He objects especially to the Formula of Concord. "It can hardly be called a Confession any longer; its contents lie for the most part beyond the division line which separates Confession from doctrine. When, nevertheless, the clergy are obligated to it, the voice of conscience will sometimes cry out in protest. But the protest is set aside by such assurances as: 'You are obligated not to the form, but to the content; not to one accidence, but to one substance; not to the dress in which truth is presented; not to every method of establishing theological proof; not to every interpretation of Scripture passages; not to the non-fundamental, but to the fundamental; to the spirit of the symbols.' But such a subscription is ambiguous, since it is not stated what is fundamental, or not fundamental: the door is left open for arbitrariness or—what amounts to the same—the *quatenus* of old. Our symbols are at fault in having too little of the formula, too much of theological disquisition. But we cannot frame new symbols. Our age is not capable of such a task. We must abide by the old. It seems to me that what would be gained by a new symbol, were such a thing possible, might be gained by a simpler, a more natural, and—from an historical point of view—or more justifiable process: *By obligating to the Augsburg Confession only, instead of to all the Lutheran Confessions in general. For the Augsburg Confession is our Confession* κατ' ἐξοχήν. It has

more of formula, less of disquisition, than the others. And it sets forth the claim of Lutheranism with such classic precision that a subscription to it would afford the necessary protection to the Church without burdening conscience." *

The note that Braun struck a generation ago seems to be sounded by Seeberg when he protests against that state of affairs which compels a pastor to make a subscription with mental reservation, or which dictates to the consistories the policy of interpreting a pastor's silence as consent, according to the proverb "*qui tacet consentire videtur.*" Seeberg claims that the difficult questions 'What does it mean to be faithful to the Confession?' and 'Where does actual ecclesiastical departure † from it begin?" are still waiting for their solution from Church and Theology. The solution, he holds, must not only do justice to the History of Dogma and to Dogmatics; it must also be concrete—plain enough to be grasped by the average layman. Seeberg forsees that the twentieth century in attempting the solution will witness not a few serious complications and conflicts. ‡

Language like this is, of course, only so much "cant" to those who do not distinguish between Theology and Confession and who treat the one like the other as exact science, the Book of Concord being made the logarithm of every doctrinal difficulty. To us it means that the B. C. is not the last word of Theology, and that less confusion is caused by following the Augsburg Confession than the entire B. C. as a *symbol.*

In our day it is necessary to emphasize the Lutheran confessional spirit over against radical theology—this fluttering bat that the sensational press magnifies into a soaring eagle. Would we then not do well to arm ourselves with the Book of Concord? For, has not Germany suffered by shelving it? We say:

* G. Braun, *Unsere Symbole, ihre Geschichte und ihr Recht*, (1875), 63.

† "In formulating the doctrines theologically nearly all deviate from it [the Confession"]. (Seeberg, *Die Kirche Deutschlands um XIX Jahrhundert*, 1903, 235.)

‡ The so-called "cases" (*Fælle*) in Germany mostly concern the ecumenical symbols. The "professor-controversy" in Norway is a better example.

No. For, in the first place, radical theology attacks fundamental truths of Christianity, common property of all Confessions, in defence of which no Reformation symbol is needed; in the second place, Germany is probably no weaker in orthodoxy than any other country. A few years ago it was claimed that 90 per cent. of the Protestant pastors in Germany belonged to the positive school; another estimate was 80 per cent. Knowing, as we now do, that the German pulpit stands for sermons of the positive order only, we believe we do not exaggerate in saying that over 95 per cent. of the sermons preached are "positive." (Can that be said of our American pulpit where we often have sermons of no order whatever?) Among the university circles the confessional status is less favorable, but by no means so radical as the reports would make believe. This appears also in E. Müller's "*Die neuesten Zeugnisse der theologischen Uuiversitätslehrer gegen die radikale Theologie*" (1906,) containing quotations against the radical theology from over one hundred publications, of about sixty theological professors in the German universities. Seventy-five per cent. of the publications belong to the twentieth century, and over twenty per cent. to 1890–1900. They prove, as the author claims, that "a strong positive movement is at work against radical theology, a movement that is steadily expanding. * * * Many of the professors (that Müller quotes) are young in years. "We may expect that they will give us a large number of positive works and exert a strong influence upon the younger generation of students. The fundamental truths of Christianity, expressed in the Apostles' Creed, will continue to be advocated in Pulpit and University chair." (Müller, 157).

Müller calls attention to the fact that a simple reproduction of the orthodox Old-Lutheran "Kirchenlehre" (Book of Concord Theology) is not to be sought in the quotations that he has collected. On the whole, he identifies the authors of these with the modern positive school, which he praises in the highest terms and regards as the most formidable opponent of the radical school.

Why has he not drawn on the repristination theologians?

We answer, Where can he find them (we except common scolds)? What original contribution have they made to weaken the forces of the enemy? The fact remains: we have to draw on Müller's Confessionals. But their doom is apparently sealed (Schodde, quoted in LUTH. QUARTERLY, 1907, p. 193, note). Confessionals of Germany are, after all, different from what passes as such in the New World.

Would the intended *Allgemeine Luth. Konferenz* at Philadelphia, by adhering to the principle which challenged the orthodox integrity of the General Synod, have reversed the judgment and pronounced foreign visitors like Müller's Confessionals worthy of partaking in its proceedings? Consistent action permits of no other answer than a negative one. On the other hand we affirm that they would have had no difficulty in getting their credentials accepted. The reason is too evident to specify. We add, however, that if the professors in question—as incogniti, on their own merit, without "pull" or "politics"—were to be examined by some of our Book of Concord Boards at home, the outcome would be more than problematic. On both sides the surprises would be dealt out pretty evenly.

Incidentally we have thus learned that the Book of Concord is no more a *sine qua non* among the theological professors of the positive school than it is among the territorial Churches. Not that they disrespect it. For they, as ourselves, are deeply indebted to it as a most valuable and almost indispensible storehouse of theological learning. But are we so greatly indebted that we are morally obliged to subscribe to it as a *symbol?* A comfortable American-Lutheran majority answers in the affirmative. But what do the majority of the Lutherans in Europe say?

The Lutherans in Europe that do not accept the Book of Concord are: (a) 22,000,000 in Germany; (over two-thirds of her entire Lutheran population); (b) 2,500,000 in Denmark (entire State including Iceland); (c) 2,250,000 in Norway (entire State); (d) 1,289,000 in Hungary (entire Lutheran population *); (e) 372,000 in Austria (entire Lutheran population)

* See subscriptions in M. 95 f.; P. RE. XVI. 144 f.; Statesman's Year-Book, 1906, p. 665, 684.

(f) 60,000 in France (entire Lutheran population); (g) 83,000 in Holland; * (h) 400,000 in (Russian) Poland. † Thus 29,954,000, almost two thirds of the European Lutherans eligible to the present count would have been shut out from the Philadelphia Conference. We regard Sweden as neutral. Whether she stands for the Book of Concord or not will have to be decided by herself. ‡ As a matter of fact, the American B. C. faction (opposed as it is to liberal subscription, to federation movements, to lodges) has less claim upon her than have the rest of us. Her liberal formula of subscription, her friendly attitude to the Evangelical Alliance, the fact that her *summus episcopus* is Free mason § are matters that many of her Ameri-

* From P. RE. VIII. 272 f.; Koffmane, *Abriss der Kirchengeschichte*, 149.

† An inference; but well supported from the fact that the Consensus of Sendomir was, in 1595, declared to be in force and obligatory for every pastor. It was endorsed again in 1728. It has never been repealed, P. RE. XV. 521 f. The Reformed and the Lutherans were united under one Consistory, (1828–49). The present polity dates from 1849, (P. RE XVII. 261). In 1861 there were 286,291 Lutherans, but only 5,292 Reformed. Any Agenda could be used by the pastor (*Dorpater Zeitschrift*, 1863, p. 267. f). The greater portion of the members are Germans.

‡ LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, 1907, p. 7.

§ We refer to King Oscar II., who also was *summus episcopus* of the Church of Norway up to the recent separation. The *summus episcopus* of the Danish Church is a mason. Likewise all the Prussian kings from Frederick the Great to Frederick III (1888 †). The present German Emperor broke with tradition by having Prince Leopold of Prussia appointed instead of himself. The reasons were political. (P. RE. VI. 260; Meyer's Konversationslexikon, 6 ed., VII. p. 74.)

N. B. The Lutherans in the Dispersion or in the Mission Fields are not counted. In these territories, too, the Book of Concord men are in minority. It suffices to quote from the Norwegian Mission. Of India's 155,455 Lutherans, 11,000 converts belong to the Santhal mission, conducted by Norwegians and Danes. At Madagascar the Norwegian Mission had, in 1900, 62,000 converts, 48,000 school children, 80 missionaries. Says Warneck about the work of the Norwegians in Madagascar: "Ihre Arbeit ist die solideste und hoffnungsvollste in Madagascar, wie ihre Missionsleitung daheim und draussen eine musterhafte" (Warneck, *Abriss einer Gesch. der prot. Missionen*, 1901, p. 246). He speaks in highest terms of the Santahl Mission also. Now, the missionaries in question are not Book of Concord men. And the results would be no better if they were. On the contrary, the Augsburg Confession is the ideal, if we care at all to trust the opinion of the world's acknowledged

can friends would take exception to.

What do the Ayes say? How many are the Lutherans in Europe that accept the B. C. and thus have the right to delegate representatives to a Book of Concord Conference? We answer six million Russian subjects, and ten million German, a total of 16,000,000. But of the ten million Germans one half at least (Saxony and most of the Thuringian States) subscribe to the B. C. in terms that no Lutheran can justly object to. Of the six million Russian subjects, 3,322,000 constitute the Luth. Church of Russia, with the University of Dorpat (Erlangen-school theology) as the theological centre. More than half of the members of this Church are German. 2,662,000 belong to the Church of Finland, with the University of Helsingfors as the educational centre, more confessional than Dorpat, but less influential in theology.*

* * * * *

In the light of the foregoing, a B. C. Conference would have turned out a failure. And no European Church of note would

* The Finish Church is autonomous, quite independent of Russia's ecclesiastical legislation. She has preserved many of the characteristics of the Swedish Church, of which she was a part until 1809, when Finland was ceded to Russia. This accounts for the acceptance of the B. C. (Sweden modified her subscription after the separation). To what extent the Fins obligate to the B. C., I am unable to say. Finland's greatest enemy to-day is not Russia, but Socialism. Many of her clergy are hierarchial; correspondingly, many of her Church members hold extremely individualistic views on religious matters.

The "Luth. Church of Russia" does not enjoy such privileges in her relations with the State. The Russian government has treated her with

---

authority on Missions, Prof. Warneck of the University of Halle. In his "*Missionslehre*" (1897–1903) he claims that no missionary ought to be required to subscribe to the Book of Concord, the Augsburg Confession being sufficient. If we Lutherans of America would care to take another hint from Warneck, one like the following ought not to be so much out of the way: "Hätten sie [die lutherischen Kirchen Nordamerikas] nicht soviel unfruchtbare konfessionelle Streiterein unter sich geführt, so stände im Vergleich mit den übrigen Denominationen ihre Thätigkeit für die Heidenmission nicht soweit zurück." Warneck, *Abriss*, 119. In *Schneider's Jahrbuch*, 1906, we hear a similar reproach against our pinched contributions to foreign missions.

have proposed it. This may be affirmed of Germany. For

---

severity. Nevertheless, she has succeeded in doing a noble work Her University is liberal-conservative. A number of brilliant theologians have been connected with it. One gets a good idea of the Dorpat faculty by reading the "*Dorpater Zeitschrift*," which it edited. Among other things in this, we call attention to the characteristic utterance of one of her faculty in commenting on a Lutheran Conference held in 1858 at Rothenmore (*Dorpater Zeitschrift*, 1859, p. 133). "Scheint es nicht das Uebermass confessioneller Beschränktheit zu verrathen, wenn Rostocker Docenten nnd Mecklenburg'sche Pastoren, so wie Pastoren der separirt-lutherischen Kirche Preussens aussprechen, dass ein echter Lutheraner mit einem Reformierten nicht einmal beten könne?"

In this excellent *Zeitschrift* there is one article in particular that we call attention to: "Was heisst Kirchlichkeit," by Consistorialrath Carlblom in Livland. Though written fifty years ago it ought to be translated into English and spread broad cast before our Lutherans at home. The article discusses with great ability not only the attitude of eminent Erlangen theologians to the B. C. but also the attitude to it of some American Luth. Church bodies. It is quite interesting to listen to a pastor in Russia accusing us (and does he do it unjustly?) of symbolriding. "Ueberhaupt hört man in jenen Kreisen gar zu viel: 'die Bekenntnisschriften sagen so, Luther sagt so, die Bekenntnisschriften sagen so' und—Amen," (p. 20; Cfr. 64ff.; 347ff).

The persecution of the Russian Lutheran Church began with Nicholas I. The Nicholas system enjoined that every mixed marriage (Luth. and Greek Catholic) should be celebrated before a *pope* and that the children of mixed marriage should be brought up to Greek Orthodoxy. Any Lutheran pastor officiating at such a marriage was to be punished. The provision was abolished in 1865, but reëstablished in 1885, and is still in force. Greek and Roman Catholics, and Jews were forbidden to join the Protestant Church. Abjuration is punished with confiscation of property and prison labor. To attempt to convert a Greek Catholic to the Protestant faith is a misdemeanor. The Greek Church, however, shirks nothing in order to gain a Protestant over to her faith. Various trickeries have been resorted to. It has often happened (Hase, *K. Gesch.* II. ii., p. 945) that Protestant soldiers, doing duty in the interior, were enticed or ordered to commune in the State Church. This act of communing forthwith made them irrevocable members of the Greek Church. On returning home they found that the Protestant pastors had been notified about the abjuration and forbidden to take the converts back into their folds. In 1845-6 about 50,000 Littonians and Esthonians left the Luth. Church to join the Greek, expecting, by way of recompense, to get some grants of land. They got no land. And they could not go back to the Church they had abjured until Alexander II (1855–81) got to the throne. With him began a liberal reaction. In an unofficial way he promised the "converted" an unmolested return to the Luth. Church. Thirty thousand took advantage of his permission, only to find out that they were

she is too well aware of the situation at home and abroad to motion anything so desperately unhistorical as a *General* Lutheran Conference on the basis of the B. C. The same may be affirmed of the other Lutheran nations in Europe, who are at one with Germany in this matter, as in so many others where our American Synods would find coveted opportunities for strife and schism. The foreign Churches are still sympathizing with one another, sparing no pains to keep well informed of the theological and ecclesiastical constellations.

This can, only in a limited sense, be said about our Churches. Each synod seems to be pulling her own way—away from the sister synods and away from the Alma Mater of them all—too "modern" for one extreme, too "old-fashioned" for the other, witnessing the aggressive conceit of the one, and the lofty scorn of the other. We are alas courting with increasing ardor the penalty of exclusiveness and isolation. Look around! What have we that can be compared to the foreign Lutheran theological press and library, to the foreign Lutheran university? Assuredly the time has not yet come when one synod can dispose of the other and dismiss her as superfluous. We need them all. But more than ever, do we need the coöperation of Lutheran Europe: what she gave us in the past, what she gives us in the present.

As to the rest, B. C. Lutherans or not B. C. Lutherans, we need not fear, for we know that the words of Christ spoken in response to the *first and most important Confession* ever made are true: The gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church. (Math. 16 : 18).

---

reclaimed by Alexander III. (1881–94). 105 of Livlands 135 pastors who refused to acknowledge his claim were tried before Greek Catholic tribunals, or disciplined. The University of Dorpat was Russianized, only the theological faculty being permitted to retain the German as its language of instruction. Poorly educated students of the nihilistic trend were made the associates of the cultured student body, and the scholarly rank of the University was lowered. Various troubles have rested heavily upon the Luth. Church of Russia. The end is not yet, though the Edict of Tolerance, 1905, made a change for the better, thanks to the Czar, who favors religious liberty, but whose edicts are often ignored and violated by his highest government officials. (Cf. Schneider's Jahrbuch, 1907, p. 189 f.)

ARTICLE III.

PAUL GERHARDT IN THE CHURCH TROUBLES OF HIS TIME.

By Professor J. L. Neve, D.D.

The Lutheran Church was from the beginning a singing Church. Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, was opposed to singing in the congregation. Once he appeared before the city council of Zurich and sang a petition. When the members of the council expressed their surprise, he said: "So it is when we sing our prayers and praises to God in the Church." But Luther, the reformer and author of so many theological works, was at the same time the creator of German hymnology, and he has been followed by a host of God-endowed men who have given to the Church hymns that will never die. Of the Lutheran Church it can be truly said that from her origin she has sung the Gospel truth into the hearts of the people. The Reformed churches have not clung to the error of their founder and, during the last century especially, have been lively competitors of the Lutheran Church in the composition of beautiful hymns.

Without question the "Assaph" among the hymn writers produced by the Lutheran Church is Paul Gerhardt, the three hundredth anniversary of whose birth we celebrate this year. His hymns are immortal and have been translated into many languages. That which characterizes him is the perfect blending of two factors which, in only too many cases, have a separate existence in the Christian individual: On the one hand painstaking devotion to the confessions of the Church, the whole theology of the Form of Concord included; and, on the other hand, a personal piety, a mystical union of the soul with the living God. It is the perfect harmony of these two elements that gives the peculiar charm to so many hymns of Paul Gerhardt. And then, while his songs breathe the spirit of Lutheran orthodoxy, inseparably wedded to Christian piety, there is such a recognition of the natural in man which must

only be sanctified, that the chords of his harp touch the believer and the unbeliever alike.

But it is not my task to picture to you Paul Gerhardt as a hymn writer. After a very brief review of the earlier part of his life I shall attempt to show you how this godly man acted in a doctrinal controversy in which he became involved, and which, because of the scantiness of other historical accounts, is, outside of his hymns, the only means to become acquainted with him.

Of his personal relations we do not know much. He was born the 12th of March, 1607. When he was twelve years of age the Thirty Years War broke out. Perhaps the horrors of this terrible war aided in giving him that serious turn of mind, that depth of character and that earnestness which characterized him all through life The indescribable miseries attending a war of that character tend to drive the individual to a decision, either for Satan or for God. Gerhardt chose the better part. He studied theology at the then famous Lutheran university of Wittenberg. Here he received his deep impressions of the peculiar character of Lutheran theology, and became convinced that this system only was founded upon the Scriptures; and here he was schooled in the art of defending the Lutheran confessions against the attacks of Kryptocalvinism and Syncretism. But after he had completed his studies, notwithstanding the fact that he was known as hymn-writer all over the land, and his songs had been printed in many hymnals, he reached the age of forty-four before a congregation called him. This failure to receive a call was due to the poverty and the misery that the war had brought upon the land. Finally in 1651 he became pastor of a congregation in Mittenwalde. Here he married a lady from a family of position in Berlin and was soon transferred to that city as an assistant pastor of a large congregation. In Berlin he became entangled in the struggles of Lutheranism against the Great Elector, Frederick William, who wanted to exterminate the Lutheran Church by uniting it with the Reformed, of which he was a follower.

We shall now try to give a short review of these church troubles so far as it is helpful to produce before us a picture of Paul Gerhardt, and so far as it is necessary to understand his actions.

In the history of Prussia there is besides Frederick the Great no name more celebrated than that of Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg. He was a sincere Christian. During his boyhood, while the Thirty Years War was raging, he was under the pious influence of three excellent women: His mother who was Reformed, his grand-mother Anna, widow of the late Elector, Sigismund, and his aunt Eleonore, the young widow of Gustavus Adolphus. When as a young man visiting at a foreign court and, by a frivolous society, was induced to participate in the sins of the flesh, he, of quick resolve, fled with the words: "I owe it to my parents, to myself, and to my country to keep my record clean." When he had come to the throne, he chose in the princess Louise Henriette of Holland, author of the hymn: "Jesus Thou My Refuge Art" (Jesus meine Zuversicht) a companion of the same pious character. When in times of war a march on Sunday was unavoidable, his soldiers had to halt at least for half an hour, in order that a service could be held. But this pious man was, in contrast with the overhelming majority of his people, Reformed, and with all the fibers of his soul rooted in the more subjective piety, characteristic of the Reformed Church, he was unable to understand the emphasis which Lutheranism lays upon the objective features of our Christian faith as they come to an expression in its peculiar doctrines and in church practice. And now his policy was to unite the Lutherans and the Reformed so that they by and by might become blended into one Church. If such a union is to be effected by compelling the Lutherans to sacrifice the doctrines which their great reformer had defended and which had been laid down in the Augsburg Confession, then they cannot participate in such a movement without being untrue to the truth committed to their care. And here it was the special mission of Paul Gerhardt,

by word and deed, to act as spokesman for the interests of the Lutheran Church.

In 1662 the Great Elector ordered the Lutheran and the Reformed clergymen of Berlin to participate in a doctrinal discussion looking towards the establishment of peace between the two churches. The subject for discussion was the following question: "Whether there was anything taught in the Reformed confessions because of which the individual who believes and teaches it, by divine judgment must be damned; or whether in the confessions of the Reformed Church * * * there was anything denied or omitted the unacquaintance with which on the part of an individual will make it impossible for God to save him." This theme dictated by the Reformed court preachers was in itself captious and ensnaring for the Lutherans. They might reply to such question in the negative or in the affirmative, in each case they would be entrapped. If they would say No, then their opponents would ask them: Why not then accept the consequences by dropping the differences and uniting both churches into one body? If they would answer Yes, then they had condemned their sovereign and many others who were sincere Christians. Stahl says in his estimate of the situation (*Lutherische Kirche und Union*, p. 341): "With equal right could Louis XIV. of France have asked this question of the Hugenots in order to drive them to the conclusion that they had no right to hold themselves separated from the Catholic Church." There was one thing which Frederick William had overlooked when he framed that question as a basis upon which a union of the two churches should be effected. I will express it in this thought: While one readily admits that the individnal members of the Reformed Church, innocently sharing some errors of the denomination in which they have been brought up, can be saved, yet from this does not follow that the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church are a matter of indifference. Our peculiar Lutheran doctrines in regard to the person of Christ and to the means of grace are founded upon Scripture. The Lutheran and the Reformed conceptions are not two views with equal

right of existence; but, according to our conviction, the Lutheran doctrines are Scriptural while the Reformed Church, misled by a priori speculations (which is especially true of Zwingli) has failed to find the true Biblical point of view. And now we say: A Church that derives the subject-matter of its spiritual instruction from a true understanding of Scripture is better equipped to be a leader of immortal souls in their seeking after salvation. With this we do not say that a church which, like the Reformed, teaches Christ and preaches the doctrine of atonement cannot also lead souls to the Saviour; and much less would we say that the individual members of such Church cannot be saved. I purposely wanted to offer these statements as a guide before we begin to describe the debate in question, for the reason that even Paul Gerhardt, as a child of his age, has not always been able to find the exact language to express the relation.

The conference was held in seventeen sessions, covering a period of one year and a half, from September 8, 1662 to the 29th of May the following year, and was exceedingly unedifying and unpleasant. To our Paul Gerhardt fell the lot of acting as a secretary for the Lutherans. Thus he has written theological opinions and replied to written statements of the Reformed. The originals of these documents are preserved in the secret state archieves of Berlin and are all printed by Langbecker in his documentary life of Paul Gerhardt. There they cover fifty printed pages in the German and Latin languages. In reading them one will sometimes pause and ask: Is the author of these documents which show such acumen in logical definitions and a master in the field of theology and which remind us of the work of a Calov and a Hutter—is the writer of all this really the same person that we know and love from the warm-hearted hymns of Paul Gerhardt? But it is he, and this may be evidence that the Lutheranism of the type of our fathers in the 16th and 17th centuries can be harmoniously united with a spirituality that was not surpassed by Spener and Francke. Yet also in these theological opinions we are attracted by that tender conscience of Paul Gerhardt that has

through all his life continued to be the mainspring of each and all of his actions. He will rather suffer the worst than betray even a particle of the truth as he has been lead to know it. The position which Paul Gerhardt, together with the other Lutheran ministers in Berlin, took, and to which he gave expression in these documents is this: In the holy Scriptures we have a clear revelation of the saving truth. To this saving truth belong the articles which the Lutheran Church confesses against the Reformed. Nothing of this saving truth can be either denied or disregarded by the individual without imperiling his salvation. God cannot save an individual who, after having been sufficiently instructed, persistently up to his death refuses to accept the truth. The Reformed, especially their ministers, have been sufficiently instructed through the many discussions of the past and present. They persist in their errors against better knowledge and conscience. If they are saved it can be only because God in his mercy overlooks the weakness of men. (Langbecker p. 73, 88, etc). They, the Lutherans, would respect and love them, they would also desire and hope for their salvation; but passages of Scripture like Galatians 1 : 8 forbid them to take any other position.

We Lutherans of our age would not express ourselves this way. We have learned something since the days of Paul Gerhardt. We have studied church history. We have observed the piety of men like Zinzendorf, the Wesleys, Bunyan and Baxter and Spurgeon, and we have seen the missionaries of the Reformed Churches sending streams of blessing to the heathen nations. All such observations have given us a more vivid conception of the Church invisible as represented in all denominations that confess Christ to be the Son of God. And we have been compelled to revise the methods of our fathers in applying the anathemas of Scripture to the individuals of other churches. Today even the strictest of Lutherans would not repeat every sentence of Paul Gerhardt without qualification. But his conception was the position of all Lutherans in his day. The Students of theology were trained in such convictions at the universities. It was a two-fold mistake under which

Paul Gerhardt and his Lutheran contemporaries were laboring. First, a psychological mistake: It is a matter of course that a person who has grown up as a member of another denomination will not become Lutheran, unless it be in exceptional cases, where peculiar influences have been brought to bear upon him; an inborn filial regard for the religion of the fathers will stand in the way. When, in seasons of heated discussions, a Reformed begins to weigh the reasons in favor of and against the truth of his confessional system, then in by far the most cases and without suppressing the voice of conscience, the scale will turn in favor of the denomination in which he was born; cases to the contrary are exceptions, and even among these a large percentage of those who decide to become Lutherans is not due to conviction from doctrinal arguments, but has to be traced back to conditions and developments of personal character. And second, the standpoint of Paul Gerhardt and his fellow-Lutherans involved a theological error. They overlooked the fact that it is not the adoption of single and separate articles that saves us, but true faith in Christ as the Saviour from guilt and sin. Christ is the center (the articulus constitutivus, as Philippi says). Other doctrines, which according to their immediate importance for the comprehension of Christ as the Saviour place themselves in concentric circles around the center, are also essential and cannot be arbitrarily rejected; but of the *individual members* in the Reformed churches we dare not say that their rejection of the distinctive doctrines of Lutheranism decides the eternal doom of their souls. With the *Church* it is different. To her and her ministry is committed the care of so many. It is therefore of the greatest importance that in the pulpit, at the altar and in dealing with individual souls this institution can do her work under the guidance of a doctrinal system that is the best interpretation of the Scriptures.

But even if Paul Gerhardt did not quite succeed in finding the proper language to define the truth, yet all that he said and wrote was dictated by a truly Christian spirit, and it was the expression of a tender conscience. The same thoughts which his colleague, Reinhardt, could not utter without rousing the

anger of the opponents, these Paul Gerhardt could offer in such a manner that they were not felt as an insult. This is possible only for the person that stands under the special influence of the Spirit of Christ. That Paul Gerhardt, in defending the position which we have deseribed, acted according to the dictates of his conscience we see from the fact that, in the face of death a number of years later, he wrote in his last will to his son, a prospective student for the ministry: "Be careful to study the sacred theology at pure schools and unadulterated universities, and beware of Syncretists, for they seek the things of this world and are true neither to God nor men" (Lgb. p. 227). If he could write thus in the face of death he must have been sincere, and could not have spoken out of mere passion for strife.

The conference of which the Great Elector hoped so much had passed off without result. The feelings between the contesting parties were only more bitter than before. Now Frederick William did something that soon proved to be the most serious consequences for the life of Paul Gerhardt. On the 16th of September, 1664, he issued a decree in which the ministers of both parties were forbidden to characterize in the pulpits the doctrinal position of their opponent by carrying them to their logical conclusions. The Lutherans were not allowed to say of the Reformed that they teach God to be a cause of sin; that Christ had not died for all men (conclusions from the doctrine of predestination); that Christ in respect to his human nature is confined to heaven or that not the whole Christ is present with us; that the Sacraments are nothing but tokens and signs. (The edict is printed by Langbecker in full, pp. 91ff). The ministers were also forbidden to call their opponents by offensive names. The Lutherans must not call the Reformed Calvinists, Zwinglians, Syncretists. And then it was ordered that all clergymen of Berlin, on pain of being removed from their offices, should sign a "reverse" (a written obligation) in which they promise to obey the decree. Two of the Lutheran ministers, Reinhardt and Lilius, who, in the opinion of the Great Elector, had been too severe against the Re-

formed during the conference, had to sign this "reverse" immediately and, refusing to do so, their pulpits were declared vacant. The other ministers, including Paul Gerhardt, should be given a short time to consider.

Now while we leave Paul Gerhardt considering, let us ask the question: Could the Lutheran ministers of Berlin sign such a "reverse" without wounding their conscience? We can best reach a conclusion after we have studied the whole situation by casting a retrospective glance at the recent church history of Brandenburg. Only fifty years ago Brandenburg was an exclusively Lutheran country with not even a single Reformed congregation existing. Then it occurred that the Elector Sigismund, grand-father of Frederick William, renounced Lutheranism and went over to the Reformed Church. This caused great consternation among his people. We must remember that it was the same time when Lutheranism was struggling for its very existence with Kryptocalvanism, that is, with a Calvinism that was trying to creep in under the guise of an improved Lutheranism. True, at the accession to the throne Sigismund had given a written promise to protect the Lutheran Church even in its confession to the Form of Concord. But on the other hand, the sentence "cujus regio ejus religio" was considered a legal maxim among princes and peoples of Germany. And almost immediately Sigismund began to work for the conversion of his Lutheran subjects to the Reformed Church with a zealousness bordering on fanaticism. For instance, he sent personal invitations to all whom he could influence to go with him to communion after the Reformed manner. At the first of these Reformed communions he was not able to bring together more than fifty-five people. (Wangemann, Johann Sigismund und Paul Gerhardt, p. 30). He considered Lutheranism as a remnant of Catholic superstition. He looked at the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence of the body and the blood in the communion as being practically the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, which Luther had kept only to please Charles V. Melanchthon then, in the Altered Augsburg Confession of 1540, had given us the pure doctrine of the

Lord's Supper. Sigismund considered it his calling to carry out a "reformation" of the Lutheran Church in his country, doing away with the so-called remnants of the old Roman leaven Yet there was not one Reformed minister in all Brandenburg. Soon he found one man (Fink) who was willing to change his confession and to serve him as a court preacher. A second man was called from a neighboring country. A third man, intended to be the theological leader in the "reformation" that now should be undertaken (Fuessel), came from Heidelberg, headquarters of the Reformed Church. Now the work began. The Dome, a famous church edifice in Berlin, was taken away from the Lutherans and handed over to "those of the true religion." In the edict (1614) the Form of Concord was set aside and the Augsburg Confession was supplanted by the altered edition of 1540. (This decree, however, Sigismund was soon compelled to revoke again). The Lutheran university of Frankfurt on the Order was converted into a Reformed institution (Wang. p. 89). No student could become a beneficiary except he joined the Reformed Church. Some such beneficiaries were sent to Heidelberg that they might be nurtured with Calvinistic theology at the fountain-head. (Wang. 86). A board had been created whose special duty it was to carry out the so-called reformation of the Lutheran Church. (Wang. 85). So the plans were laid in this exclusively Lutheran country to exterminate Lutheranism and to supplant it by Calvinism. The Lutheran Church had to struggle for its existence, and by special order to the printing offices she was forbidden to use the press, while her opponents were at liberty to attack her as they pleased.

The wife of Elector Sigismund, Anna, had remained Lutheran and could by no means be induced to follow her husband into the Reformed Church. Even in her last will she ordered that her burial services should be conducted by a Lutheran minister who, on that occasion, should declare in a suitable manner that she had been opposed to the innovation of introducting Calvinism into the country. She survived her husband for many years and, together with her daughter, the widow of

Gustavus Adolphus, was permitted to do much to instil into her grand-son, the Great Elector, the Christian principles which characterized him. To her country she was known only as "Mother Anna," and to her the Lutherans appealed in many a trouble, and wherever she was able to help, she did so *

The son of Elector Sigismund, George William, was not quite so zealous in the "reformation," because he was hindered by the troubles of the Thirty Years War; but there is much evidence to show that he was also pursuing the policy of a gradual annihilation of the Lutheran Church. (Comp. Wang., pp. 110 to 116).

Then came Frederick William, the Great Elector with whom we are acquainted. Under him the situation received a somewhat different appearance. He invited the Reformed who were persecuted in other countries, especially the Hugenots in France, to settle in his domain. In this way thirty four Reformed congregations were established, and in his possessions to the West which came to him by inheritance there was also a Reformed constituency. The policy of the Great Elector is not any more, as with Sigismund, to make the Lutherans Reformed. But his aim is union. The Lutherans and the Reformed are to be blended into one denomination and this was to be effected not by a real agreement in the truth, but, according to the suggestions of Syncretism, in the way of ignoring the confessional differences. It was a union of such kind that was intended by the Great Elector when he called that conference of which we have spoken. And the Lutheran ministers of the capital should pave the way. It was hoped that when they de-

*The steadfastness of this woman was a great annoyance to the Reformed ministers, and on one occasion they petitioned the Elector that he might order a prayer for the churches in which, in suitable language and without mentioning her name, the congregations might pray for the conversion of his wife "to the true religion." (According to a document in the secret archives in Berlin printed by Wangemann, pp. 40 to 43). Wangemann adds the remark: "Now the Lutheran country which was filled with indignation over the fact that officially the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper was called an abomination of papacy, should be compelled to pray that their 'Mother Anna' might become unfaithful to the Lutheran Church."

clared themselves willing to enter into such a union with the Reformed then the Lutherans of other cities would follow. Paul Gerhardt felt from the beginning the responsibility resting upon him and his colleagues. In order to understand the actions of Paul Gerhardt we must always keep in mind that a union was aimed at in which, as a matter of course, the Reformed had to sacrifice only their doctrines of predestination while the Lutherans were to give up all that Luther had emphasized over against Zwingli and Calvin. The individuality of Lutheranism was to be blotted out. On this policy the Great Elector was bent just as much as his grand-father Sigismund. He forbade the clergymen to subscribe to the Form of Concord; he forbade the students for the ministry to attend Lutheran universities in other dominions, and, as we remember, the university of Brandenburg in Frankfurt was Reformed; and the Lutherans were forbidden to publish anything except it had received the sanction of a board which was practically Reformed. In the edict of the great Elector to which the Lutheran ministers of Berlin had to express their obedience by signing that document ("reverse") it was also forbidden to abuse and to defame the opponent in the pulpit. Here we are accustomed to hear words of reproach against Paul Gerhardt and the Lutherans of his time. But can it really be proved that the Lutherans in Brandenburg did indulge in such manners in the pulpit? Wangemann writes: "The edicts of Sigismund and the Great Elector which all speak so boldly of the reviling and defaming and slandering in the pulpit are no proof that such accusations against the Lutherans were true." (Pp. 39, 40). The Reformed were very sensitive. Here an illustration: The colleague of Paul Gerhardt, Reinhardt, once, in a private letter, had called pastor Buntebart a Syncretist. Because of this he was called to account and a motion was made by the Elector's court-preacher to exile the evildoer. (Wang. 157). Wangemann having access to the best historical material preserved in the secret archives in Berlin has given a careful study to this subject and he emphasizes again and again that this reviling had been attempted only by a few who always

were promptly punished and, as a rule, were driven out of the country, and he deplores that so many historians have been mislead by these edicts to believe the accusations, and that it has not occurred to them that they only show what influence the Reformed court preachers had with the electors as informers against the Lutheran ministers. (For further proof see Schultz, p. 423; Langb. p. 135). True the nearby University of Wittenberg, especially Hutter, under the protection of the Lutheran Elector of Saxony, conducted a relentless war against the church policy of Brandenburg; but the language that was heard from there should not have been charged to the subjects of the Great Elector. And even if some forget themselves for a moment, we must remember that the Lutherans also had feelings which were deeply offended when they saw that the most sacred articles of their faith were called heathen superstition and leaven of the Pope and when the rights of the Lutheran Church were trampled under foot. But as has been stated such strong language was only heard in exceptional cases. And especially the congregation of Paul Gerhardt has testified again and again that its pastor never had been heard abusing the Reformed Church. But the worst in the edict was the decree forbidding the ministers, in their sermons, to draw the conclusions from the teachings of their opponents, conclusions which up to this day are considered legitimate in all text-books of symbolics and church history. Now we come back to the question that caused us to take this retrospective glance over the preceeding history. Could the Lutheran ministers of Berlin, without wounding their conscience, promise, by signing the "reverse," to obey the decree of the Great Elector? Stahl answers this question with the following words: "It was in itself against their duty as shepherds of the congregations not to be permitted to use the theological means in order to instruct their people of the errors surrounding them, and it was doubly so under the existing circumstances where the sovereign used all his power to discredit the distinctive doctrines of Lutheranism. This was a time when a thorough instruction and powerful exhortation was especially needed.

Therefore conscientious ministers, no matter how irenic they might be, could not obey the decree. Among them, Stahl closes, shines through all ages as an example of faithfulness Paul Gerhardt, the first of all Lutheran hymn-writers." (*Luth. Kirche und Union*, p. 47).

On the sixth of February, 1666, Paul Gerhardt appeared, by special order of the Great Elector, before the Consistory that he might declare whether he would sign the "reverse." In case he had not reached a decision yet, another week for consideration should be granted him. But Gerhardt declared that he needed no longer time, he had thought over the matter carefully, his conscience did not permit him to sign the "reverse." Upon this the Consistory announced that in case he should persist in his refusal, his pulpit was vacant. But the persecutors of the Lutherans had not taken into account the excitement which the removal of a man like Paul Gerhardt would cause in his congregation, in the whole city and even in the country at large. His beautiful hymns were sung in all parts of Germany, and in his congregation he was loved and esteemed beyond measure. Immediately the aldermen of Berlin and the representatives of the guilds or corporations assembled in a meeting where they framed and signed a petition to the magistrate as the patron of the Lutheran Church in the city asking the same to plead with the Elector that he might restore Paul Gerhardt. (Document produced by Langbecker, p. 157). The magistrate was only too glad to intercede. On the 13th of February a memorial was sent to the Elector in which it was emphasized that Paul Gerhardt had never abused the religion of his sovereign and that his discharge would meet the disapproval of the Protestants throughout the German countries. (Langb. p. 162). But this document was received with great disfavor, and in the reply even the piety of Paul Gerhardt was called into question, an evidence that the court preachers had succeeded in discrediting him. The determination of the Great Elector remained unshaken; Gerhardt had to sign the "reverse," or steps had to be taken to call a successor. When the negative reply became known in the city the people were,

for the first moments, disconcerted and confused; but quickly they assembled and after thorough consultation they decided unanimously again to ask the magistrate to petition the Elector urging him to restore Paul Gerhardt. The document in which they addressed the magistrate shows the great agitation of their soul. They expressed their sore distress that their faithful pastors are so taken from them. It was, they said, in no way the intention of their ministers to defame and revile, they would simply have the right to characterize erroneous doctrines as such, if circumstances and conscience should demand it. They petitioned and urged their sovereign to abstain from requiring something of their ministers that they could not do without wounding their conscience. The document was signed by the representatives of all guilds, trades, and corporations of Berlin, even their seals affixed to it, and again the magistrate accompanied it with most emphatic solicitations. (Langb. p. 164 ff., 168 ff). But the tone of this address was felt by the Elector to be rebellious and he was moved with indignation. He did not answer personally any more, but replied through his minister, (Otto V. Schwerin), that the petitioners had not originated such language, they had been instigated by some revolting spirits, the author of the document would be found and duly punished. The magistrate was ordered in the future to decline such unbefitting petitions and instead of it admonish the pastors to sign the "reverse" (Langb. 170–175). We can imagine how the people felt when the reply became known in the city. The way to the heart of their sovereign was cut off. But nevertheless they sent another address to the magistrate in which they at least wanted to justify the content of their former petition. It touches our hearts when we see them writing as follows: "Our gracious lord and Elector says that we shall attend to our trades and not to the decrees. But dear, dear God, we must be concerned about the salvation of our souls. We believe that the way to salvation is shown us in our Lutheran confessions. Therefore it must be our duty to watch over such faith. When our ministers say that their conscience does not permit them to sign the "reverse" and they are removed be-

cause of it and others are called who do sign, what effect must this have upon the congregation? It will cause the most serious confusion. We would go to church with doubts as to the honesty and reliability of our preachers and our religion would suffer. We renew therefore our petition with diligence, and ask that the interests of the Lutheran Church be taken care of, that Paul Gerhardt be restored, and that our other ministers be not troubled with signing the 'reverse.'" (Langb. pp. 806, 807). But the magistrate could not risk to send this document to the Elector. At this moment of perplexity God himself came to the aid. The matter was taken up by the representatives of the country. These gentlemen were yet in the position to speak a serious word with the Elector. They had heard of Paul Gerhardt's removal, of the petitions, and of the refusals, and they considered it their duty to intercede. In very emphatic language, to which the Elector was unaccustomed, they sent him a communication on the 17th of July, 1666. In this they declared that the "reverse" was offensive, because neither the Augsburg Confession nor Luther's Catechism was mentioned, and it looked as if a union of Lutherans and Reformed was intended, which was not advisable. A true Lutheran could not sign such "reverse," and so far as the godly and irenic Paul Gerhardt was concerned there was no cause for binding him by an obligation. They therefore asked the Elector to restore him to his office and thus to calm the excitement in the congregation. (Langb. pp. 175–184). The Great Elector took a half year to consider, but then, in an order of January 9th, the following year, he solved the difficulty by restoring Paul Gerhardt without signing the "reverse." He communicated it to the magistrate, but besides this official communication he sent his own secretary to Paul Gerhardt informing him of his decision. This event was an occasion of great joy in the city. But while all were rejoicing, Paul Gerhardt felt depressed. The special delegate of the Great Elector had told him that the policy must be the gradual union of the Lutherans with the Reformed, therefore the edict would remain in full force and that it was expected that Paul Gerhardt would

obey the edict without signing the "reverse." So he saw that he was yet under obligation, under moral obligation to obey something which his conscience had not permitted him to promise by signing the "reverse." And he soon decided in his mind that, considering the whole situation, he could assume his office only if he were permitted to accept the Form of Concord. For under existing circumstances where the government was working to blot out Lutheranism he considered the Form of Concord an indespensible bulwark. We receive an impression of the tenderness of his conscience when he writes, on January 19th, 1667, to the magistrate: "I know by the grace of God who hath permitted me to work in his vineyard what anxieties the work in the congregation brings to the minister who wants to be true and faithful; if I now should add to this a gnawing worm of conscience, I would be the most unfortunate creature upon earth." (Langb. p. 190). And to the Elector he wrote that he had for fear of wounding his conscience not been able to sign the "reverse;" if he now should take upon himself a moral obligation, after God had given him strength to withstand so long, he would commit a sin that would trouble him all through life. (Langb. p. 196). It seemed that Paul Gerhardt had hoped that the Elector could release him from submission to the edict. But this was impossible for a sovereign. His efforts to bring about a union had already gone too far. And the tolerance of such an exception would seem as an injustice to the others. So Frederick William simply wrote to the magistrate, that inasmuch as Paul Gerhardt does not see his way clear to accept his restoration, a successor should be called. Now efforts were made by the magistrate, by the congregation, and by personal friends to persuade Paul Gerhardt to yield and to accept. Even the wife of the Elector sent her secretary to tell him that his restoration was unconditional, and it even appears from a document in the secret archives (Wangemann pp. 205–220) that the Elector himself sent a man of position—Paul Gerhardt would never give the name of this person—to discuss with him the situation. But on such occasions Paul Gerhardt would always see

that the policy of the government was to continue the old course. Now something occured that was unexpected by all. On the 6th of June, 1667, the Great Elector revoked his decree in respect to the "reverse" that had caused so much bad feeling. (Schultz p. 144). Wangemann writes: "I could not find in the archives what moved the Elector to take this step. Perhaps it was a last wish of his dying wife, who was called home twelve days after this order was given." (p. 205). The edict, of course, remained in force and in it the ministers were deprived of the liberty to make use of legitimate theological means to show up the errors of a movement the program of which was the gradual annihilation of the Lutheran Church. And therefore Paul Gerhardt saw only one way before him, namely to lay down for good his work in Berlin.

Thus ends this story. It is very interesting. First, because it gives us an impression of the persistency with which the Hohenzollerns, from the time of Sigismund on, have worked to effect a union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Their ideals have never been realized in the manner they were intended, even not by Frederick William III. (See my treatise in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY of 1903, pp. 67–89); but they have disseminated a spirit of indifference towards the distinguishing doctrines of the two churches, and with the co-operation of other forces (Liberalism in theology, Pietistism) they have put a unionistic stamp upon so many movements of German Protestantism. And this story is very interesting because it shows us how the conscience of one of the noblest sons of the Lutheran Church moved in those struggles. Paul Gerhardt, this godly and irenic man, who, instead of defaming the suppressors of his church, would be found upon his knees bringing before God the troubles of Zion, was, by Providence, intended to be an unimpeachable witness to the fact that the opposition to the church policy of the Great Elector was justified.

But before we close our little biography, we would like to hear how this faithful servant of God spent his life after he had left his congregation in Berlin. From what we have already learned in the review given we have noticed that it is a legend

which has been universally believed to be historical truth that Paul Gerhardt, after he was removed from his office, had to leave Berlin inside of twenty-four hours, and that he in this situation, for the comfort of his worrying wife, composed his beautiful hymn Befiehl du deine Wege (commit thou all thy griefs). Between the sentence over Paul Gerhardt and his departure from Berlin, there lies a period of more than three years, and his wife died in Berlin. He did not suffer want, for his many friends cared for him, and the Duke of Merseburg had asked the permission to pay him a salary. Yet notwithstanding he was well up in age he desired a new field of labor. Such he found in Luebben in the Duchy of Saxony-Merseburg where he, in May 1669, was called as pastor. In the midst of this congregation he was permitted to serve his master seven more years. When he felt his end approaching he was worried that he had to leave his only son before his education was completed. He therefore prepared a last will with admonitions which might direct him on the path of righteousness. Because this will is very characteristic of the piety of Paul Gerhardt, we will give it here in full: "Since I have now reached the seventieth year of my age and have the joyful hope that my dear God will soon take me home and lead me into a better life than I have had upon earth I thank him for all the goodness and mercy which he has shown to me from childhood up. I pray from the depth of my heart that he, when my last moments come, may receive my soul and give to my body a blessed rest in the grave and that on the day of judgment he may raise me and all my beloved ones that I may see face to face my dear Lord Jesus in whom I have believed. I do not leave to my son many of the riches of this world, but I leave him an honest name of which he will not have to be ashamed. My son knows that I have promised him from his childhood up to God that he might become a minister of the Gospel. This he shall keep as a goal before him and not waver even if he knows that the ministry does not bring him many good days. God knows how to help and he can reward the tribulations with joy of heart and gladness of spirit. Be careful to study the sacred

theology in pure schools and in unadulterated universities, and beware af Syncretists, for they seek the things that are temporal, and are neither true to God nor men. Flee vile associations and follow the will and command of God. Especially 1) never commit anything bad, thinking that it will remain secret, for nothing is hidden that shall not come to light. 2) Be on the guard against anger, if the temptation comes, be silent and do not say one word until you have repeated the ten commandments and the Apostle's Creed. 3) Be ashamed of the sinful lusts of the flesh, and if the time comes that you can marry do it by calling upon God and with the counsel of pious, faithful and sensible men. Do good unto others even if they can not repay, for the Creator of heaven and earth already rewarded you when he gave unto you his Son in holy baptism and accepted you as his child and as an heir of salvation. 5) Flee all covetousness as hell itself, and be contented with what you have rightly earned, even if it is not very much. And if it should please God to give you plenty, pray him that he may keep you from making wrong use of it. At last, pray incessantly, study diligently, live peacefully, serve uprightly, persevere in faith and in professing Christ, then your departure from this world shall surely be a happy and a joyful event. Amen." (Langb. p. 226).

In his dying moments he derived the comfort for his soul from a beautiful verse of his own poetry when he said:

Kann uns doch kein Tod nicht toeten.
Sondern reisst Unsern Geist
Aus viel tausend Noeten.
Schliesst das Tor der bittern Leiden
Und macht Bahn, Dass man kann
Geh'n zu Himmels Freuden.

It was on the seventh day of June, 1676, in his sixty-ninth year when this faithful servant closed his weary eyes to awake at the throne of his Master to receive his reward.

ARTICLE IV.

BABYLONIA, GLIMPSES OF ITS CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE.

(CONTINUED FROM THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, JAN., 1906, pp. 60 ff).

BY PROFESSOR KARL JOSEF GRIMM, PH.D.

The Babylonian prayers to a large degree display a special interest in the fate of the kings. Upon their well-being the welfare of the entire country depended. If the gods were well-disposed toward the ruler the whole nation was the gainer.

The Babylonian was not only a believer in gods; he also believed in demons, spirits, witches, and other powers as affecting the life of a man. The wide prevalence of this belief may be seen in the fact that a very large portion of the religious literature of the Babylonians consists in prayers and incantations against the evil spirits. Everything in nature seems to have had its spirits, good or bad. The spirit of the south-west wind, carrying with it disease and death, was a terror to the Babylonian. Similarly the spirit of the inundating river was feared as malignant and harmful, desolating the land and destroying property. A hymn * tells us of an eclipse of the moon being caused by an attack of seven evil spirits upon the moon-god Sin. These seven spirits are exceedingly powerful. We read of them:

Seven are they, they are seven,
In the subterranean deep they are seven,
Perched (?) in the sky they are seven.
In the subterranean deep they were reared.
They are neither male nor female;
They have no wife, nor do they beget offspring.
They are destructive stormwinds.
Compassion and mercy they do not know,
Prayer and supplication they do not hear;
Horses bred on the mountain are they,
Hostile to Ea † are they,
Powerful like the gods are they,

* See THE LUTTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1906, p. 76.
† See THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1906, p. 73.

To work mischief in the street they settle themselves in the [highway.

Evil are they, they are evil.
Seven are they, they are seven,
Seven, and again seven are they.

But however powerful they may be, they have no place in the ranks of the gods:

Among the gods their couch they have not.

Being thus surrounded by gods and spirits, good and bad, it was of the utmost importance to establish proper relations with these powers, to propitiate them if offended or evil, if good, to endeavor to make them serve him. Religious services, therefore, were constantly carried on. There were services during night as well as during day. Every day sacrifices were offered up. Fasts and festivals filled up each month of the year. One day in the year a special festival was celebrated in honor of a god or goddess. On such a day the people came from all parts of the district where the cult was celebrated to pay special homage to the deity. A very festive day was New-year's-day, celebrated on the 8th of Nisan (March–April) as the festival of Spring. Marduk, the local god of Babylon and chief of the Babylonian pantheon, was the hero of the day. The festival brought worshippers from all Babylonia to the capital. Nabu, the god of writing and patron of agriculture and science, was carried from his city Borsippa to Babylon in a magnificent ship, along a broad and handsomely paved street, to pay a visit to his father Marduk.* On such festival days in addition to sacrifices with purificatory rites to placate the gods or forestall their displeasure tales and myths telling of the deeds of the gods were recited, accompanied, it may be conjectured, in some instances by dramatic representations. From time to time extraordinary days of public humiliation and thanksgiving were ordered by the king to be observed. This was generally done when some political crisis or danger was at hand. The Babylonians appear also to have had a Sabbath.†

The chief places of worship were the temples. These were

* Cf. THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Jan. 1906, pp. 70, 71.
† Cf. also below, p. 383.

built and adorned in a most magnificent manner. They were erected on ground that had been consecrated by libations of wine, oil, and honey, and were square or rectangular buildings enclosing an open court on the side of which was a tower, built in successive stages. The image of the god or goddess stood in the innermost shrine of the temple. Here stood also the table on which the show-bread was laid. In the cuneiform ritual tablets it is stated that one or three or six dozens of unleavened cakes are to be laid on a sacrificial table before the deity. There was also a shrine called "the seat of the oracles"; from it oracles were delivered by the god to the officiating priests. The temple appears also to have had its outer court with an altar and a bronze basin for purificatory purposes.

The sanctuaries were the recipients of innumerable gifts, comprising images of gods, elaborate presents of gold, silver, precious stones, costly wood, and fine garments as votive offerings to the deity. These presents were used in the decoration of the temple and shrine as well as of the statue of the god, or as direct contributions to the temple-treasury. Often costly garments embroidered with gold and studded with precious stones were hung on the images of the gods. Votive tablets of lapis lazuli, agate, turquoise, gold, silver, and other metals with dedicatory inscriptions were deposited in the temples. Celebrations of victories were chosen as particularly appropriate occasions for making such offerings. In time the temples became enormously rich and great business corporations, controlling a large part of commerce.

In the more important religious centers the temples had archives containing the records of the administration of the temples and of their business affairs, including official correspondence and business letters. In addition to temple records business documents of a private character such as contracts, deeds, wills, marriage-settlements, and the like, were deposited in the temple archives.

Besides acting as official record-offices temples also had schools attached to them for the education of priests and scribes. In these schools the outfit for instruction in writing,

reading, mathematics and astronomy was kept; lists of signs, syllabaries, exercises, grammatical paradigms, mathematical tables, copies of religious texts, commentaries to important texts, incantations, prayers, hymns, rituals, ceremonial regulations, and other material needed in the preparation of students to conduct the cult and to carry out the various functions entrusted to the priesthood.

The priest's functions were mainly twofold. He assisted as scribe in drawing up legal documents and conducted the business affairs of the temple, and he officiated in the cult with its numerous ramifications, offering sacrifices, interpreting omens, exorcising demons. The priest was the proper intermediary between God and man.* He was essential for obtaining divine help against the mischievous workings of the spirits and witches. He held the secret that could secure freedom from ills and promote the welfare of every individual.

In course of time the priests became a closed guild or caste. No one was admitted who was not of priestly descent, of legitimate birth, clean-limbed, without any defects of the eyes, teeth or fingers; a member of the guild whose stature and form was not perfect, or who was suffering from a contagious skin disease, was unfit for priestly functions; he was still counted as one of the brethren of the craft, but not allowed to officiate as priest. The priests were married. They seem to have been organized in the form of a regular hierarchy. There were those who had charge of the sacrifices; there were the singers of the hymns and chanters of the ritual, the diviners, and the enchanters. There also was a high priest, and most probably each class of priests had its chief likewise. Frequent reference is made to women attached to the service of the temple. The revenues of the priesthood were derived partly from endowment, partly from voluntary and compulsory offerings. Tithes had to be paid by all classes of the people from the king downward, either in grain or its equivalent in money.

The language employed by the priests in their official acts, *i.e.* in their ritual prayers, their hymns, and various formulas, was not the vernacular of the country, but *Sumerian*, the lan-

* Cf. THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Jan. 1906, p. 81.

guage of the pre-Semitic inhabitants of Mesopotamia, just as to-day Latin instead of the vernacular is used in the services of the Roman Catholic Church. As forms of worship we find the raising of hands and kneeling. At the offering up of sacrifices the priest would take the subject of the sacrifice by the hand and lead him up to the victim. The sacrificial animal had to be without blemish. As animals selected for sacrificial purposes the ox, the kid, the lamb, and especially the sheep are mentioned. Besides, fruits, vegetables, bread, wine, oil, salt, milk, butter, flour and spices were offered where no blood was required to be shed. So far we have no evidence of human sacrifice among the Babylonians. The offering of a great man was different from the offering of an humble man. There were both sin-offerings and heave-offerings. Cypress or cedar served as the wood for the burnt-offerings, which were kindled by a torch.

When the Babylonian, either for public or private purposes, desired to gain an insight into the future or wished to obtain a special advice from the gods in regard to an important act, he called upon the diviner. Sennacherib (705-681), for example, used diviners to discover the cause of the violent death of his father Sargon, and Esarhaddon (681-668) employed them when he was planning to rebuild Babylon.

Among the means of divination the inspection of animals, especially of the liver (hepatoscopy), stood preëminent. Besides, the will and plan of the gods could be seen in the visions of the night and in dreams, in the movements of the sun and the moon in the position of the planets, in the direction of the winds, in the formation of the clouds, in all possible experiences in man's daily life, in the unusual occurrences among men and animals, in the appearance and flight of birds, in the movements of the serpent, in the actions of the dogs, in monstrosities and birthmarks among men and animals. There were regular rites prescribed so as to secure the correct interpretation of the omens to be derived from the signs on the liver of the animals offered up whether as daily sacrifices or on festivals or other occasions. The priest had to be careful to put on the proper dress, to be free from all ritualistic im-

purity, and to speak the proper words. The question had to be carefully and precisely put in clearly pronounced words. He had to see to it that nothing improper might disturb the execution of the rite.

The enchanter or magician was the atoner and propitiator *par excellence.* He was called upon to pacify the angry deity, to propitiate for sins, and to drive out evil demons and witches. Regular ceremonies were prescribed for purging oneself from sin and contamination through evil spirits. A great many of the formulas of atoning and enchanting have been preserved. In one of them we read that a lamb is to be sacrificed at the gate of the palace, and that the blood of the lamb is to be put on the lintels and on the door-posts right and left. The enchanter stood in the service of Ea and Marduk. Occasionally the fire-god is addressed as in the following incantation:

> Fire-god, thou mighty and lofty one of the gods,
> Who dost overpower the wicked and the hostile,
> Overpower them * that I be not destroyed.
> Let, me, thy servant, live,
> Let me stand unharmed before thee!
> Thou art my god, thou art my lord,
> Thou art my judge, thou art my helper,
> Thou art my avenger.

The Babylonians believed that disease was a separate entity which might be produced by the displeasure of the gods † or by the malevolence of numberless evil spirits and demons, or by the influence of the stars and the changes of the moon. All these were capable of producing harmful effects upon mankind. To obviate the ill effects of these influences the gods must be appeased and induced to relax their displeasure, the evil spirit must be driven out, some influence must be brought to bear of sufficient power to drive away the disease and its cause. The enchanter and his science thus came to play a very prominent role in the life of the inhabitants of Babylonia. Symbolic magic especially was held in high esteem. Fire was a favorite agency for destroying the principle of disease in a symbolic manner. The enchanter

* The evil spirits or witches.

† Cf. THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1906, p. 81.

would cast into the fire of a brazier various objects and repeat over them the appropriate charm. As these objects were consumed by the flames, so, by virtue of the incantation, the fire destroyed the disease in the body of the patient. Water was likewise an element that played an important part, purifying baths and sprinkling with holy water being frequently mentioned in the magical tests:

> Glittering water, pure water,
> Holy water, resplendent water.
> The water twice seven times may he bring,
> May he make pure, may he make resplendent,
> May the evil *rabisu* depart,
> May he betake himself outside!

The water of the Euphrates or the sea was believed to possess peculiar efficacy, since all large bodies of water were under the special protection of the patron of occult science, the god Ea. A very common charm was connected with the tying and untying of knots in a cord, the cord symbolizing the spell with which the sufferer was bound. As the knot was untied, to the accompaniment of the proper formula of enchantment, the spell was loosed, and the patient was released of his trouble. An exorcism directed against witches runs as follows:

> I, by the command of Marduk, the lord of charms,
> By Marduk, the master of bewitchery,
> Both the male and female witch,
> As with ropes I will entwine,
> As in a cage I will catch.
> As with cords I will tie,
> As in a net I will overpower,
> As in a sling I will twist,
> As a fabric I wiil tear.

The Babylonian enchanters also placed much reliance in the potency of numbers. The mystic number 7 was preëminent in this respect. In a calendar of lucky and unlucky days for the intercalary month of Elul (August-September) we read that the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st and 28th days of the month are unlucky. All these, as will be observed, are multiples of 7, except the 19th day; but the exception is only apparent, for 19 added to the 30 days of the preceeding month gives 49, the square of 7, and a number of special potency. On these

days "*the shepherd of many nations* * *is not to eat meat roasted by the fire, nor any food prepared by the fire. The clothes of his body he is not to change, fine dress he is not to put on, sacrifices he is not to bring, nor is he to ride in his chariot. He is not to hold court, nor is the priest to seek an oracle for him in the holy of holies. The physician is not to be brought to the sickroom. The day is not suitable* * * * ."

From the facts presented two things are clear: the enormous power and influence wielded by the priesthood, and the thorough control exercised by popular beliefs over the acts of the individual. The life of the Babylonian was spent in constant thought of gods and spirits who control all things in this world. He never lost sight of his dependence on powers unseen.

ARTICLE V.

THE AMERICAN FAMILY.

By Professor Charles A. L. Reed, M.D.

The family, in societies such as that of America, implies a husband and wife, or, in other words, a father and mother with their offspring. There is, indeed, and I think fortunately, a secondary sense in which the term is made to embrace, in addition, living progenitors and descendants, and an even broader meaning which takes in both antecedent generations and collateral branches. But it is the first signification, namely, that of parents and immediate progeny, that is accepted as the type of the family and that sociologists generally recognize in the terms of Mr. Lecky as "the center and archetype of society." When I say "generally" I speak advisedly, for there are others who agree with Sir Henry Maine, quoted approvingly by Mr. Spencer, to the effect that "the unit of an ancient society was the family, that of a modern society the individual." There is, indeed, a philosophic cult which has taken on decided political importance not only in Germany, France, and Italy, but the United States, one of whose central purposes is the development of individualism at the expense

i. e. the king.

of the family. But whichever of these views may be correct, either as a matter of fact or as a matter of principle—and I have no intention at this time to enter extensively into the dispute—it is certainly worth while that physicians who officiate at birth, who mitigate the pangs of death, and who are the daily defenders of the family against influences that threaten the existence of its members should consider the characteristics and relations of what, even in the present stage of evolution, must be recognized, at least in a biologic sense, as the primary group in our social complex.

THE TYPICAL AMERICAN FAMILY.

But in what sense are we justified in using the term "American family?" Has it an ethnic significance or merely geographic limitations? This brings us face to face with the rather persistent speculations about "typical America" and "typical Americans." It furthermore brings fresh to our mind that here in America we have many people of many lands, and that, as a result of their commingling, the corpuscles of one people, mingled with those of another, presently go coursing together through the natural gates and alleys of a lusty progeny. Has this blending gone on until its final product, the great ultimate composite, has been evolved? If so, where may he be found? If not—for the reply must certainly be in the negative—when may he be expected, and what will he look like and be like when once he is arrived? The answer to this double question may well be left to the curiosity of the speculative ethnologist, while we content ourselves with a few obvious facts. Thus, taking the sculpture and paintings of former ages as criteria, and comparing the human figure thus portrayed with the human figure as we now know it in life, we may safely assume that, after the lapse of similar ages of the future, the ultimate American, if he shall have then arrived, will look very much like his respectable progenitors whom we now see everywhere around us. Yet while this is true, we must recognize that Americans are acquiring, have indeed acquired, a certain stamp of individuality by which they can be recognized at a glance as Americans,

just as we recognize at a glance the German, the Frenchman or the Scandinavian, for what he is. Nobody who has traveled abroad can have escaped an experience or at least an observation confirmatory of this fact. The principle goes even farther —so far, indeed, that the natives of European countries who return for a visit to their native homes after several years spent in the United States are recognized by their physical appearance alone, and are spoken of as Americans by their former compatriots who may not know them personally. This change certainly cannot consist in any radical alteration, much less in eradication of the hereditary national stamp. Yet, possibly, in such instances the changes are of a character that, in a measure, may be reduced to terms. They become apparent when, returning from Europe, or, for that matter, when visiting Ellis Island, we study the physiognomies of the immigrants who have the spirit to resent the conditions with which they have found themselves enthralled and the enterprise to seek a broader and a better life in a fairer land. We then understand the change. We then see that, in the returning European, the garb of the peasant has disappeared in the genteel attire of the proprietor, the dependent air of the laborer has changed into the hopeful and confident bearing of the employer, while the stolid face of the social and political underling has disappeared in the cheery features of the freeman. Of such alchemy is our republic capable! But, particularly in the instance of native-born Americans, there is something more, something deeper than this, for there are cheery, well-dressed, hopeful, confident Europeans in abundance who are recognized as such at a glance. It follows, therefore, that some change is going on, something due to climate, habits, language, customs, habitations, food, and other factors that control and modify nutrition—something that reveals itself in facial expression, voice, bodily movements, and unconscious but more or less uniform mannerism, yet something that is too subtle for easy expression in words.

THE ULTIMATE AMERICAN THE TRUE ARYAN.

But whether our heads are getting longer or rounder, our cheekbones more or less prominent, our noses beaked or

pugged, our chins more prominent or receding, they are tendencies, if they exist, that likewise belong to the realm of speculative ethnology. It is a question of less practical importance to the American people than is the more significant fact that, with the exception of the Semitic element, our European immigration, although coming from practically every country, is in reality of common ethnic origin. It would seem, indeed, as if the three great primary branches, namely, the Graeco-Italian, the Celtic, and the Teuto-Slavic branches, through their many surviving ramifications, are again converging through multitudinous representations upon American soil, here to re-establish the Great Aryan branch of the human family in its purity. I say in its purity, for we observe that the blending of our blood with that of people so unlike us as the Mongol and the Ethiopian is repugnant to the very fundamental instincts of our race, and is consequently impossible. The only other disimilar element of importance in our midst is the Semitic, and even that can claim an ethnic kinship in the fact that it as well as the Aryans belongs to the ruddy races. Furthermore, taken as we find them here today, the Semites adjust themselves, if slowly, yet faithfully and loyally, to the salient features, political and social, of the civilization that surrounds them, and even occasionally blend in marriage with their Aryan cousins. But such instances are of negligible infrequency, and consequently do not materially modify the fact that, even under such unprejudiced surroundings as obtain in America, the Semitic race is held in aloofness—remains a "peculiar people"—largely, no doubt, through the reciprocal exercise of those primary racial repulsions that today find their fiercest expression where the Slav and the Jew, the two most primitive representatives of the divergent branches of the human family, attempt to dwell together in a peace which in that area will probably never be realized. With these elements eliminated from the process of amalgamation now going on in America we shall discover that the blending does not involve the assimilation of fundamentally dissimilar elements. The slight divergence of type characteristic of national groups, those physical characteristics, for instance, that distinguish the

German from the Slav, the Englishman from the Celt, must be looked upon as so many accidents of travel, so many acquisitions of sojourn, so many fruits of experience. They mark little or no difference in the impulse toward civilization, although they may indicate a wider variation in the results achieved. But as these various peoples come together again after their long journey through the ages each will bring, as each is today bringing, his own contribution to the broadening civilization that is today, as it will continue to be, the increasing inheritance of the American family.

DOMINANT CHARACTERISTICS OF FUTURE AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

The future civilization of America, so far at least as its dominant characteristics are concerned, is probably less a matter of conjecture than is the exact balance of elements that will be represented in the final blend of the peoples. Here, again, the deductions of the future can be fairly drawn from the experiences of the past. Beginning, as our country did less than three centuries ago, with distinct groups of English, Dutch, French, and Spanish, and later with very large groups of Germans, our civilization in language and customs speedily became wholly English. We have since had infusions in groups of varying numbers from practically every country of Europe. As a matter of fact, the foreign-born population of the United States in 1900 was about ten and a-third millions, of which four millions, or 38.3 per cent., were derived from English-speaking countries. The remaining six and a-third millions have come from continental Europe, Germany alone furnishing a third of them. Of the original groups, those which comprised the original settlements, not one has stood out against the predominant influence of the English element. Of the remaining groups, or those which have been formed by later immigrations, when not too large or too definitely isolated, but few have resisted the great tide of American civilization for longer than a generation. And there is not today a single ethnic group of European origin, however large, however completely segregated from the distinctly American element, or however recently established, but that presents signs of active disintegration and assimilation. The public school,

with compulsory English, attendance upon which is enforced by law in many States, associated with the influence of the Church, the press, and active participation in political affairs, comprise an apparatus by which all foreign element are ultimately propelled into their appropriate place in the body politic. In this wise are we English, with every prospect that we shall remain English to the end. This is the condition as we see it today, and I, for one, know of no reason why it should be changed in principle and effect, however much it may be modified in detail, in the American civilization of the future.

THE QUESTION OF "RACE-SUICIDE."

But we no sooner begin to felicitate ourselves on the present and prospective results of the great ethnic experiment now being conducted in America, we no sooner begin to waive our salutations to the typical American, the proud Aryan of the future, than the statisticians tell us that the birth-rate of the country is declining, and publicists of exalted position and influence warn us that this splendid race, yet in its formative stage, is actually engaged in the act of self-destruction. It seems, indeed, as if in certain States in which the computation, based upon the census returns of 1900, is completed, the birth-rate is materially lower than it was 10 years previously—that is, there were fewer children born to each thousand of men and women (potential parents) between the ages of 15 and 45. This is true in spite of the fact that during the same period the actual number of births was several millions in excess of the deaths. So long as the balance is on the side of births as against deaths the race will continue to exist. We can readily imagine that with a progressive decline in the birth-rate the time, however remote, would come when the balance would be on the wrong side. The mere fact, however, that the rate of increase in population by reproduction vacillated from twenty-eight thirty-seconds of the whole increase in population in 1840 to fourteen twenty-fourths in 1890, with but little tendency to reaction in 1900, was due to the fact that the immigration in 1890 was almost ten-fold that of 1840. But if it were to be taken as an evidence of a declining ratio of births, a decline already indicated by the computations in sev-

eral States, the fact would be serious if it had no other than a mere birth and death significance and if similar tendencies did not exist in other peoples, so that the balance between nationalities will be approximately maintained.

Leaving the real significance of this movement of population for further consideration, I wish to particularize my last allusion. Thus marked declines are noted in Prussia, France, Sweden, Norway, with slighter decrease in England, while slight increase in birth-rate is noted in Belgium, Saxony, and Russia. France has been held up as an instance of a dying population, and it seemed, indeed, as if in 1900 the conclusion were justifiable, for in that year the recorded deaths exceeded the recorded births by nearly 26,000. This, however, was the culmination of a progressive decline, for in the succeeding year the pendulum was found to be swinging back, indicating that the surplus of births over deaths amounted to a little in excess of 72,000. But even this margin is an evidence of a stabile population more nearly in a state of equilibration than any other in the world. Similar haltings, although less marked, have been noticed in other countries. Almost as marked a crisis was, however, reached in Belgium in 1817—a year of scarce food—followed by an immediate reaction. This same country again showed a steady decline from 1897 to 1900, but in the following year exhibited the largest preponderence of births over deaths in its history. A similar curve has been observed repeatedly in other countries, notably in Sweden. In the United States the percentage of increase by reproduction fell from 24.46 per cent. in 1860 to 15.38 per cent. in 1870, due, no doubt, to the Civil war, returning to 22.79 per cent. in 1880. Malthus gives numerous instances of the decline of birth-rate progressively with the increasing destiny of population in which reproduction returned again to its normal rate when either war, pestilence, actual famine, or migration had once reduced the congestion. It seems, therefore, that, whatever the cause of the declining birth-rate, the most marked depressions are followed by reactionary curves. Then, too, it is well enough to remember that, according to Duvillard, the span of life in the eighteenth century was 26 years, and that, according to

Lombard, it was 40 years during the nineteenth century, and that, according to present indications, it bids fair to go beyond 50 years before the end of the present century. It is also interesting, if not important, in the present connection to bear in mind that the population of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century was less than 48,002,000, and that it had increased to something over 350,000,000 at the end of the nineteenth century, or, in other words, that it had increased but about sevenfold in 400 years. Then associate this with the fact that between 1840 and 1900 alone the population of the United States jumped from a trifle over 17,000,000 to a little under 76,000,000, four-fifths of it being due to reproduction, or, in other words, the population of this country increased nearly fivefold in the short space of 60 years. Now associate all of these facts, and it would seem that the extinction of a people, particularly the American people, through either absolute involuntary loss of fecundity or the equally absolute but voluntary repression of reproduction, such as must be implied by the term "race-suicide," is a calamity the fancied imminence of which need not in the least disturb our dreams.

THE FECUNDITY OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

But it is urged that the decline in reproduction is chiefly with the native American woman, and that if the disparity continues to increase the continental people will become the dominant elements of our population, and that, as a consequence, our civilzation will lose its distinctly Anglo-Saxon type. This observation is urged in face of the increasing stature, the improving physique of American women, in spite of the increasing frequency of the "Gibson girl" in the flesh as well as in fashion plates, and in spite of the fact that she is the distinctly evolved type of the American woman. Collective inquiry has, indeed, been made of our highest educational institutions for women to find out how many babies have been born by their graduates, with the inevitable result it was shown that relatively fewer children are born of cultivated American women than of the peasant women recently imported from Europe. The last census and the annual returns from American cities confirm the fact, which nobody has ever disputed.

As a result it is assumed and heralded that our civilization is exercising a deteriorating influence on the reproductive power, that culture is destructive of fecundity, and that; consequently, with the spread of education, with the increased diffusion of wealth and with the multiplication of luxuries, American women will no longer have the power to recruit the ranks of the race. It was precisely these conclusions, based upon precisely such an inquiry as I have indicated, that a few years ago were embraced in a paper by a distinguished American physician. And lest the news would not travel fast enough or far enough, the valuable document was translated into three other languages and published simultaneously in five leading countries. Yet the author of that paper, like many who have since been repeating his erroneous conclusions, began his deductions with a fatal error. This consisted in his misuse of the word fecundity, which, if it means anything, means the power to conceive and bear children. It was assumed by the writer in question that because native American women did not bear children in greater numbers they had lost the power to do so, when, as a matter of fact, known to every practicing physician in the country, as it ought to have been known to him, the average American woman does not have more children because she does not care to have them, and because her husband, for the most part, acquiesces in her view. Her reasons are not without force, and if reduced to the last analysis do not indicate a loss, but rather a development, if not an actual exaltation, of the maternal impulse. It is my opinion, based upon studious professional contact with precisely this phase of our social life during more than a quarter of a century, that the disinclination of American mothers to bear more children than they can properly educate and support is based upon an intelligent and conscientious regard of the rights and necessities of unconceived offspring rather than upon an aversion to the sacred office of motherhood. It is true that there are many women who prefer to be their husbands' mistresses rather than their wives, and who sustain the marital relation for mere sensual gratification to the exclusion of its physiologic consequences, but, in my opinion, they comprise but a small minority

of childless wives as compared with the considerate and self-denying women who think twice before they bring children into the world under unfit conditions. They feel, without knowing it, that, in effect, it is true in America, as Korosi shows that it is true in Buda-Pesth, that the span of life for the rich is 47, while that for the poor is but 32 years. And possibly they feel that the increasing complexity and consequent severer competition of modern life require that only the fittest shall be entered for the race. They recognize, subconsciously possibly, certainly not in definite terms, but they nevertheless recognize the force of the law enunciated by Mr. Spencer that "whatever conduces to the highest welfare of offspring must more and more establish itself, since children of inferior parents reared in inferior ways will ever be replaced by children of better parents reared in better ways." It follows, therefore, that the impulse, conscious or subconscious, of the American wives of today is to breed not more, but better children. They are Christians, with the consciousness of Christian duty toward their children, and, consequently, are far removed from the persuasive influence of the Koran, which offers paradise, just as some countries offer lands and money, to the father of 10 children, although I believe both the Mahommedan Church and the Christian governments resemble each other in their failure to bestow such bounties upon the mother who bears the brunt of the transaction. The American wives are, furthermore, members of a non-militant society, and consequently do not respond with enthusiasm to the call for children, however loud or however eloquent, when that call is based upon the sentiment embraced in the most brutal remark ever made by the First Napoleon, to the effect that the greatest woman in Fance was she who bore the greatest number of sons for the armies of France. Nor do they interpret the command to multiply and replenish the earth as an injunction to abandon themselves to an existence of unrestrained fecundity, particularly in view of the fact that the earth is already reasonably well replenished. They do, however, act upon the principle that by furnishing a less numerous but better-endowed, better-conditioned, better-equipped, in short a fitter progeny, they best furnish leaders

for a society that from its very nature is most in need of leadership. It is these considerations that force us to the conclusion that possibly the lessened birth-rate may work the salvation rather than the destruction of the distinctly American element in our population and of the distinctly Anglo-Saxon feature of our civilization.

THE DANGERS OF OVERPOPULATION.

It seems, indeed, to the careful student that the danger to the American family today and still more in the future lies in the direction of overpopulation rather than underpopulation. Our vast area, capable of sustaining a much larger population, makes it difficult to comprehend that the overpeopling of our land is destined to be a very practical, indeed, a very perplexing, problem in the not remote future. This becomes all the more difficult to comprehend when it is remembered that in 1890 the United Kingdom had 184, France 320, Belgium 530, and Italy 280, while the United States had only 20 people to the square mile. If, however, we turn from these figures to the rate of increase in the density of population we shall discover that for the 70 years from 1820 to 1890 it was, according to Mulhall, only about 25 per cent. in the United Kingdom and less than 100 per cent. in France, Belgium, and Italy, respectively, while it was over 650 per cent. for the same period in the United States. The rate of increase in this country has been vastly accelerated in the 15 years that have since elapsed. Take these in association with the additional facts that much of our great area cannot contribute to the sustentation of the people, and that our population, today over 80,000,000, has been doubling itself on an average of once in less than every 25 years since 1790, and that it will probably continue to do so in the future, and no vivid imagination, no prophetic vision, will be required to foresee the time not many generations hence when the family institution here will be subjected to the disintegrating socialistic influences that are today assailing it under pressure of overcrowding it in the countries of Europe. In the imminence of this contingency, which is no fancied one, a contingency which, while not menacing the race, does threaten society with calamitous disorganization—I say that, in the im-

minence of such changes, it becomes the duty of the medical profession, as the mentors of the people in all that concerns their well being, actively to foster those influences that will continue to make the family the unit and archetype of American society.

THE DUTY OF THE PHYSICIAN.

This duty on the part of the physician lies upon him at every point of contact not only with his clientele, but with society in general. Does an anxious mother consult him about the marriage of her daughter? The opportunity is at hand to teach the important lesson that while reproduction is by no means the sole object of marriage, no marriage is complete without it; that whatever other considerations may influence selection of a husband, his presumptive desirability as the father of prospective children should have a governing force in the final choice. These are, indeed, practical questions upon which the influence of the medical profession may well be sought. Does a young wife ask for a safe means to evade for a time the usual results of the marital relation? The occasion has arrived for a lesson in sexual hygiene by which the health of herself and of the offspring she may bear under more auspicious conditions may be properly conserved. Does another wife, more shameless, seek a means to destroy a conception already begun? The time has come not only to say "no" but to make the misguided woman conscious of the enormity of her offence Happily, following the advent of the more or less hygienic measures for the prevention of conception, there has been a progressive decline in the vicious and disastrous practice of abortion. This crime, tolerated in antiquity, was permitted by all pagan societies. Aristotle, indeed, went so far as to insist that it should be enforced by law when population had reached certain assigned limits. There was no law against it in Greece, none in Rome under the republic, nor indeed until the latter days of the empire. Christianity, however, at its very advent issued its mandates, clear and ringing, against the crime, and stringent legislation against it ensued in every Christian country. Against this practice yet all too prevalent, a practice which not only destroys the life of the

innocent unborn, but frequently that of the mother, generally destroying her health and her fecundity when she does survive it, the medical profession has always exerted, as it will always continue to exert, its beneficent influence. But such opportunities should be utilized by the conscientious physician as an opportunity to teach the potential mother how, in the event of conception, she may realize the best results for herself, her offspring, and society. She should be told how to care for herself physically before and during pregnancy, so that she may have a healthy child and how, by mental occupation and the cultivation of high ideals, she may supply her prospective offspring with formative corpuscles laden with the elements of useful character. She should be taught how to rear her offspring that it may be strong and healthy, able to bear its share of burdens in the great republic.

THE ENEMIES OF THE FAMILY.

But these instances are individual, and while the lessons taught may be all the more effective for that reason, there still remain many other questions upon which the physician should teach the community as a whole. Thus he ought, for instance, to recognize and, as occasion offers, teach that an enemy of the home is to be found in every influence that favors the early and wide dispersion of its members. The disintegration of religious ties, the development of residential schools, the rapid extension of far-reaching transportation facilities, the diversification of industries, the industrial employment of women, the formation of distinct industrial groups, the character of our political parties, the popularization of hotels and apartments for residential purposes, and, finally, the development of clubs for both men and women at the expense of the home are so many influences that are inimical to the American family, particularly in its broader and more comprehensive sense. Each of these topics could serve as the theme of a discourse. I only mention them that they may be taken into account as actual conditions, not all of them bad in their general effect, the majority of them being necessary incidents of evolving civilization, but still conditions the influence of which tend to disperse the family by diversifying and shattering the interests of its

members. Their tendency is to disintegrate the family ties, establishing first extreme individualism, with the re-establishment of the social relations under communistic conditions. The logical outcome of such reactionary tendencies was exemplified in the establishment of Oneida and similar communities that by their early and disastrous failure have acted as danger signals which I believe it is our duty, as occasion offers, to interpret for the protection of the family institution. It is not assumed that these various conditions, comprising, as they do, the dominant characteristics of our modern life, are to be changed, but something may be done to fortify the family against their encroachment.

THE SOCIAL EVIL.

There is, however, one other subject that appeals with greater force to the medical profession, if only for the reason that medical men, in their professional capacity, come daily in contact with its ravages. I allude to the social evil. My views on this question, and the views that I believe ought to be instilled by the medical profession into society, are expressed with great precision by Mr. Lecky, by whom "it is argued that, however persistently society may ignore this form of vice, it exists nevertheless, and on the most gigantic scale, and that evil rarely assumes such inveterate and perverting forms as when it is shrouded in obscurity and veiled by a hypocritical appearance of unconsciousness. The existence in England of certainly not less than 50,000 unhappy women, sunk in the very lowest depths of vice and misery, shows sufficiently what an appalling amount of moral evil is festering uncontrolled, undiscussed, and unalleviated under the fair surface of a decorous society. In the eyes of every physician, and, indeed, in the eyes of most continental writers who have averted to the subject, no other feature of English life appears so infamous as the fact that an epidemic, which is one of the most dreadful now existing among mankind, which communicates itself from the guilty husband to the innocent wife, and even transmits its taint to her offspring, and which the experience of other nations conclusively proves may be vastly diminished, should be suffered to rage unchecked because the legislature refuses to take

official cognizance of its existence or proper sanitary measures for its repression. If the terrible censure which English public opinion passes upon every instance of female frailty in some degree diminishes the number, it does not prevent such instances from being extremely numerous, and it immeasurably aggravates the suffering they prodnce. Acts which in other European countries would excite only a slight and transient emotion spread in England over a wide circle all the bitterness of unmitigated anguish: acts which naturally neither imply nor produce a total subversion of the moral feelings, and which in other countries are often followed by happy, virtuous, and affectionate lives, in England almost invariably lead to absolute ruin. Infanticide is greatly multiplied, and a vast proportion of those whose reputations and lives have been blasted by one momentary sin are hurled into the abyss of habitual prostitution—a condition which, owing to the sentence of public opinion and the neglect of legislators, is in no other country so hopelessly vicious or so irrevocable." None can gainsay that these eloquent words may be applied with equal severity to American conditions wherever and whenever they are controlled by maudlin sentimentality, that is too generally permitted to control the police policy of our states and municipalities.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN.

Physicians as students at short range of the social fabric unhesitatingly accept the dictum that the status of woman is the index of a civilization. This is shown throughout the ethnic scale from the procuring of wives by capture, then by purchase, through the intermediate stage in which American fortunes are traded for European titles, up to that exalted stage when the honest young American wooes and wins his neighbor's daughter and installs her in the home he has built for both within the shadow of the church and the schoolhouse. This is the type of home the purity of which is to be safeguarded by every sentiment and every material condition that can be thrown around it, just as in Rome at its height law and public opinion combined to make matrimonial purity the most absolute. In those times a Roman senator was censured for

indecency because he kissed his wife in public, a Roman mother was in disgrace who wilfully delegated the suckling of her young to another, and the courtesan class was regarded with such contempt that no member of it might ever touch the sacred altar of Juno, the goddess of marriage. It was only when Rome abandoned these standards that Rome fell. The same fact applies to Greece, whose glory departed when the wife was relegated to seclusion while the public women—the heterae—were given social recognition, when Phidias illustrated the Greek wife when he represented Aphrodite standing upon a tortoise, and when Thucydides said that the highest merit of a wife was never to be spoken of either for good or for evil. It was under these circumstances that many women who otherwise would have become wives chose rather to become courtesans, for of the women of Greece, save only Phocion's wife, it was the courtesans alone who figure in the annals of the country. We hear of Pericles and his Aspasia, of Socrates and his Diotoma, of Praxiteles and his Phryne, of Appeles and his Lois, of Epicurus and his Leontium, courtesans all, while their wives, married simply for breeding purposes, were relegated to the backroom of oblivion. It was in such an age and from such conditions that came the disintegration of the famous republic, just as the disintegration of Sparta had begun when the law decreed that old or infirm husbands should cede their young wives to younger men who could produce vigorous soldiers for the State. Tendencies equally disastrous in their disintegrating influnce upon the family are already threatening to develop in our great commonwealth. Women, the products and exemplars of vice and crime, are today exploited into heroines by the press and the stage until the contagion of their example becomes virulent and active throughout the body politic. The harlot of yesterday married to the millionaire of today is all too likely to be received into certain otherwise respectable homes on tomorrow; the man reeking with disease, the product of vice, is all too likely to be accepted as an eligible husband if only he is the possessor of the wherewithal to purchase the weeds of an early and highly conventional widowhood. Courtesan and paramour, without

reference to their moral degradation or the physical consequences of their vice, are admitted without let or hindrance to the marriage relation. Then, tiring of each other, or seeing others more to their fancy, they get an accommodating court to dissolve the union, if for no other reason, on the statutory grounds of incompatibility, after which, seeking out a convenient magistrate or a complacent preacher, proceed to contract new alliances through which further to propagate their pernicious influence.

THE MENANCE OF THE DIVORCE COURT.

I have already said that the fall of Rome came when she had abandoned her high ideals of domestic virtue. It came, in fact, in the period of which Tertullian wrote that divorce was the first fruit of marriage, in which Martial gives the record of a woman who had her tenth husband, in which Juvenal tells of a woman with eight husbands in five years, while St. Jerome, as if not to be outdone by the others, gives the authenticated case of a woman married to her twenty third husband, she being twenty-first wife. It was in such an age that public opinion tolerated Cicero when he repudiated his wife, Terentia because he desired a new dowry, and Augustus when he took Livia from her husband by whom she was already pregnant, and Cato when he gave his wife to Hortensius, taking her back after his death, and Maecenas and Paulus Aemelius, and Sempronius Sophus, who changed their wives at will. Would not the annals of our own divorce courts reveal some almost parallel examples? Certainly the opportunities for such records are ample. There were more than twice as many divorces in Cook county, Illinois, in 1901 than were granted in all Belgium, while those in a half-dozen American cities exceed those granted in the whole of France for the same period. In Chicago there were 1808 granted in a single twelvemonth, being one to about every eight of marriages. In Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and Omaha the proportion was even higher, while in San Francisco there was one divorce for a little over every four marriages. In these figures and in the tendencies which they imply we discover what is probably the most for-

midable enemy of the American family, tendencies to combat which the medical profession should join hands with such representatives of the Church as are not too deeply interested in the pecuniary rewards of remarriages. There are many other influences in our social life that are antagonistic not only to the family, but remotely to the primacy of our race, but I cannot pause to discuss them in the time allotted for this address.

CONTRASTING IDEALS.

I ask, by the way of *résumé*, that you consider a few contrasting types of families as we find them represented in modern society—types that bear upon the question of reproduction and indirectly upon the maintenance of the family institution itself. The first picture is drawn by Gustav Frenssen, who opens his deservedly famous novel, "Jorn Uhl," with a portraiture of the unfortunate home spirit of German life—a portraiture so vivid, so faithful that certain of the great novelist's compatriots, while crowning his great novel as an epic, have reproached him for his merciless realism. The picture is, indeed, far from a pleasing one, portraying, as it does, a woman, delicate in mold, tender in sensibilities, the wife of a hardy and brusque farmer, who married her for mere breeding purposes, and to whom she has already born four children as the fruits of his insistent passion. She is seen in the midst of her fifth childbirth, in earshot of the thoughtless jeers of her elder offspring and the coarse and equally thoughtless revelry of her husband, who, wedded to his selfish pleasures, turns a deaf ear to her pleadings, until, to the consternation of all, her voice is stilled in death. There is even more to be seen in the background and the atmosphere with which the artist has deftly surrounded the tragic action. We see a state of society in which a wife is held as the mere breeder of children, in which fecundity knows none but natural limitations, and in which children, each at birth being another horse in the stable with which to divide the oats, are tolerated chiefly for the burdens they may ultimately lift from parental shoulders.

The next sketch represents a large Slavic settlement in Kansas, in which the village life of Russia is evidently as well exemplified as upon the far-away steppes. I clip the item as I found it in a newspaper a few days ago:

"In driving through Ellis county," says the correspondent, "one is not led to believe the people are prosperous from what one sees in the way of farm buildings. The houses are small, mere shacks. These dwellings, so unsightly from without, are also unattractive within—bare walls, bare floors, the cheapest of furniture. The housekeeper is in harmony with the surroundings. The wife has never known anything but the plainest living and hardest toil both in house and field. Every man, woman, and child old enough to drive a team toils in the field."

This, the correspondent further assures us, is probably the most fecund county in the United States, and one nidus from which we may reasonably expect the development of a peasant class, so long, happily, a stranger to our institutions.

The third sketch is that of the average American home, in which the wife is not only the companion of her husband, but the mother of such children as they feel they can properly support, educate, and place favorably in life. In such a home there is toil enough but it has its limit in the demands of the family circle for social enjoyment and at least elementary culture. The school, the newspaper, the magazine, the theater and the Church, each contributes its mite to the civilization that is rocked in the cradle of such a home. Here, under sanitary conditions, new lives develop with the best prospect of ample years in which successfully to meet the more complex competition, the fiercer conflict for existence, that awaits them in the future. It is these homes, in such families, to the preservation of which I invoke your assistance.

THE OUTLOOK.

But I do not mean to imply by all that I have said that the outlook is in the least dismal. So far as the race is concerned we have every reason to look forward to the re-establishment of the Aryan family on American soil as the most important

eventuation in the history of peoples, one already frightened with the largest fruition in the annals of mankind. Our civilization, Anglo-Saxon in genesis and character, the civilization that has brought into the world the largest share of human happiness by vouchsafing to mankind the largest share of human liberty, is already so well established that its reputation along present lines is already assured. We see in a declining birth-rate only a natural and evolutional adjustment of race to environment—an adjustment that insures rather than menaces the perpetuation of our kind under favoring condition. We see the family surviving and flourishing under more favoring conditions than were probably ever enjoyed by preceding generations and peoples, although menaced by influences which, if not corrected, threaten seriously to disturb the social order, through which the greatest progress and the greatest happiness have been achieved. The corrective tendencies are already operative, and consist, at least in part, in the more general diffusion of intelligence, in the development of industrialism, in the development of voluntary co-operation as opposed to involuntary co-operation, in the improving status of children, and in the fullest advancement of women within normal limitations. In lending aid to the operation of these forces we shall, I believe, be doing a good part in fostering that cornerstone of our society, the American family.

Ohio Medical College, Cincinnati.

ARTICLE VI.

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN LUTHERANS AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

By Rev. F. G. Gotwald, D.D.

It must be kept in mind that the first German settlers in Pennsylvania were not Lutherans. Hence an investigation into our subject will find very little material during the first half century of German settlement in Pennsylvania. And even during the second fifty years materials are meagre and educational efforts are not extensive. The first full college established by the Lutherans in this country was not established until 1832, and these preliminary remarks are made so as to explain, in a general way, this educational inactivity for the first century of any considerable Lutheran population in Pennsylvania. We find that as a further explanation of this record of a century, several important facts should be kept in mind:

1. There was, first of all, the severe poverty of the Lutheran immigrants who first came. Many of them were "Redemptioners." There was, then, the great disadvantage of being badly scattered in location, and occupied by the strenuous efforts of the pioneers. In addition, there was the disadvantage of the foreign language, making it doubly difficult to conduct any educational work.

2. There were the distractions of the French and Indian War and of the Revolution, so that the first century was well occupied with acquiring homes, organizing Churches and elementary schools, acquiring another language, extending and protecting the frontiers of the white man's settlements, supporting and conducting the Revolutionary struggle for the establishment of a permanent government, and in doing all of those other necessary things which are the slow and costly steps in the process of effecting a great racial movement.

3. Another consideration is to be found in the fact that, for the greater part of this time, the pastors and parochial teachers

were largely furnished and qualified by the friends who remained in the Fatherland. Hence the immediate necessity of developing spiritual and intellectual leaders did not compel them to develop their educational system at this early period. Besides, the colleges of other settlers, who had the advantage of a much longer residence in the new country, were being established, and afforded opportunities for the particularly ambitious children of the German settlers.

But notwithstanding all of these considerations, it cannot but be felt that the Lutheran Church suffered much from this long-delayed forward step in the establishment of secondary schools and colleges on the part of the fathers. Undoubtedly great opportunities and advantages were lost and have never been recovered. Undoubtedly much strength was dissipated through lack of leadership and organization, which has never been regained. Yet we should not criticise the good fathers unjustly. Hence it might be in order to mention a few of the efforts toward educational advancement which were made especially during the latter part of the 18th century.

When, in 1743, Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg entered upon his pastoral work in Philadelphia, Providence and New Hanover, he at once founded parochial schools, teaching both German and English. As to the condition of the people at this time, he says: "I requested the congregation to send me here the older children, as I intend to go about among the three congregations, remaining in each successively one week. It does not look very promising to see youths seventeen, eighteen, nineteen and twenty years of age appear with the A. B. C. book, yet I rejoice in seeing the desire to learn something. Singing has also totally died out among the young people." And so throughout his wonderful career as patriarch, organizer, and spiritual leader in the Lutheran Church of the 18th century in this country, this great man always combined the educational with the spiritual, and always emphasized the importance of the school as well as of the Church.

In 1754 he very heartily encouraged the efforts of the English "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge" in estab-

lishing their schools throughout Pennsylvania. In this work Lutherans and Reformed united, and thus the so-called "charity schools" were established in 1755 at Providence, New Hanover, Vincent, Reading, Tulpehocken, Lancaster, York and other places. Rev. Michael Schlatter was appointed the inspector at a salary of 100£ sterling. The intention of these schools was "to instruct the youth in the English language and the common principles of the Christian religion and morality. The schoolmasters must understand both languages, German and English, and the proper persons must be found in the province." Although many of the German population did not take kindly to these charity schools, they were heartily endorsed and supported by Muhlenberg and other Lutheran leaders. But we hear no more of these schools after 1763.

Muhlenberg also had in mind, for a long time (1750–1760), the establishment of an orphanage and place for the preparation of young men for the ministerial office. Speaking, later (1775), of the desirability of a practical training school for Catechists and ministers in South Carolina, he used these words: "Oh, what an advantage and consolation an Institute would be, where Catechists could be prepared and made willing during week days to keep school, and on Sundays and Church festivals to deliver suitable sermons! There would be no need to trouble these young men four years to study foreign languages. It would be quite sufficient if they were gifted with an average amount of good common sense, had a compendious knowledge of the essentials of theology, in addition to personal experience of the saving truth, if they could make a decent use of the pen, had command of their mother-tongue and the English; were also, to some extent, masters of the rudiments of Latin; of robust bodily frame, able to endure all sorts of victuals and weather; and, above all, if they were endowed with hearts sincerely loving the Savior, His lambs and sheep." These were his ideals, and to realize them were his constant efforts. Similar efforts were made by the Lutheran settlers in western Pennsylvania. The first school house in that part of the State was built by them in Westmoreland county in 1770,

where Balthasar Myer conducted his primitive school. Another such teacher was Johannes Stauch in Western Virginia.

Muhlenberg's plans were continued by the learned Dr. J. C. Kunze. "The plan of the latter was very comprehensive, as he laid the foundation of what *was to have been* a Lutheran College in Philadelphia, and which was in existence from 1773 to 1778. It was followed by the establishment of a German Department in the University of Pennsylvania, under Dr. Kunze from 1780 to 1784, and, after his removal to New York, under Dr. Helmuth. One of the inducements that called Dr. Kunze to New York was the prospect of a similar department in Columbia College, which would also comprehend a Professorship of Theology that he was to fill." The year in which Dr. Kunze went to New York, Revs. J. N. Kurtz, President, C. E. Schultze, Secretary, and H. E. Muhlenberg, a member, were elected from the Ministerium as trustees of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. At this time (1784) an effort was made by the Board of Trustees to secure the coöperation and contributions of the Ministerium, but it failed of result.

The next active step toward the foundation of a college was that taken by the Lutherans and Reformed in the organization of Franklin College at Lancaster. The Act of Incorporation of 1787 provided that the Board of Trustees should consist of 14 Lutherans, 14 Reformed, and 14 from other churches.

Among the first Lutheran Trustees were Drs. Helmuth and H. E. Muhlenberg, Revs. Kurtz, Schultze, Van Buskirk, Herbst, Melsheimer, and Gen. Peter Muhlenberg. The President was to be chosen alternately from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. The purpose of the Institution was stated "to promote accurate knowledge of the German and English languages—also the learned languages—of Mathematics, Moral and Natural History, Divinity, and also such branches of literature as will tend to make men good and useful citizens."

The first President was Dr. Henry Ernst Muhlenberg. His inaugural, June 6, 1787, most forcibly shows the value of Christian ideals in education. His text was, "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and he asserted that

religious instruction was to be the main object to be kept in view in all of the instructions. Another distinguished Lutheran in the faculty was Rev. F. V. Melsheimer, sometimes called the Father of American Entomology, who had the Department of "Greek, Latin and German." There were 112 students in the English Department alone during the first year. Unfortunately the financial management was such that we find that it soon degenerated into little more than a local Academy, until, in 1850, funds accruing from the sale of lands (10,000 acres) in Western Pennsylvania, which had been given by the State, put the Institution upon a stronger financial basis. The share of the Lutherans (over $17,000) was now transferred to found the Franklin Professorship in the Lutheran College at Gettysburg. The Lutheran Trustees of Franklin were also now transferred to the Board at Gettysburg, increasing the number to 36. This Franklin chair was filled from 1850 to 1883 by nominees of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the body which had had part in the organization of Franklin College (named for Benjamin Franklin) in 1787.

One of the founders of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania (1748) was Rev. John Christopher Hartwig, who landed at Philadelphia in 1747, and at once became associated with Muhlenberg. Although Hartwig's pastoral labors were largely in New York State, along the Hudson, yet he always retained his connection with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and his close relations with Muhlenberg and the other leaders of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania. Our interest in this remarkable character is due to the fact that, through his will, he bequeathed a large tract of land, consisting of 21,000 acres, Otsego County, New York, with which to found an Institution for educating pastors and missionaries to the Indians. He died July 16, 1796, and named Drs. Kunze and Helmuth as Directors of the proposed Institution. Dr. Helmuth declining to serve, Dr. Kunze arranged for the opening of the Seminary in 1797. Thus was founded *the first distinctively Lutheran educational Institution in this country*. It consisted of the academic, classical and theological courses. The location was finally fixed

in 1812 when the buildings were begun. In 1815 Dr. E. L. Hazelius (from Pennsylvania) became Principal and Professor in Theology, with John A. Quitman, afterwards Governor of Mississippi, as his assistant. Dr. Kunze prepared an elaborate plan which he sent to Halle for consideration, and which he also laid before President Washington. But, unfortunately, these large plans for Hartwick Seminary were never realized. Much of the valuable land was lost through mismanagement, and the Institution today has the limited amount of only $60,000 of productive endowment. Of this sum the Hartwig bequest amounted to $20,000. Its property is also worth $50,000. It now maintains an academic course and a theological course. The teachers in this historic Institution have been almost invariably of German Blood. Among such names we would mention Hazelius, Miller, Strobel, Hiller, Sternberg, Kistler, Pitcher and Traver.

During this period much private instruction and preparation for the ministry was given by many of the older and abler pastors. Drs. Helmuth, Schmidt, Geissenhainer, Sr., H. E. Muhlenberg, Endress, Goering, Lochman and J. G. Schmucker were eminent as private theological instructors. The Ministerium frequently designated pastors who were to be regarded as official theological preceptors. A little later, Drs. D. F. Schaeffer, of Frederick, Md., and S. S. Schmucker, of New Market, Va., also appeared.

This brings us to the first decades of the 19th century. At this time, the young people of the Lutheran Church were in attendance at the denominational and other colleges which had already come into existence. Columbia College, New York; the University of Pennsylvania; Dickinson College, Carlisle; Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, and other Institutions now had students and graduates in the Lutheran Churches and in her ministry. The Presbyterian Theological Seminary was established in 1812 at Princeton, N. J., and soon had Lutheran candidates among its students, The most distinguished of these was S. S. Schmucker, who was graduated in 1820. As before stated, he at once, in his first charge at New Market, Va., be-

came a precepter for a number of candidates for the ministry. In 1822, he prepared the *Formula for the Government and Discipline of the Lutheran Church* for the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, which Formula was afterward adopted by the General Synod, and determined the organization and administration of its congregations and Synods, and indirectly had a far-reaching effect upon the Lutheran educational and missionary propaganda in this country.

At this time the movement toward organization and concentration of the Lutheran interests in this country was being considered. In 1818 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania resolved that "In its judgment, it would be well if the different Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States were to enter, in some way or other, in true union with one another," and appointed its officers to correspond with the other two Synods (New York and North Carolina) on the subject. In 1819, a preliminary plan to this end was adopted by the Ministerium at Baltimore by a vote of 40 to 8. The convention to adopt a constitntion was then held at Hagerstown, Maryland, October 22, 1820. At this meeting, there were four Synods represented, with 11 clerical and 4 lay delegates, 8 from Pennsylvania and 7 from other Synods. The Constitution then adopted was later adopted by the Ministerium by an overwhelming vote of 67 to 6.

The thoroughly German character of this historic Convention in 1820 clearly appears from the names of those who composed it. From the Synod of Pennsylvania came Drs. Lochman (Geo.), Geissenhainer, Endress, Schmucker (J. G.) and Muhlenberg (H. A.), and Messrs. Christian Kunkel, William Hentzel and Peter Strickler. From the Synod of New York, Drs. Mayer and Schaeffer (F. C.), and from the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, Drs. Kurtz (J. D.), Schaeffer (D. F.) and Mr. G. Schryock.

All of this is recited because of its incalculable influence on the later educational developments among the Lutherans in this country. For one of the first acts of the newly organized body was to found a Theological institution, when, at its third

session, in 1825, it resolved "to forthwith commence in the name of the Triune God, and in humble dependence on His aid, the establishment of a Theological Seminary. In this Seminary shall be taught, in the English and German languages, the fundamental doctrines of the Sacred Scriptures, as contained in the Augsburg Confession." Rev. S. S. Schmucker was made its first Professor, and continued in this position until 1864. Throughout his career, he was a most prominent leader in educational matters, both as a teacher, author, and organizer both in his own Church and throughout the entire country. The Professors in this seminary have been almost invariably Pennsylvania Germans, among whom have been Schmucker (S. S.), Hazelius, Schmidt (H. I.), Hay (C. A.), Krauth (C. P.), Schaeffer (C. F.), Valentine, Morris, Baugher (H. L.), Stork, Wolf, Richard, Billheimer, Singmaster, Kuhlman and Coover. This Theological Seminary now has assets of over $400,000, and has graduated over 1,000 ministers and missionaries. Its chief benefactor has been Mr. Henry Singmaster, a Pennsylvania German.

The Institution at once developed the need of a collegiate institution for the proper preparation of candidates for the ministry. The Seminary had been located at Gettysburg on account of its then accessibility and because of a bonus ($7,000) given by that town (in competition with Hagerstown and Carlisle), and thus the first Lutheran College was organized in the same place. Perhaps it should be stated in explanation of the fact that both of these Institutions were located west of the Susquehanna, and thus west of the Lutheran stronghold, at that time, in this country, that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had withdrawn from the General Synod in 1823, and thus had no part in the locating of these institutions. Otherwise, it is probable that this collegiate and theological center would have been located in some Lutheran community east of Susquehanna.

We now come to the real beginnings of the first Lutheran College in this country, launched by Pennsylvania Germans. The Seminary having been started in 1826, it was soon found

that a large number of the students were deficient in preparation. "Accordingly, one of the first class, David Jacobs, a graduate of Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pa., was asked to open a Gymnasium or Academy. This he did with 2 pupils, June 25, 1827. But before the teacher who had begun the work could participate in the realization of a College, he had fallen, in November, 1830, at the age of 25, a sacrifice to his zeal and devotion to the cause." His brother, Michael Jacobs, D.D., was a beloved and scholarly teacher in the Gymnasium and College from 1829 to 1871. The beginning of the College was certainly a day of small things. This so-called Academy was opened, as we have stated, June 25, 1827. The building had been previously erected for a local school by means of an appropriation of $2,000 made by the Legislature. In 1829, a Scientific Department was added. The course of study in the "Gettysburg Academy" was arranged for 5 years, beginning with the study of the Latin and Greek languages, its 3 years course being about parallel with the Freshman year of the College course. In September, 1829, the building which they had been using was sold by the Sheriff and purchased, in trust, by Professor Schmucker and others for educational purposes; they agreeing with the citizens to form "an association for the establishment of a classic and scientific department in subservience to the objects of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, and for the purchase of the Adams County Academy." Thus the Institution was bought and placed under the care of the stockholders of this association. The original stock consisted of $1,100 at $50 per share. The stockholders were all Lutheran clergymen, and their names should be cherished as the founders of what proved to be *the first Lutheran College in America*: S. S. Schmucker, John Herbst, H. G. Stecher, J. G. Schmucker, C. F. Heyer, John Ruthrauff, Jacob Crigler, Emanuel Keller, Jacob Martin, J. W. Heim, Benjamin Kurtz, David F. Schaeffer, John G. Morris, Abraham Reck, Dr. Fr. Schaeffer, Michael Meyerhoeffer, Jacob Medtart, Lewis Eichelberger, C. Philip Krauth, W. G. Ernst, Daniel Gotwald and Charles F. Schaeffer.

Rev. David Jacobs having died in 1830, Rev. H. L. Baugher, a graduate of Dickinson College, which had been established in 1783, took charge in April, 1831. In the fall of 1831, under the leadership of Professor Schmucker of the Seminary, a meeting of prominent citizens was held to consider the question of the enlargement of the Gymnasium into a College. Plans were approved, and a committee appointed to visit Harrisburg and secure a charter for the new institution. Professor Schmucker spent several weeks at Harrisburg in making plans for the measure, and delivered an address before the Legislature on "The Eminent Character and Services of the Germans in Pennsylvania, and their Claims for Recognition by the Legislature." The charter was granted, April 7, 1832, and signed by a Pennsylvania German Governor, Wolf. It was compiled by Professor Schmucker from similar charters, and was written by him in the side room of the Senate. The charter specified that there *must always* be a German Professorship, an unusual provision for that day. Arrangements were now made for the organization of the College, July 4, 1832. Trustees were elected and the following faculty chosen: Rev. M. Jacobs was made Professor of Mathematics and Physical Sciences; Rev. H. L. Baugher, of Greek language and Belles Lettres. Professors Schmucker and Hazelius consented temporarily and gratuitously to assist in other branches, and Rev. J. A. Marsden was made Professor of Mineralogy and Botany. The usual college course of 4 years was adopted, with a preparatory course of 3 years. The College was opened, November 7, 1832. Dr. Hazelius retained his position for only one year, and then removed to South Carolina, and was succeeded, both in the Seminary and College, by Rev. C. P. Krauth.

At once the young Institution felt the great need of increased income. The increased number of students required new buildings, and a larger faculty. Hence Professor Schmucker, who was practically Acting-President at this time, again went to Harrisburg and vigorously urged the claims of this Lutheran College before the Legislature. Dickinson (1783), Washington (1806), Jefferson (1802), Allegheny

(1806), and Lafayette 1832, were also urging similar claims. Thus the contest was most spirited. By the aid of many friends, and particularly of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens (representing Adams County), an appropriation of $3,000 a year for 6 years was granted, to begin June, 1834. At a later period (1838–45), the State gave $1,000 per year for 6 1-2 years. Mr. Stevens was a Trustee of the College from 1834 until his death in 1868. With the financial encouragement thus afforded, it was determined to enlarge the faculty and to elect a President. Professor C. P. Krauth was then chosen first President of Pennsylvania College at the Spring meeting of the trustees in 1834. He was President until 1850. Professor H. L. Baugher, Sr., D.D., was President from 1850 to 1868; Professor M. Valentine, D.D. from 1868 to 1884; Rev. H. W. McKnight, D.D., from 1884 to 1904, and Professor S. G. Hefelbower, D.D., has been President since 1904. Among its most distinguished professors have been Drs. H. I. Schmidt, later for 33 years professor at Columbia University, Gen. Herman Haupt, the distinguished engineer, Drs. F. A. Muhlenberg, and S. P. Sadtler, later professors in the University of Pennsylvania

During these 75 years of the history of Pennsylvania College, the Institution has acquired a property valued at $250,000, a Library of 30,000 volumes, and an endowment of $250,000. Its Funds have come from such Germans as Bittinger, Morris, Graeff, Ockershausen, Strong, and the Franklin and German Professorships (by the Pennsylvania Ministerium). Its Board of Directors is almost entirely composed of men of German ancestry. The attendance has been steadily growing until this year it has reached a total of 230 in the four college classes and 75 in the preparatory department. During these 75 years, 1300 have been graduated, and over 4000 have attended. In June of 1907, the 75th anniversary of this College, a monument to Pennsylvania Germans, was celebrated, at which time measures were inaugurated looking to the increased efficiency of the institution.

Ten years after Pennsylvania College was founded at Gettys-

burg, it was resolved by the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio "to ordain and estabilsh a Literary and Theological Institution" in Ohio. This Institution was incorporated, March 11, 1845, and was located at Springfield, Clark County, in Southwestern Ohio. The incorporators, as the names will show, were largely Pennsylvania Germans now settled in Ohio. They were John Hamilton, W. G. Keil, David Tullis, John B. Reck, John H. Hoffman, Jacob Roller, Elias Smith, P. N. O'Bannon, Solomon Ritz, George Leiter, John N. Kurtz, Philip Binkley, David Rosenmiller, Frederick Gebhart, Peter Baker and George Sill. It has been conducted ever since by the five District Synods of the Lutheran Church, covering the States of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Michigan and most of its Trustees are of German stock. Its Presidents have *all* been of Pennsylvania German stock: namely, Ezra Keller, 1845-1849; Samuel Sprecher, 1849-1874; J. B. Helwig, 1874-1882; S. A. Ort, 1882-1900; J. M. Ruthrauff, 1900-1902; and C. G. Heckert, since 1902. Other Pennsylvania Germans who have been connected with the Institution as professors were: H. R. Geiger, Michael Diehl, F. W. Conrad, Isaac Sprecher, C. L. Ehrenfeld, S. F. Breckenridge, Edgar F. Smith, L. A. Gotwald, D. H. Bauslin and V. G. A. Tressler. During these 62 years, this Institution has accumulated property valued at over $200,000, and a productive Endowment over $300,000. The chief gifts for Endowment have come from such Germans as the names Weikert, Gebhart, Harter, Stroud and Hamma would indicate. Over 700 have been graduated from the College, and over 300 from the Theological Department. The attendance last year in all Departments was 386.

The next Lutheran educational undertaking was the founding of Capital University in Columbus, Ohio, in 1850. The Theological Seminary of the Ohio Synod had been in existence since 1830, and, as at Gettysburg, so here a Collegiate Department became a later necessity. During the Professorship of Dr. Shaeffer in 1843, delegates had been sent to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to secure its coöperation. Professors Lehmann, Reynolds (graduate of Jefferson College), Spielman,

Greenwald and Loy have been distinguished Pennsylvania Germans in the history of this important educational work at Columbus. This has had a dominant influence in the so-called Joint Synod of Ohio. This body has had a remarkably prosperous history, and is now considering union with the German Iowa Synod. In such an event, the Institution at Columbus would have a largely augmented power in the American Church, as the general body would then embrace over 200,000 communicants.

"Missionary Institute" was next founded at Selinsgrove, Snyder County, Pa., in 1858. It was founded largely through the efforts of Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, D.D. (grandson of Rev. J. N. Kurtz) with the special object of educating for the ministry men advanced in life. There were also theological differences with the teaching at Gettysburg which influenced Dr. Kurtz to organize the new school. Here a Preparatory Department and a complete collegiate course have been provided. A very useful work has been done, many valuable workers having been furnished to both Church and State. Over 200 have been sent forth into the ministry from this school. Among the leading German names associated with this educational work in the midst of Pennsylvania are those of Kurtz, Ziegler, Born, Dimm, Focht, Yutzy, Manhart and Aikens. Last year they had an attendance in all Departments of 224. It is governed by a Board of Directors, the great majority of whom are of Pennsylvania German stock. It has an Endowment and property worth at least $200,000. It is now being conducted under the name of Susquehanna University.

In 1864 leaders of the Pennsylvania Ministerium brought about the organization of a new Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, with three Professors—Drs. C. F. Schaeffer, W. J. Mann and C. P. Krauth. Thus, 100 years after it had been first proposed, the project of Muhlenberg was at last realized. In the past 43 years this Seminary has accumulated an endowment of $200,000, and a superb property at Mt. Airy. The new stone Library will cost $100,000. Over 600 graduates have entered the Lutheran ministry. In

1866 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (which had re entered the General Synod in 1853) dissolved its connection with the General Synod. It would not be in place here to recite the many causes which had led up to this dissolution.

At all events, further coöperation in Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg ceased, and the Ministerium founded a College, named after the great Patriarch, Muhlenberg College, in 1867, at Allentown, Pa., with Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg as its first President. This, therefore, was the next important educational effort on the part of Pennsylvania Germans in the very heart of the historical Pennyslvania German territory. Muhlenberg College has now had a history of 40 years, and has had a distinguished line of educators as its Presidents in Drs. Muhlenberg, Sadtler, Seip and Haas. A magnificent new plant on the outskirts of Allentown has been recently erected. Its trustees are elected by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and, as might be expected, are entirely of German stock. The President of the Board of Directors is the Hon. G. A. Endlich, and the President of the College is Rev. J. A. W. Haas, D.D. During the current year, 1907, the total attendance in the College and Preparatory Department was 191. There have been 645 graduates, most of whom have entered the ministry.

In 1870 Carthage College, Carthage, Ill., was founded by General Synod Lutherans in that State. There had been a Western College established first at Hillsboro, and later, 1852, at Springfield, Ill. There were graduates from 1854 to 1865. The leading names in connection with this work were Drs. Springer, Harkey, Reynolds and Croll—all Pennsylvanians. Unfortunately this enterprise did not succeed, but it was the forerunner of another which has succeeded. In 1870, as stated, Carthage College, at Carthage, Ill., was organized by special commissioners of the Evangelical Lutheran Synods of Illinois and Iowa. Its first President was a Pennsylvania German, Dr. D. L. Tressler. The first class was graduated in 1875. Other Pennsylvania Germans have been its Presidents, namely, Drs. Kunkelman, Dysinger, Ruthrauff and Sigmund, the present incumbent. The present value of its campus, buildings and

furnishings is at least $60,000, and the active Endowment is $50,000. It has an offer, now, of gifts amounting to $120,000, if $100,000 be raised by the Church within the next year; in which event the productive endowment would be over $250,000, and would make the Institution comparatively self-supporting. Its chief benefactor has been a German, Mr. Henry Denhart, of Washington, Ill. Carthage College has no Theological Department, but last year, in its College and special Departments, it enrolled 251. Over 250 have been graduated and over 5,000 enrolled.

During this same period, the Pennsylvania German Lutherans had been active in the Western part of their State in educational efforts. In 1866 an Academy was established through the generosity of a Pennsylvsnia German, namely, A. Louis Thiel, in Philipsburg, Beaver County, Pa. Its first Principal was Rev. E. F. Giese. In 1868 he was succeeded by Professor Henry Eyster Jacobs, who, for the past 40 years, has been a most influential teacher in the English Lutheran Church in this country. In 1870 he was succeeded by Rev. H. W. Roth. At this time, through a handsome bequest of Mr. Thiel ($80,000), the Institution was enabled to be enlarged into a College, and removed to Greenville, Mercer county. During its entire history Thiel College has been under great obligations to Rev. W. A. Passavant, D.D., whose work for education and other philanthropies in the 19th century will give him rank with the other great organizer, Henry M. Muhlenberg, in the 18th century. Thiel College has been an important agency in the General Council division of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, and has furnished many candidates for the ministry. For the past three years, on account of litigation, it has been closed, but will reopen next fall at its old location to continue its important services. Its assets are $150,000. Over 1,000 students have been enrolled.

At this point we should probably allude to the very considerable educational work of Pennsylvania Germans in the South. Roanoke College, Salem, Va., founded in 1853, is a "monument to the earnestness and untiring zeal of its first

President, Dr. D. F. Bittle. North Carolina College at Mt. Pleasant, N. Carolina, under the Presidency of his brother, Dr. D. H. Bittle, had made a promising beginning in 1858, when it was overtaken by the calamities of the Civil War."

Newberry College was incorporated in 1856. Its property was occupied by the Confederate Government, and rendered unfit for future use as a College. The Theological Seminary was also closed, to be reopened in 1892 with Dr. A. G. Voigt as Dean. Both Roanoke, Rev. Dr. J. A. Morehead, President, and Newberry, Rev. Dr. J. A. Scherer, President, have, during the past year, enjoyed the greatest prosperity of their history. The former enrolled 218 students and the latter 212. They both have finely equipped plants, most of the buildings being thoroughly modern. The former has assets of $200,000; the latter $125,000 with more in sight.

Among the distinguished Pennsylvania German teachers who have served in these institutions should be mentioned Drs. Hazelius, Stork (T.), Smeltzer, Eichelberger, Baughman, Stork (C. A.), Dosh, Dreher, Scherer and Voigt. Roanoke College was the only one of the Southern schools to remain open during the Civil War.

The General Synod of the Lutheran Church, of whose founding by Pennsylvania Germans in 1820 we have spoken, has always continued to be, predominantly, a Pennsylvania German body—three-fifths of its membership being yet found in Pennsylvauia and Maryland. Hence the action of this body at Harrisburg in 1885 in founding a "Board of Education" "to render financial aid to educational institutions, and do such other things pertaining to and best calculated to promote the best interests of the Church," can properly be included in this account. The Board appointed in 1885 consisted of Revs. M. Rhodes, L. M. Heilman, T. F. Dornblaser, J. S. Detweiler, J. H. Culler, Messrs. Aug. Kountze, G. H. Maish and Robert Weidensall. It will be noticed that all are German and nearly all are Pennsylvania Germans.

During the past 22 years this Board has disbursed almost $250,000 in carrying out its designs

In 1887, it founded Midland College at Atchison, Kansas. This Institution does a most efficient work in that section of the country, having graduated 100 from the college course and over 200 from the academy and other departments. In these 20 years, over 1,000 young people have received educational training at this Institution. It has accumulated property, including endowment and buildings, amounting to $115,000. The principal gifts of endowment have come from Rev. George D. Gotwald and Rev. Henry Heigard. Its two Presidents have been Drs. J. A. Clutz and M. F. Troxell, both Pennsylvania Germans.

Another of the important enterprises of the Sainted Dr. W. A. Passavant was the Chicago Theological Seminary, founded in 1891. It is in connection with District Synods of the General Council. It has prepared for the ministry over 200, and has greatly aided hundreds of others through post-graduate and correspondence courses. It has acquired a very valuable property, worth at least $175,000 *and all within 15 years.* Rev. R. F. Weidner, D.D., has been its one President, and to him is largely due the remarkable career of this Western work. Dr. Weidner and the other three members of the faculty, Drs. Krauss, Gerberding and Ramsey, are all Pennsylvania Germans.

Another educational institutfon of a theological character is the Western Seminary of the General Synod, founded in 1895 by the Board of Education, and located at Atchison, Kansas. It includes a German Department, which is doing for the scattered Germans of the Middle West a work very similar to that of the pioneers throughout Pennsylvania 100 years ago. In its twelve years of history, the Western Seminary has graduated 62, and has given a partial course to fully as many more. The President, Dr. F. D. Altman, and the other English Professor, Dr. Dysinger, are both of Pennsylvania German Stock. The two Professors of the German Department came from Germany direct without any admixture of Pennsylvania German blood. Funds for Endowment and Scholarships amounting to $20,000 have been accumulated.

Before closing, we should also allude to the educational work

in connection with Foreign Missions done by Pennsylvania Germans in the Lutheran Church. The foreign work of the Lutheran Church in this country was begun in India by Rev. C. F. Heyer, who was sent out by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1841. There is now being conducted under this Mission, at Guntur, the magnificent Watts Memorial College, which last year enrolled 985 students, and which is presided over by a Pennsylvania German, Dr. L. B. Wolf. The India Mission work of the General Council at Rajahmundry is being conducted by Dr. J. H. Harpster, also of Pennsylvania.

Another important enterprise of a distinctly educational character is the Deaconess work. This was introduced in this country by Dr. Passavant in 1849, and has since then spread not only throughout the Lutheran Church but into many other denominations. By far the largest and most valuable Deaconess training plant in this country is the one at Philadelphia, given by the noble Pennsylvania German, John D. Lankenau, erected at a cost of half a million dollars, supported during his lifetime by its liberal founder, and sustained since his death by funds which he bequeathed. The deaconess work within the General Synod has been carried on, largely, also through the efforts of Pennsylvania Germans, among whom should be mentioned Drs. F. P. Manhart, Charles E. Hay and W. S. Freas. The Mother-House and Training School of the General Synod is located in Baltimore, and has property worth $50,000. Other Deaconess institutions, founded by Dr. Passavant, were estab- at Milwaukee, Chicago and Jacksonville, Ill.

ARTICLE VII.

THE DOCTRINE OF SIN.

By Rev. W. L. Rutherford, A.M.

It is not our purpose to present a critical, theological thesis on the doctrine of sin, but it shall be our pleasure rather to take a more practical view with that scope and fulness possible under the laws of brevity. Dr. Sprecher in his treatise of the II. Art. of the Augsburg Confession declares the subject to be "the most important and difficult within the whole range of theological thought." We may not be theologically profound, therefore, but we trust we may be at least biblically clear in the discussion that shall follow.

I. THE ORIGIN OR SOURCE OF SIN.

The origin of sin as it relates to man is of a two-fold nature —external and internal. We have not only the evil forces from without, bent and determined on the ruination of the human soul, but there is a yielding within the soul, a surrender in the conflict that constitutes the sin and entails the ruin. If we will allow our thoughts to peer out beyond our Edenic history, as we turn on the search-light of the Scriptures, we have revealed the primal event in the fall of the angels which must stand as the origin and source of all evil. Although we are compelled to acknowledge the time and circumstances relative to the fall of the angels as a deep mystery, and the so called "insoluble problem," yet their fall as an incontrovertible fact, and the source of sin and evil seem perfectly consonant and co-existent. How the angels in their high and holy estate should willingly choose to leave their exalted plane of holiness and assume the character of demons is rightly called the "mystery of iniquity." Nevertheless, the fact of the fall remains, and is fully established by the sacred Scriptures: "God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell." (2 Pet. 2 : 4). "And the angels which kept not their first es-

tate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness." (Jude 6). "And the great dragon was cast out, that old Serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him." It is in this Serpent, or the Devil, or Satan, or Beelzebub the chief of devils, who was not content in drawing angels into the fellowship of his crime, but sought in subtlety to overthrow and ruin the human family, that we find the external source of sin. Man's condition and character in his state of innocense, like those of the holy angels, were subject to the use or abuse of the power of choice or free agency. And when Satan, the Serpent, with his knowledge of supernatural things is joined with intense hatred and murmuring against God; and with his jealous, envious nature enraged against good angels and godly and happy men, man's possibility to fall is apparently rendered much easier than that of the angels, on account of the subtle force of temptation to sin brought to bear upon him from without. This has been intimated as the probable "reason why the mercy of God was pleased to intervene in redemption for him, while the fallen angels are left to ruin." *

Whilst it is true that the Word presents no direct and explicit doctrine on the origin of evil, there are three facts in evidence, suggested by Dr. Henry Van Dyke, that are unquestionable: *First*, that it is "that which ought not to be." *Second*, that "evil actually exists." *Third*, that "evil is contrary to that which ought to be." "That which ought to be," says the same author, "we acknowledge to be the will of God. And if this is true, then that which ought not to be, can only make itself known in the world through the will of a creature capable of going contrary to God. The possibility of evil, therefore, depends upon the liberty of the created will," and this naturally applies to both the fall of the angels and of man, since angels also possess mind, and are capable of thought, language and emotion, indicated in their utterances in the very language of men, their desires, rejoicing &c.

* Dr. Valentine, *Systematic Theol.* Outlines, p. 104.

Sin may be defined, therefore, as being primarily the abuse of the power of choice, and the power of contrary choice stands as the very door through which evil entered the world. Man fell, therefore, through an external solicitation. It was not purely from within as some may suppose who fail to comprehend the source of evil. Its origin is not traced to the inner forces of man's nature. God had said: "Of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." But the devil in his lying deceit declared to the woman, "ye shall not surely die." The inner process of tampering with evil thus began within the human soul, opening the way to caprice and even violence to reason. Eve lustfully looking upon the fruit saw that it was "good for food," "pleasant to the eyes," and "to be desired to make one wise," not knowing that in it was moral impotence, death and ruin. Thus, "when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin when it is finished, bringeth forth death."

Satan's first effort was to fracture the certainty of Eve's mind as to God's specific command. So with apparently full reverence for God the old Serpent injects into the mind of Eve a doubt as to this command, made possible through tampering with evil which always brings with it a growing desire to indulge. Eve attempted to reply, but the reply was itself tainted with the doubt. The threat, "Ye shall surely die," she rendered by the words, "lest ye die." God's *verily* was to her only a *perhaps*, and the death penalty was a risk and not a certainty, the view held by many today who are living in ignorance and unbelief. Here was the first sin—not the overt act, not the defiance of God's authority, but the doubt as to a clearly revealed command of God, and a questioning hesitancy in the place of prompt obedience, all of which had its rise in the first thought of parleying with the tempter. As a result the conscience seemed to be motionless and benumbed with doubt. It did not feel Satan's defiance of God's Word, his denial of divine threatenings, or his pervasion of God's orderings. The subtle intrigue and power of the devil to deceive, coming as he did under his transformation as "an angel of light," readily

holds sway and dominant influence over the soul after the way opened by human volition, and the conscience thus fractured continues to weaken for the greater error and sin. Consequently, into the place which doubt had prepared, unbelief quietly entered, without a protest even from the conscience once so active in reflecting the will of God. Thus it is man's word against God's word. God lays down his law as our rule, but unbelief recognizes no law but nature, or man's will. God warns of death; unbelief says there is no death, but annihilation. But the death penalty fell upon Eve's soul at the moment of her unbelief, and was executed upon her body after having been driven from Eden; and so her knowledge of good and evil made her not a god, but a sinner, with all the attending consequences.

The fall of man is therefore an historical fact recorded in Gen. 3 : 1–19, and is also treated as historical in the New Testament. (Rom. 5 : 14; 1 Cor. 15 : 22; 1 Tim. 2 : 14). The sable stamp of death upon all creation as the mark of God's penalty for man's disobedience and sin bears testimony not only to the existence of sin, but also to

II. ITS UNIVERSALITY AND CERTAINTY.

The degrading and death-working power of sin is manifest in all grades of the human family, from the lowest order in the jungles of Africa to the highest type of civilization. It not only exists in the pew, but it finds its way to the pulpit among Christ's embassadors, and at times in most shameful form. None are exempt. It is found raging in the most vile, and also lurks in the heart of the most holy; or there would be no need of all asking for daily forgiveness. Its universality is in evidence everywhere. Society is everywhere on the defensive in recognition of evil and out of desire for good. The warnings of philosophy bear testimony. Dr. Van Dyke has truly said that "Men have turned away from Rosseau's skin-deep philosophy of the 'original goodness and unlimited perfectibility' of human nature, to the profounder view of the Hebrew Prophets." And the same author rightly asserts that "modern litera-

ture is haunted by the persistent spectre of evil, which 'will not down,' " while in the leading poets we have veritable commentaries on Jeremiah's text, "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked." And the testimony of science "lays bare the workings of the selfish, sensual, egotistical impulses in the career of the race," and affirms the existence of the "fatal net of heredity which holds all men together in an entanglement of defects of nature and taints of blood." And greater still, the Scriptures abound with overwhelming testimony of man's fallen and corrupt nature, and the exceeding sinfulness of sin. This is affirmed and rightly set forth in the II. Article of our Confession, where it says: "Also they teach, that after Adam's fall, all men, begotten after the common course of nature are born with sin," etc. The Smalkald Articles (Part III., Art. I) also declare: "We must confess that sin originated from one man Adam, by whose disobedience all were made sinners and subject to death and the devil. This is called original and capital sin. This hereditary sin is so deep a corruption of nature that no reason can understand it, but it must be believed from the revelation of Scripture."

III. THE NATURE OF SIN.

Whilst the origin of sin may be somewhat shrouded in mystery, its universality and certainty are everywhere established, and its nature fully revealed. Nothing is so deceptive, so cruel, so unrelenting and destructive as sin. It contains the very elements of death and ruin. It is deceitful beyond description. It has many secret ways of insinuation. It is like Delilah, and like Jael to Sisera. It has been called a "sweet poison that tickles while it stabs." As Joab came with a kind salute to Abner, and thrust him under the fifth rib, while Abner thought of nothing but kindness, so sin comes smiling, pleasing, and humoring while it thrusts the deadly dart. It is exceedingly apprehending also in its nature. So both the awful results of sin and the Scriptures testify: "His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins." The nature of sin is such that the penalty will en-

force itself. It requires no divine interposition to bring this about. The ball has already been set rolling down the mountain-side. The poison itself works death. The experience of David so perfectly expressed in the 51st Psalm reveals the awful nature of sin when in those penitential lines he informs us how it defiles (v.s. 2–7), haunts (v. 3), makes sad (v. 8), brings condemnation (v. 9), drives us from God's presence (v. 11), grieves the Holy Spirit (v. 11), robs of joy (v. 12), destroys our testimony (v. 13–15), puts a stumbling block in the way of others (v. 14), closes our lips (v. 15), and brings punishment.

Sin is a gigantic reality when we consider its overwhelming presence, the greatness of its power and the subtlety of its operations. It holds time and eternity in its grasp. It never will and never can, from its very nature, exhaust itself. Its power ever impels onward to greater sinning and greater condemnation. And this is an eternal process. The great teacher, who spake with authority, and as never man spake, says of impenitent sinners, "Their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." It is therefore no act of kindness but a most desperate crime for any man to spread a cover over the pit. It is there in awful reality. When God's Word says, "The wicked shall be cast into hell and all nations that forget God," it is an awful state and attitude that will declare that this is not so, and that no one need entertain fears about being forever lost. Sin, whether it be original or actual, leads away from God, from divine restraints, gospel influences, and the Spirit's call; but it does not lead from God's notice, nor reach, nor power. It is the nature of sin to deprive the soul of its strength in God, and by robbing it of its daily food it is soon brought to ruin. It also abuses the soul by employing its noble powers in a way contrary to that for which they were intended. Consequently the soul is put to the hardest service, for "the way of transgressors is hard."

IV. THE EFFECTS OF SIN.

The effects of sin, which have been called "the symptoms

of its nature," have already been largely indicated in the disclosure of that nature. These effects and consequences are directly traceable to the inherent depravity which has taken the place of the holy disposition with which man was created. We are informed by such authority as Dr. Valentine and others, that "this original sin, or depravity, is *total*, but total only in a specific sense. It is not total in a sense that man is so depraved that he cannot be or grow worse. Nor that he has no better elements, such as natural conscience, perceptions of right, and sense of obligation in his nature. He has such powers, though obscured and impaired, on which God's grace may get hold and operate. Else there would be no capacity for the supernatural salvation in him. It *is* total, in the sense that *all* man's powers, intellect, sensibility and will have been injured by the disordering power of sin in the soul's nature. No faculty is unaffected by it." The whole nature is depraved in and by the depravity. "The heart, that is, the affectional nature, and dominating the will, the *whole* man is kept in bondage to evil." The whole nature, therefore, is in itself helplessly subject to this ruling depravity. The body felt the sin of the soul, and the result was pain, sickness and death; and life below man felt man's sin, for "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." So from that primal note of discord with the divine will, struck in a single sinful act by our parents in Eden, there arises a mighty dirge of woe, uttered by every creature upon earth, the wail of sin stricken humanity, and of a sorrow-stricken world. Besides all the maladies of the body and its temporal death, there are still other effects or consequences of sin—the most prominent being the state of actual guilt placing all under condemnation, which if allowed to continue must terminate in spiritual death. It is as Dr. Valentine puts it: "A disolution of the spiritual fellowship or union between man and his God—the deepest reality in the consequeuces of sin, and also eternal death, if no redemption comes."

Henry Van Dyke informs us that "there are four elements in a true sense of sin: shame, pain, fear and hope. The shame

comes from its ugliness, its defilement, and mocking of those elements in us which we fell belong to the divine image and our better nature. The pain proceeds from its enslaving and imprisoning power. Man was made for liberty. But sin is bondage to evil. And the fear ensues from the sense of disobedience to a high, mysterious, inexorable command." But in the presence of the awful nature and effects of sin, man constitutes a worshiping being, repentant, longing, hoping; and in the language of the poet: "Hope, like the cork to the net, keeps the soul from sinking in despair."

The provision for this inner longing and hope of the soul God has made in

V. THE REMEDY.

This was ordained before the foundation of the world, in the person of God's Son, whom he began to reveal in prophecy immediately after the fall when he declared that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. Two scarlet threads run through the entire scriptures—the blood-red thread of guilt, and the blood-red thread of redemption. It is a very singular and striking fact that blood is the sign of both sin and of redemption. The life-blood of the avenged has ever cried out against the sinful avenger. The blood of Abel cried out from the ground unto God in vengeance upon him who shed it, but Christ's blood cried for pardon. Looking heavenward in his agony upon the cross while his blood flowed for the sins of the world, he exclaimed, "Father forgive them; for they know not what they do." Christ's blood speaks better things than that of Abel. It speaks to God in behalf of sinners. It speaks not for vengence, but for mercy, pardon and peace.

Redemption is the prominent, and in fact, the dominant idea of the whole Scriptures. The germ and spirit of the whole conception is deliverance from the power, penalty and bondage of sin. The great truth that "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," is accompanied with the universally felt necessity for an atonement. And with this there is linked the universally felt necessity of the shedding of blood as an indis-

pensable means of atonement, In our holy religion this doctrine is set forth in the unmistakable language of Holy Writ: "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." And, "Without the shedding of blood there can be no remission of sins." The shedding of blood for sin in the types forshadowing the Anti-type, finds its fulfillment and culmination in the great sacrifice of Christ, offered once for all on calvary, "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." It is through the grace of God that the soul hears his word, receives the call of the Spirit, and is thus led to the conviction of sin, repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

No doctrine in relation to sin is more clearly and fully taught than that of repentance. John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness cried, saying, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." When Christ was thrust from Nazareth, and found his way to Capernaum, "From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Upon another occasion he declares: Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish. As Peter stood at the beautiful temple gate delivering the sermon that resulted in the conversion of 5,000, he exclaimed. "Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out." Hence repentance holds a vital relation to the divine call and illumination through the word and Spirit.

If sin is to be overcome and Satan vanquished, it must be a genuine repentance that includes a saving faith. It dare not be merely a carnal repentance, caused by fear of punishment, as in the case of Cain, the murderer, who deplored the fact that he must be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth. Neither will a transient repentance which subsides with the judgment, suffice; like that of Pharoah who soon paid the penalty with all his host at the bottom of the sea. A superficial repentance will not answer, which retains the sin, like that of Pilate, who in vain pretension washes his hands in innocency and remains guilty of the blood of Jesus. Nor is it a despairing repentance which ends in death, like that of Judas, who having betrayed

innocent blood in his bitter remorse, suicides, and is called the "son of perdition." Neither dare we confound it with a morbid self accusation, which is the fruit of dyspepsia, or melancholy or insanity. Nor is it that dread of hell, and sense of wrath, which might occur even to devils, for they also believe and tremble. Genuine repentance is that hatred of evil, with a sense of shame, and a longing to avoid sin, with a hearty sorrow for wrong doing, wrought by a sense of divine love, that wings the soul on its way by faith to Christ. As Dr. Valentine puts it, which is in strict accord with our confession, "The term expresses the whole inner conscious exercise of the soul under grace, convinced of sin, turning from it, and resting on forgiving love. Repentance, therefore, is made up of two elements, *contrition*, which leads the soul to abhor sin and flee *from* it, and *faith* which leads *to* Christ, to accept him in love and appropriate his righteousness. It is the positive element of *faith*, which is the gift of God, that becomes the instrument of our salvation." "For by grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." By faith we are regenerated, justified, receive the adoption to sonship, and become sanctified, enjoying a glorious restoration through the efficacy and power of Christ's blood.

Our deliverance from sin is complete in the great and perfect sacrifice of Christ. We are not only rescued from the consequences of sin, but from sin itself. We are delivered from its penalty, its power, and its presence. We are saved from the *natural* penalty of self-inflicting injury to our whole being, and the judicial penalty of impending doom under the wrath of God in his justice, were there no salvation. If the power were not broken, the abolition of the penalty would but leave us to fall into new sin, and new condemnation, like a discharged prisoner who is ruled by his depraved passions. But the power of sin is broken in the new life of the believer, by daily mortifying the flesh with the affections and lusts, and by daily vivifying the inner man by the Spirit of God. Whilst every new

step and stage of holy growth crowds sin more and more out of our being, we cannot be delivered from its presence in this life, but the final victory in Christ will be a complete deliverance from the very presence of evil. In heaven nothing enters "that defileth, or worketh abomination, or maketh a lie." But with "our robes washed in the blood of the Lamb," and our "names written in the Book of life," we shall appear sinless in our home beyond, where all associations are pure and holy.

The little bee as it flits from flower to flower amid the beauties of nature, is invested with a wonderful power of instinct that enables it to separate the nectar from the poison. If such is the power of one of God's creatures, classed among the insects, what shall we say of the discriminating power of the human soul, made in the image and likeness of its Creator—the power of choice in his free moral agency?

As the atmosphere, redolent with sweet perfumes of flowers, draws the bee to sweet draughts of nectar, so the Holy Spirit constrains and draws the soul to the source of all that is "sweeter than honey and the honey comb." The life of the bee is to live among the flowers and draw from them the sweets, but if the bee has lost its power to find the flower it is virtually dead, because cut off from the great source of comfort and maintenance of life.

Having lost our natural and true relation with God we become "dead in trespasses and sins," cut off from the sweets of his kingdom; but by the gift of faith in Jesus Christ through the Spirit, we have restored that power of communing with God, which enables us, to our perfect satisfaction, to draw our sweetest blessings from the "Plant of Renown," "The Rose of Sharon," the "Lily of the Valley," and live in the kingdom of God's glory.

"Thanks be unto God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

"And this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith."

ARTICLE VIII.

PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCES IN HIGHER CRITICISM.

By Rev. W. A. Lambert, A.M.

"I have devoured the Bible with a *fame canina* and read daily in it. It was my element and aliment. Just as much in love with Luther's translation as dissatisfied with the conceits of the disgusting and stupid meditations of the tasteless readers of holy books. These two contradictories, which, in spite of their divergence, come, as you are fond of saying, from one point, and in their results likewise reunite, your old Hamann at that time tried to overcome, and it grieved me, that a book was open for people who could not read, and for those who could read remained closed." *

To read the Bible without critical apparatus, without learned commentaries, without lengthy introductions, has become almost a lost art, if not, to a student at least, an impossibility. And the critical apparatus, the learned commentaries, the lengthy introductions have become so burdensome and so confusing that the student, unless he be a student of critical turn of mind, is frightened off, and he who is critically inclined is tempted to get no farther than the helps. For the old spiritual influence of the Word of God as a means of Grace there seems little room left, so that we can readily understand Hamann's inward annoyance. It is still the best advice that can be given to the student, even the student of theology, that he throw aside the commentaries, and read the Bible in a received text or a good translation. In the times of Rationalism the Bible so led men back to the Church; the Bible so read was the strength of the common people; the Bible so read postponed the evils of Rationalism and made possible the new-birth of churchliness in the nineteenth century.

If we ask, What has made such a direct reading of the Bible almost impossible, the answer will be very simple: the growth

* Hamann to Herder, April 9, 1769.

and popularisation of Higher Criticism, connected with philosophic, scientific and material developments within the last century. Material advance in inventions and control of nature's forces have made life more comfortable and the sense of higher needs less keen ; scientific theories of man and of the universe have thrown doubts about the higher nature of man and the deeper meaning of life; philosophic speculation, adopting scientific methods, has still further reduced man to a natural phenomenon and the universe to a material unity in which the existence of the soul and the reality of a future life are lost. Yet all these influences might have been transitory and need not have affected the life of the Church, had not doubts and scientific explanations of the Bible been added to them. The proof may possibly be seen in the fact that men thoroughly modern and acquainted with the literary and material products of modern science and philosophy have been able to combat the results of Higher Criticism and to fight for the old Bible in its simplicity.

The Higher Criticism, however, claims to be only a necessary form of investigation, leading to higher and better and surer results, which shall be of great benefit to all people. It claims to be not so much Higher Criticism as Biblical Criticism, literary and historical criticism of the Bible. Its advocates regret the difficulties connected with it and the baneful effects upon the religious life of the people. "A sober-minded scholar cannot think without pain of the many devout souls who cry out—when criticism shatters some old statement or view—'They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.'" (Nash, History of Higher Criticism, p. 7). The opponents of one set of results of the Higher Criticism as a method, by the same method reach other results, scarce taking time to ask whether the method may be false or not. Others, seeing the uncertainty of the results, seek other solutions, partly at least in the return to the older conception of the Bible, not as literature, but as the Word of God.*

* Cf. Kaehler, *Dogmatische Zeitfragen*, 1907.

The last method the writer considers the easiest and safest solution, the reasons for which view may appear later. But the Higher Criticism is a fact which must be reckoned with. If the details lead us only into greater confusion, it would seem natural to go back of details to a discussion of fundamental principles. Is the method of investigation known as Higher Criticism essentially valid, or is it so influenced and warped by contemporary thought as to be unreliable? Is it a pure criticism, or a criticism biased, even in its methods, by scientific and philosophic assumptions?

It might seem impossible so to regard Higher Criticism as a method. Of course individual critics have been much biased by their philosophy; but on the other hand, the method has been only a tool misused in their hands, and they have been refuted by others using the same method. To doubt the method is to unsettle the positive no less than the negative results of criticism. And to imply that the method is philosophically or scientifically biased, would imply that the positive, conservative critics are under such philosophic or scientific influence.

It may be well to remember how subtle are the influences of the Zeitgeist, and how difficult it is for any scholar to keep himself free from them. Then also that many of the works of reference and fundamental works, lexicons and grammars, are the productions of advanced critics, and how subtle the influence of their theories is in their works. It may be interesting to recall the words of A. S. Farrer with reference to an earlier movement in German theology: "Its original connection with the deist and ethical points of view, and the constant sense of living in an atmosphere of controversy, have impressed even some of the more orthodox writers with a few peculiarities, of which a student ought to be made aware: for example, with a slight tendency to a kind of Christian pantheism; a disposition to reduce miracle to a minimum; and in the department of Christian doctrine to consider Christ's life as more important than his death, and to regard the atonement as an effect of the

incarnation, instead of the incarnation being the means of the atonement."*

An unconscious influence borrowed from the opponent is therefore neither an impossibility nor an improbability.

The term Higher Criticism has been repudiated by the advocates of the method. Nash holds that "the word 'Higher' answers no present need. It makes neither for clearness nor precision."† Heinrici points out the difficulties of the term and of the distinction especially between a higher and a lower criticism. (PRE 11 : 126). Zenos, however, defends it as a convenient although arbitrary term, since no other term covers quite the same ground.

The term is traced to Eichhorn, who refers for earlier usage to the classical scholars. Unfortunately I have been unable to find the earlier usage, nor does any writer so far as I know trace the term beyond Eichhorn. Eichhorn used it in 1783 perhaps not uninfluenced by the Zeitgeist. An interesting note in Eucken, Geistige. Strömungen der Gegenwart is at least very suggestive: "'Höher' ist als Lieblingsausdruck für eine neue, vermeintlich vornehmere Denkweise wohl namentlich in der Sturm und Drangzeit der deutschen Litteratur aufgekommen. Dann suchte mit besonderer Vorliebe die Romantik dadurch die eigenen Ziele und Begriffe von denen des Durchschnitts abzuhebehen; so verwendet auch Schleiermacher in seinen Jugendschriften das Wort sehr oft. Man spricht von 'höherem' Leben, 'höheren' Gefühlen, 'hoherer' Bildung, 'höherer' Sittlichkeit, u. s. w., bis der Ausdruck dem Spott verfallt ('höherer Blödsinn'). Der soliden und klaren Denkweise Kant's widerstrebte der Ausdruck gründlich. Als Feder ihm einen 'höheren' Idealismus zugeschrieben hatte, bemerkt er dagegen (IV. 121. Hart * *): 'Bei Leibe nicht die höhere. Hohe Turme und die ihnen ähnlichen metaphysisch-grossen Männer, um welche gemeiniglich viel Wind ist, sind nicht für mich? Mein Platz ist das fruchtbare Bathos der Erfahrung.'" (p. 76)

* History of Free Thought, p. 288.
† P. 13.
‡ *Elements of the Higher Criticism*, Chap. I.

Does the term alone bear traces of such influence, or can they be found also in the method? A few hints rather than detailed discussion may here be attempted.

Higher Chiticism is a kind of cross-examination of documents, and cross-examination is the art of asking questions. The questions are determined only in small part by the data, in large part by the theory of the questioner A critical history of cross-examination might show that the influence of contemporary theories of psychology is very marked in the form and order of questions. If it is correct that Higher Criticism belongs into the same class with cross examination, a similar influence is to be expected.

There is however one important difference: cross-examination deals with men, Higher Criticism of documents with the fixed utterances of men. The witness gives his own answer, even if it is given a peculiar meaning by the formulation of the question. The Higher Critic reads his answer himself, and hence his theory will be doubly important, affecting both question and answer.

The method of Higher Criticism is to be scientific, and therein lies a fundumental influence noticable throughout its history. Scientific method as ordinarily understood has been developed in the study of data in the material world. It has grown upon the assumption of the uniformity of nature, and therefore of the possibility of reducing all data to laws. It is the method of natural science—a method of approximation by analysis; a method of experimentation by varying the data and building new theories, to be tested by new analysis and experimentation; a method of observation, noting and studying with microscope and micromiter—for if the universe is uniform, the smallest datum is the most easily observed and most likely to give a clue to secrets not dreamed of in the larger.

A glance into a work of Higher Criticism may suffice to reveal these borrowed principles of scientific method. Word-forms, constructions, sentences and thoughts are analysed to the last detail, and he is the keenest critic who has discovered the finest point. The possible constructions are compared and

by experiment the possibilities increased. A date or an advent is assumed, to see what light it may throw on the problems, and its existence made probable by the success of the solution by its aid. When the general usage of a writer has been noted, the particular instance is made to harmonize with it, on the assumption that the man like the universe is self-consistent and his usage harmonizes throughout. The probability of a reading or a rendering is determined by the frequency of its use, according to the law of probability. In short the method of Higher Criticism becomes mechanical, because the psychology of the day is mechanical.

The expression of thought in words is tacitly assumed to be a natural phenomenon, the laws of whose being can be as accurately determined and as infallibly applied as the laws of any natural phenomenon, and by the same method. Nor are these laws always determined solely from the documents; frequently they are inherent in the ideals of the critic, he transfers his conception of the laws which govern the production of a word to the author, and assumes that the author must consciously or unconsciously have followed these laws. In all which one thing seems to be generally overlooked: the expression of thought, whether natural product or not, is only an approximate expression at best; too close scrutiny will not give the meaning intended, but something far different. If we note carefully the process of writing we can hardly help realizing that although we do follow unconscious laws in expressing our thoughts, these laws do not prevent us from inconsistencies and imperfections of language and of thought. When we further remember that the writings gathered in our bible were largely written by plain men, very few of whom were literary by training, and were written for plain men without appreciation for literary niceties; and that a plain man naturally takes the most simple and direct meaning of a sentence, it seems plain that a mechanical system of study will not give us the meaning intended, and that too close scrutiny of details will warp it; unless we are willing to assume that these writers,

guided by the Holy Spirit wrote far better than they knew, which is decidedly not the assumption of Higher Criticism.

Higher Criticism as a scientific method has been influenced by a mechanical science and psychology. Connected with this influence is the tendency to judge a phenomenon by its origins. As science judges man by his origin in a series of natural phenomena, so Higher Criticism judges or tends to judge Christianity by its origin. As man is an animal, so Christianity is a system of thought. If man can be shown that this system of thought has affinities with earlier systems, its nature must be like theirs, just as in science because man has certain affinities with lower animals he cannot be inherently different from them. Hence the striving of the critics on the one side to prove such affinities, on the other to show their insufficiency. The fundamental error on both sides is overlooked: the scientific habit of judging the tree by the seed from which it grew rather than from the fruit which it bears; studying the cell rather than the man developed from it.*

Rudolf Eucken (Die Einheit des Geisteslebens, 1888) distinguishes two and only two modern Lebenssystemen—a term somewhat wider than philosophy of life: that of Naturalism and that of Intellectualism. The influence upon Higher Criticism noted above belong rather to the former of these. A second series of influences is due to Intellectualism, or the belief that all existence can be and must be reducible to a system of thought, or can and must be a rational unity. Hence arises monism, a form of philosophy not based upon material data, but forced upon them by the intellect. It seems a survival in modified form of the Rationalism of the eighteenth century. Rationalism believed it possible to construct the universe by

* Since the above was written, I have found the following in a review of Foster's Finality of the Christian Religion, in the Review of Theology and Philosophy, Dec. '06, by G. Ferries: "We are led up to the modern principle—and it is one which the author strenuously advocates in other connections as well—that a product like the Bible is to be judged 'by its fruits, not by its roots.'" 'Things are what they are, and not what they came from.'"

reasoning, much as science later believed it possible from a mud-fish to deduce all animal forms. Intellectualism has recognized the material facts, but believes that these must be intelligible to the mind of man, that the mind of man is the measure of the universe. To understand is its highest attainment. Of soul and personal faith it knows nothing. To all intents and purposes soul is mind; the person is thought; religion becomes a form of thought, man's thought concerning God.

It may be questioned whether naturalism is not a form of Intellectualism or a result of it, and whether the influences of both upon Higher Criticism may not be treated as due to Rationalism. The unity of nature, the unchangeableness of nature's laws, are after all postulates of Intellectualism. If the highest attainment of man is to understand the universe, he must be able to understand it upon the basis of his own experience; in other words the existing laws which he infers from his experience must be the original laws of the universe; the universe cannot have undergone any radical change. Nor dare the universe anywhere include parts which are not subject to these laws. If these laws are conceived of as mechanical we have Naturalism; if as intellectual we have Intellectualism in the stricter sense.

But the fundamental assumption is unsatisfactory. Man is more than body, but also more than mind, and more than body, plus mind. Were Naturalism true the highest type of man would be one of most mechanical force; were Intellectualism true, the highest type of man would be one of most intellectual force; as it is, the highest type of man is a personal, spiritual force; he may be of but moderate physical strength and of ordinary intelligence, or he may be lacking in both to a large degree and yet be manly. Our speech thus recognizes something higher than learning or understanding as the essence of man.

But if the intellect is not the sole arbiter of all things, what becomes of its postulates? What becomes of its demands that all existence reality must be one consistent harmonious unalterable whole in its vision? What of its insistence that all

things must be understood, and accepted only in so far as understood?

Higher Criticism tries to understand the writings included in our Bible, and to understand them as natural products of mind. This matter of understanding is to it all important. Kaehler has pointed out that the Church, following Jesus Himself, has laid little or no emphasis upon this understanding; that the understanding the Scriptures of which Jesus speaks is something entirely different. It has no such direct reference to the intellect.* The conclusion is inevitable, that Higher Criticism has been influenced throughout by the intellectualistic philosophy of the time. The fact is recognized by Heinrici when he writes: "The development of Biblical Criticism is determined by this antithesis (of reason and revelation), which in

* "Jesus und seine Boten waren weder darauf vorbereitet noch auch gerichtet, ihre Bibel als Quelle für die Volks, und Religionsgeschichte Israels zu durchforschen; vielmehr lesen sic aus ihr die Offenbaruug Gottes, des Vaters Jesu Christi. Deshalb legen sie die Schrift auch nicht von dem Standpunkte der Verfasser ihrer Teile (zeitgeschichtlich) aus, sondern im Lichte der von Gott gegebenen Erfüllung. Sie ist eben ihre, des Measias und der Messiasgläubigen, Bibel, und vom Evangelium aus schätzen, beurteilen, verstehen und behandeln die apostolischen Männer den Inhalt ihrer Bibel. Kraft des von Gott gesetzten grossen, geschichtlichen Verhältnisses ist diese *nicht zeit*—geschichtliche Behandlung berechtigt und nicht ungeschichtlich." (Zeitfragen, p. 112). "Man vergesse doch nie, dass der Unglaube unser aller Anfechtung ist. Er nimmt leicht die Form ernster Erforschung der Sachlage an. Immer kommt aus ihm Wunsch und Streben, sich der Aufgabe des Glaubens (Heb. 11, 1) zu entschlagen und Wissen an die Stelle zu setzen. Folgende Schlüsse sind dieser imgrunde immer gleichen Art: Die Tatsache der Auferstehung Jesu lässt sich zwingend geschichtlich beweisen; sie ist ein Wunder; das setzt Allmacht voraus, also einen Gott; deshalb kanm die Gemeinde an sein Dasein glaubeu. * * * * Oder: die Bibel wirkt noch heut Wunder, denn sie gibt mir Anweisungen zur Gestaltung meines Lebens, also kann ich auch an die Offenbarung in Christo glauben. Das nennt man Erfahrungsglauben. Die Bibel nennt das vielmehr Gott versuchen. Man verwechsele nur bei dieser Beurteilung nicht die ausreichende Begründung des Glaubens mit seiner Bestätigung und Stärkung. Um 'die Fusspuren des lebendigen Gottes in unserm Leben' zu erkennen, muss man diesen Gott kennen und an ihn glauben." (ibid. 194 note).

the most diverse modifications permeates it without being able to come to a clear solution." *

Sir W. M. Ramsay (Expositor, Dec. 1906, 'Professor Harnack on Luke") looks forward to a new phase of criticism in the Twentieth Century, and finds an indication of its coming in Harnack's Lukas der Arzt. Perhaps we may point to the philosophy of Eucken and the "Zeitfragen" of Kaehler as probable contributions to the new criticism. The reign of intellectualism is of long standing, and may not easily be broken. It extends from Greek philosophy to scholasticism, broken for a time by the Reformation it grew strong in scholastic orthodoxy, rationalism and nineteenth century intellectualism. Advocates of a more personal interpretation have never been wanting: the Mystics, the Pietists, the Bible Christians; among the ancients Socrates.†

Kant strove to break through intellectualism, but his followers have almost ignored his effort. "Auch einem Kant ist sein kategorischer Imperativ nicht das Erzeugnis seiner philosophierenden Vernunft, sondern die Autarität der Vernunft als der eigentlichen Personennatur gegenüber dem rebellischen empirischen Menschen." (Kaehler, Zeitfragen, 183.) Now Eucken contends for a "Lebenssystem der Personalwelt," perhaps not yet free from intellectualistic influences. Already religion is more fairly understood; the reaction upon criticism must follow. Kaehler is a good guide, although he seems unconscious of the influence of a new trend of thought. He is satsatisfied to be counted among the "Zuruckgebliebenen," whereas it may be truer to regard him as a forerunner of the future criticism ‡

* P. RE. 11, 142.

† Sokrates "gedachte, durch das Wissen auf das sittliche Leben zu wirken, aber hat nur die eine Hälfte seines Strebens erreicht, indem er von der Berrachtung des sittlichen Lebens aus auf das Wissen gewirkt hat." Ritter, Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, II. Thiel, 2 Aufl. 1837, p. 44.

‡ "Allein Theologen sollten sich die Nüchternheit bewahren, die Proben von unsicherem Tasten der Altertumsforschung auf dem Gebiete des religiösen Lebens nicht als massgebende Ergebnisse der wissenschaft zu behandeln und zu verkünden; und auch die Selbständigkeit sollten sie besitzen, dass sie es ertragen können, eine Zeitlang als Zurückgebliebene bezeichnet zu werden. Wer warten kann, erlebt auch in der Wissenschaft Uberraschende Umschwünge." (Ibid., p. 92f).

For the Church this change in criticism may seem of considerable interest and benefit. It must not be overestimated. A reformation based upon a philosophy will differ radically from the Reformation of the sixteenth century. After all it is an intellectual change, not a personal regeneration. In this sense Kaehler will remain among the "Zurückgebliebenen," but the "Zurückgebliebenen" will have more respect from the Zeitgeist, and perhaps more difficulty in holding their position against it.

When we thus consider the influences of philosophic thought upon criticism, it seems strange that the Church and its theologians have yielded so largely to the time-spirit. Yet in reality it is not strange. To free one's self from the time-spirit is almost impossible; and upon the assumptions of the time-spirit the case of the Church seemed desperate. Only the "Zurückgebliebenen" could remain faithful to it and argue for it; but they were not understood, even when they fought with the enemy's weapons; they were of a different spirit. Hence the practical hopelessness of opposing higher critical results by means of higher critical methods: hence the failure of Orr's Old Testament Criticism, in spite of its learning and keenness. Hence the wisdom of Kaehler's determination not to write on a subject where at best the most secure results are based upon assumptions and data temporarily acknowledged and accessible.*

* Zeitfragen, p. 14f.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

THE ROBERTS-MANCHESTER PUBLISHING CO., MILWAUKEE.

The Ideas that have Influenced Civilization in the Original Documents. Oliver J. Thatcher, Ph.D., Editor. Ten volumes. Large octavo.

It is our candid judgment that this is the most important and valuable work, the Bible excepted, that has issued from the press in America for many a day. The first sentence of the Preface sufficiently indicates the character and scope of the enterprise: "It is the purpose of this work to present the ideas that have influenced civilization in the words of the man or the documents that have developed them." The work contains what the editor believes to be the most important monographs and documents that have ever been written on religion, philosophy, the natural sciences, discoveries, inventions, law, government, education and "the great movements which have made manifest the pulse beat of the ages, as they have been caught and held living in the kinetograph-like records of the best contemporary observers." Every important subject is introduced with a brief historical sketch, and every great author with a short biography. Each volume contains numerous illustrations, which serve both to adorn the work and to shed light on the subjects discussed.

Volume I. is devoted to *The Ancient World.* Original treatises expounding and illustrating the religions and civilizations of Assyria, Egypt, and India, make up the contents of the volume. Volume II. embraces *The Greek World.* Here we have "Religion," "Institutions," "Early Greek Thinkers," "Plato," "Diogenes," "Aristotle," "Zeno," "Epicurus." One hundred and forty-seven pages acquaint us with the best thoughts of Plato in Jowett's translation. Aristotle speaks to us in seventy-two pages, also in Jowett's translation. Volume III. is devoted to *The Roman World.* More than half the volume is taken up with "Institutions." The remainder is occupied with the best philosophical and educational thought of the greatest Roman thinkers. Volume IV. is sub-titled *Early Mediaeval Age.* Here the chief subjects are "The Growth of the Church," "The New Peoples," "The Era of Arabs," "Feudalism." Volume V. discourses of "Renaissance

and Reformation Periods." Among other things we find in this volume Luther's Ninety-five Theses, Calvin's "Eternal Election," the Augsburg Confession, the Dutch Declaration of Independence, the most important principles of Bacon's Philosophy, Galileo's thoughts on astronomy and Kepler's "Laws." Volume VI. brings us to *Advance in Knowledge.* "Education," "Modern Philosophy," "Religious Movements," "Political Economy," are the chief subjects brought to our attention. Volume VII. discusses *The Era of Revolution.* "The Supremacy of Parliament," "The American Revolution," "The French Revolution," are embraced in the table of contents. Volume VIII—"1800–1833"—lays before us the most important speeches, decisions, state-papers and essays of that formative period in national government and in science. Volume IX.—"18–1860"—contains *inter alia* original articles on "Physics," "Education," "Evolution," "Physics and Chemistry." Volume X.—"1860–1903,"—presents "Social Movements," "Social Conditions," "Archaeology," "Biology," "Psychology," "Philology," "Chronological Index," "General Alphabetical and Analytical Index"—the last covering forty-four pages.

Thus by naming the chief subjects treated in this work we have sought to describe it, rather than to analyze and to criticize it. It is a cyclopedia of original discussions and documents on all the leading subjects of human thought and activity. From beginning to end it is objective, and is free from religious, theological, philosophical, sociological and political bias. Do you wish to know the views of the best thinkers on any of the great subjects that have interested thinking men, and that "have influenced civilization," and, we may add, that have made the world better and happier, here you will find them. Hence we must laud and magnify the work. Its use will help to do away with some of the superficial and second-hand work which has only too long and too far influenced teaching and writing in America. For the teacher, for the editorial writer, for the statesman, for general culture, the work is well nigh indispensable. It ought to be found in every public library. Its presence gives an inspiration to study and to learn.

J. W. RICHARD.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Entwürfe zu Katechesen über Luther's Kleinen Katechismus. Von Geo. Mezger, Professor am Concordia Seminar zu St. Louis, Mo.

Zweite durchgesehene Auflage. Octavo, pp. 301.

This book both in plan and in purpose is designed for catechetical instruction, though elaborate in size and in contents. It could not be employed in the catechitical class, but may be studied by the catechist with great profit, though we should be very far from endorsing all that the book contains. We utterly reject the following about the third commandment: "*In the New Testament God has actually abolished this commandment from appointed festival days.* So teaches the passage Col. 2 : 16, 17." It is exactly this kind of teaching that in Germany has turned Sunday into a "pleasure-day," and that has helped to make church attendance so sparse in the land of Luther. Men may talk and talk about "sanctifying Sunday by hearing the preaching of the word, and attending the administration of the sacraments." So long as they begin by declaring that the third commandment is utterly abolished they will see Sunday become what it has long been in Germany and what it is fast becoming in America. The third commandment can be kept in a purely legalistic way, and it can be kept in a purely Christian way as a day of rest, a day of thankfulness, a day of recruiting strength, a day for public worship. *Abusus non tollit usum.*

As a specimen of Missouri catholicity we quote the following, italics and all: "If we would abide in faith we must first of all be careful *to keep the word of God*, and that *pure* and *uncorrupt.* God's word is taught purely and uncorruptly only in the *true visible Church fellowship, in the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* If we would remain in the the invisible Church, then we must with *all* diligence take care *to belong to the true visible, to the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, because she is exactly *the Church of the pure word and confession.*" P. 180.

It remains only to say that this book again illustrates the superb work in printing and binding being done by the *Concordia Publishing House.*

J. W. RICHARD.

THE GERMAN LITERARY BOARD, BURLINGTON, IOWA.

What Think Ye of Christ? By. F. Bettex. Translated from the German by J. F. Krueger (1907). Pp. 102. Price, including postage, $ .55.

F. Bettex is too well known to need an introduction. His booklets, "Christianity and the Study of nature," "Law and Nature," "The Symbolism of Creation and Eternal Nature," "The Miracle," "The Bible the Word of God," "Doubt, etc., are of the same order as this the latest one "What Think Ye

of Christ?" Popular and edificational. We might imagine we are reading Apologetics or Christian Evidences. The author's endeavor everywhere is to make Christianity appear reasonable. He is a staunch supporter of orthodoxy, making no concession whatever to the critical school, though his own theology is sometimes overbearing and often uncritical. A passage like this: "The creator of heaven and earth labored for thirty years as a carpenter, bought wood, planed, glued, made window frames, took orders, considered prices, bought shoes and clothes with his earnings"—is uncritical to say the least. The overbearing spirit is felt in one like the following: "Only let me warn you of one thing, if, tired of many questions and answers, you finally open your Bible after all, do not allow so-called science and alleged free research to demonstrate to you that the words of the Bible have an entirely different significance from their actual wording (p. 33)." In spite of this the author has many interesting things to say when he endeavors to present to his readers "an unprejudiced picture of the circumstances and the feeling of His time, of the manner in which people judged in His days, drawn from the records of the very Gospels * * * ." The object of the book is to prove the divinity of Christ. It indulges quite freely in the use of Scriptural quotations. The author's exegesis is largely determined by the dogmatical factor, which often does injustice to the true sense of the texts on which he builds.

The translation is too literal. It abounds in awkward constructions, pays but little regard to euphony. Nor is it always idiomatic. Moreover, the sense is often marred by the punctuation that the author employs. His use of the comma is something desperate.

The press work is excellent.

J. O. EVJEN.

FUNK AND WAGNALLS COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Between the Testaments or Interbiblical History. By David Gregg, D.D., LL.D., President of Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa. Pp. 124. Price 75c., net.

This book, written in a popular and interesting style, disposes of Interbiblical History in three chapters, or essays: (I) The Jews of the Dispersion During the Period between the Testaments; (II) The Jews of the Home-land During the Period Between the Testaments; (III) The Old Testament Apocrypha as the Book of the Period Between the Testaments. A work of this dimension cannot of course do justice to the

Jewish literature that originated in the four centuries between Malachi and Matthew. Nor does it attempt this. But one cannot help carrying away, from the rapid survey given us in its pages, the thought that the apocryphal literature, uncanonical though it be, was exerting a strong influence upon Jewish thought in the time of Christ, and that it has had some influence upon the literature of later times. We are told that Wesley got from the Apocrypha his inspiration for that hymn of his which the Church will never let die, *Jesus, Lover of My Soul.* From the Apocrypha came also the *Benedicite*, so highly honored in all the liturgies of Christendom; further, that splendid hymn of the Germans, *Now Thank We All Our God;* likewise St. Bernard's great Hymn, *Jesus, the Very Thought of Thee.* "Out of [this literature] have grown maxims, and proverbs, and pictures, and poems, and dramas, and oratorios and great hymns." Ruskin and Handel, Shakespeare and Milton, John Bunyan and George Eliot are mentioned as being indebted to it. Eph. 6 : 13–17 is mentioned as being to some extent dependent on *Wisdom* 5 : 18–20; and James 1 : 19 on *Ecclesiasticus* 5 : 11, etc. The English Bible Dr. Gregg claims, should not have dropped this literature, but retained it in a class by itself, as is the case in the Bibles used by other nations, though the course of the Greek and Roman Churches is not approved of when they advocate its canonicity.

Dr. Gregg gives a political history of the Jews in connection with the history of their literature, briefly discussing the origin of the synagogue, the Sanhedrim, the rise of the Hellenistic culture and language. He emphasizes the fact that no cruelty was intended with the policy of the deportators of the conquered people. The conquered were to be amalgamated with the nation of the conquerors. Often the lands to which they were deported were better than the land they left behind; and grander opportunities for a grander, broader life were opened to them. The second generation of the deported were often the nabobs of the land.

A pleasant feature about the book is the references to standard authors and their works, several of which are productions of the twentieth century. The accompanying criticisms are valuable.

To the professional student Dr. Gregg's book offers nothing new. But he too cannot read it without thanking the author. To the non-professional class it is instructive. Both classes will find it suggestive.

JOHN O. EVJEN.

AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN, ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

A Church History for the Use of Schools and Colleges. By Nils Lövgren, Bishop of Vesteraas (Sweden); with a series of Biographies by August Edman, Adjunct: Translated by M. Wahlström and C. W. Foss. Pp. 358.

The current text-books in English on the subject of General Church History are few in number, as a rule dry and forbiding, mainly manuals for theological students. The reason for this is to be sought in the fact that Church History, as a part of the American college curriculum, has had but scant support in American traditions. It is a different matter in Europe. We know of no "gymnasium" or "middle school" in Germany and the Scandinavian countries where Church History does not receive careful attention, being considered a requisite of academic culture. As a consequence, these countries have a variety of excellent text-books on the subject. One of these is that of Bishop Lövgren, of Sweden. It has passed through eight editions in the original. We are grateful to the Board of the Augustana Book Concern for authorizing a translation, and we welcome the Book in its English dress as a valuable acquisition to our historical literature and a friend to our schools and colleges.

It gives about eighty pages to the Ancient Era, thirty-five to the Mediaeval, 140 to the Modern, exclusive of fifty pages to the religious denominations in America and Missions. "The work aims to serve both as a text-book and a reader, and hence it contains two distinct parts. The text part forms a complete whole by itself and is printed in larger type. The second part forms a series of related topics and is printed in smaller type. It has several illustrations, presenting specimens of church architecture, official vestments, garbs of different orders, and pictures of celebrated men.

The book may be used in advanced parochial schools as well as in colleges. Even in the home and in catechetical classes it will be of good service.

While the Lutheran colleges in the West have been teaching Church History for more than a generation, those in the East have been singularly backward in this branch as an undergraduate study. An interesting work like Lövgren's ought not to be overlooked.

JOHN O. EVJEN.

BOSTON: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO.

The Atlantic Monthly for July contains a number of valuable articles which are sure to attract the attention of such readers

as care only for the best literature. To this number Samuel P. Orth contributes a paper on "Government by Impulse;" Henry S. Pretchett, one on "The Power that Makes for Peace;" Charles M. Harvey writes on "The Dime Novel in American Life;" David Spencer contributes a valuable paper on "School Reform in Boston" and Isabel Moore one on "The Unknown Portugal." The two very readable serials which have created wide-spread interest, "The Helpmate" and "The Spirit of Old West Point" are continued. Those who are reading these surely consider them worth more than the the price of the the magazine. The contributors' Club contains, as it always does, spicy papers, and the poems in this number have decided merit.

EATON AND MAINS, 150 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK.

God's Missionary Plan for the World. By Bishop J. W. Bashford.

This volume is not as ponderous as its title might lead one to suspect. It is a very modest little book, written under the pressure of many exacting duties, while the mind was at white heat and under the mastery of the great truth, namely, that God's Book is a missionary book. Only a person of large qualifications could produce a strong vigorous book under such circumstances.

The captions of the nine brief chapters into which the book is divided, running thus, The Divine Purpose, the Divine Order of Procedure, The Old Testament and Missions, the New Testament and Missions, The Divine Method of Securing Power, The Divine Method of Securing Workers, the Divine Method of Securing Means, and the Divine Providence and Missions, indicate the several aspects of the general theme which the author presents, while the recurrence of the same term in each of them suggests his point of view, and where he desires the emphasis to fall. He is not pleading in behalf of a human undertaking. The world's evangelization, and then its Christianization, through the proclamation of the gospel, expresses the purpose of God. The evidence of this purpose is woven into the texture of Old Testament and of the New. Men are indeed the agents for the realization of this purpose, but they are left to their own devises. The whole inspiring, far-reaching campaign for the conquest of the world, together with all the chief factors necessary for its triumphant achievement, are clearly revealed.

The strength of the book lies primarily in the correctness of its point of approach. It is Biblical. The discussion is marked

by freshness, clearness and skill. Bishop Bashford is a man of recognized ability, of wide and varied culture, and withal a man of affairs. All these qualities have left their impress on his book. Underlying principles are clearly apprehended, and practical suggestions are not wanting. The author had Methodism in his eye as he wrote, but none the less his book will be helpful to Christians of every denominational name. We welcome it as a distinct contribution to the already voluminous and rapidly increasing literature of missions, and trust it may have a wide circulation.

L. KUHLMAN.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK.

The Psychology of Religious Belief. By James Bissett Pratt, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in Williams College, 1907. Pp. 327.

The author tells us, "the aim of the present work is to help break ground in the rich but rather neglected but important field of the investigation of religious belief from the psycho logical point of view." The "ground breaking" is not offered in apology; the reader may, however, incline to leniency of judgment because of it. Our space will permit only to call attention to the striking features of the book.

Part I, Psychological, contains two chapters; The Elements of Psychic Life; and The Nature of Belief. He warns us in the Preface that the reader must "worry" through Chapter one. The elements of the Chapter are good and we wish very much they had been stated with greater clearness.

Part II, Historical, consists of four Chapters. Here we have a resume of the history of the progress of belief which is admirable for its clearness and brevity, but fatally silent on points of primary importance. There is much truth in the strictures which he makes on the Christian apologists whose dogged persistence in holding to non-essential dogmas frequently prejudiced their own cause. "Fallacious argument cannot long support a belief."

The author passes the traditional arguments for Theism (with the notable exception of the Moral argument) in review and shows how Kant and Darwin have shattered them. He graciously grants that evolution has not refuted teleology "but since 1859 the design argument has suffered a very severe blow." With a significant twinkle he tells us how Derham and Paley "shut their eyes" to the "fact of evil," and with clear evidence of mastery of Kant shows how the Antinomies

put an end to the ontological and cosmological arguments. But alas, the student so familiar with the Kritik der reinen Vernunft does not seem to know that the author of that profound work has also written a Kritik der praktischen Vernunft.

I cannot take the space to follow this character of argument which occurs all too frequently. The above example is typical.

We do not wonder, therefore, that he should come to conclusions such as these: "In short, the point I wish to make is that belief in God as an explanation of things * * * is dying." P. 192. "We are faced with this dilemma; the arguments which the people can grasp are no longer tenable, while the arguments that are tenable—if such there be—the people cannot grasp." "The battle of Armagedden has been fought—and lost." P. 194. These sentences occur in the concluding paragraphs of the Chapter "Of Christian Beliefs." The psychological processes by which the author's mind would reconcile these conclusions with his statement, page 231, "Of Belief in Mature Life," (Chapter based on results of a Questionaire), "As a fact we find our friends and neighbors, of all degrees of education and intellectual ability, almost to a man accepting God as one of the best recognized realities of their world and as simply not to be questioned," we cannot even "worry" through.

We seek in vain for a reconciliation of the above incongruity in the Chapter "The Value of God." The nearest approach comes in the Conclusion where it is vague enough. It there becomes a matter of content of the concept expressing the *what* of belief, and a dogmatic definition by which the author would put his view into the meaning of the term for all other men.

In Chapter II, "On the Nature of Belief" the author bravely quotes Anaxagoras' famous saying: "Nor are the things that are in one universe divided or cut off from one another with a hatchet." One expects a belief, described thus as a unified total consciousness, to stand or fall as a unit. Spite of this he uses the "hatchet" and severs the universe of reason from the universe of feeling and finds the belief of reason untenable, the belief of feeling to be regarded with suspicion.

One solution is left: "The only kind of religious feeling which is really native to a cultured community is the calm and spontaneous type to which I have so often referred. Its normal condition is best expressed by a phrase that has lately come into common use: 'Religion as life.' It is best seen in the thousands of cheerful, wholesome, some times commonplace people, who, though very much like others in most respects,

meet their problems and look out upon their world in the light of an inner experience whose authority they never doubt." And this stands thus in genuine Nietzschean spirit as the platform from which the author pronounces sentence upon his "friends and neighbors who almost to a man accept God" saying, "belief in God is dying" because forsooth Prof. Pratt, who is the standard, believes differently.

The author's concluding sentence is the "if" of the pronounced skeptic. All that *may* possibly be left is the Comtean or Nietzschean religion of humanity. "As the many dogmas of the Religion of thought follow the many dogmas of the Religion of Primitive Credulity into the museums and the history books—the ghost world of departed faiths—this one dogma, *if religion is really to last* (italics ours), will be seen in its true light as the one doctrine of the real *Religion of Humanity* (italics ours), because it is founded on the very life of the race."

If I have indulged too much in criticism it is because the author seems to me to have indulged too much in pessimistic pronunciamento and too studiously avoided a certain class of arguments which rightfully have a place beside those used. The author regards the logic of the most crass naturalistic evolution necessary. He justifies it by his method of exclusion. Here we radically differ.

The book impresses us as the effort of one struggling with skepticism who fails to resolve his difficulties. As a sketch of such struggle the book has psychologic interest

C. F. SANDERS.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TIMES COMPANY.

1031 Walnut St. Philadelphia, Pa.

Light on the Old Testament from Babel. By Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Semitic Philosophy and Archaeology, and Assistant Curator of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania. 125 illustrations; 437 pages; $2.00 net, postpaid.

Works on this and kindred topics are multiplying. Nor is this strange The excavator is constantly busy, and every spade full of fresh earth contains something that throws light upon the Book. We are glad for this volume: it is packed full of intensely interesting facts. The author has no new hypothesis to propound, no theory reflecting the origin and composition of the Pentateuch to defend. He comes to his task unbiassed, free and ready to give the message which the

past has to deliver. He takes the discoveries that are being made and shows how they elucidate and corroborate the Bible. And, best of all, he has found nothing in all his searchings that contradicts the Bible, on the contrary the facts which he brings us out of the distant past are reassuring, and confirm and establish the sacred record.

The chapter on Babylonian Life in the Days of Abraham is exceedingly interesting and instructive. By it we are carried back to the days of the old patriarch; we look upon the things which he saw, and move among the scenes among which he moved He is not a myth as the negative critics would have us believe, but a living reality.

There are just enough new ideas in this book to show us that our author can do his own, independent thinking. Among them we may mention his pushing the Exodus back to the time of Rameses II. while most writers place it in the reign of Merneptah, the son and successor of Rameses. So also in regard to the account of the mysterious writing at Belshazzar's feast. The chapter on the Comparison of Codes of Moses and Hammurabi is equally fresh and original. Dr. Clay also proves that the historicity of the Fourteenth of Genesis, about which radical criticism has made itself merry for a long time, is fully established by recent discoveries in Babylonia. "Two of the four kings taking part in the invasion mentioned in this chapter, Amraphel and Arioch, are now known through their own inscriptions. The father of Arioch, the King of Elam, informs us that he is suzerain of Palestine, which corroborates the statement in Genesis that the country served Elam for twelve years. All the arguments advanced to show that the chapter is unhistorical, in short, are without foundation."

We commend this work most heartily to all Bible students, it removes difficulties, clears up many obscure historical allusions and heeps to a stronger faith in the truthfulness of God's Word. It brings us the latest and best light on the Old Testament.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

OCTOBER, 1907.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE CAUSE OF SIN.*

By John B. Focht, D.D.

Article XIX. of the Augsburg Confession is as follows: "Concerning the cause of sin, they teach that although God is the Creator and Preserver of nature, the cause of sin must be sought in the depraved will of the wicked, namely, of the devil and wicked men, which, when destitute of divine aid, turns itself away from God: as Christ says, "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own." John 8 : 44.

The *Variata* of 1540 is as follows: "Touching the cause of sin, they teach that although God doth create and preserve nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of the wicked; to wit, of the devil and ungodly men; which turneth itself from God unto other things, against the commandments of God. On this account Christ says of the devil: "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own." John 8 : 44.

Confutation of the Augsburg Confession, Article XIX. is as follows: "'The nineteenth article is likewise approved and accepted. For God, the supremely good, is not the author of evils, but the rational and defectible will is the cause of sin; wherefore let no one impute his misdeeds and crimes to God, but to himself, according to Jer. 2. : 19: 'Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee;' and Hos. 13 : 9: 'O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but

* Lecture on Article XIX. of the Augsburg Confession, on the Holman Foundation, delivered at Gettysburg, Pa., May 7th, 1907.

in me is thy help.' And David in the spirit acknowledged that God is not one that hath pleasure in wickedness. Ps. 5 : 4.' "

Dr. Eck. the great opponent of Luther and the Reformation, in giving the papal view of the Confession, says: "The nineteenth article, of the cause of sin, agrees with the Church."

In the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the following statement is made with reference to Article XIX.: "The nineteenth article the adversaries receive, in which we confess that although God only and alone has framed all nature, and preserves all things which exist, yet the cause of sin is the will in the devil and men, turning itself away from God, according to the saying of Christ concerning the devil, John 8 : 44: 'When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own.' "

In the Formula of Concord, the following references are made to this subject. Part I. Chap. XI. 3, 4: "'This foreknowledge is occupied alike with the godly and the wicked; but it is not the cause of evil or of sin, so that men do what is wrong (which originally arises from the devil and the wicked. perverse will of man)' " Part II. Chap. I. 2 : 7: "It is also clear and true as the Nineteenth Article of the Augsburg Confession teaches, that God is not a creator, author or cause of sin, but from the instigation of the devil, through one man, sin (which is a work of the devil) has entered the world, Rom. 5 : 12: 1 John 3 : 7."*

The agreement of these notable, historic statements of the important doctrine presented in this Article of the Confession, is not less marked than the harmony of sentiment which prevailed in Old Testament and New Testament writers and in the views of the Fathers and Dogmaticians.

We will consider the subject of this article in the following order: I. Some preliminary statements from the Bible and the Fathers concerning the character of God and of man. II. God is not the cause or *author of sin.* III. Sin has its cause in the depraved will of the wicked. IV. Can we maintain

* Also *Formula of Concord*, 546 : 38, 550 : 62, and 650 : 7.

the Benevolence of the Creator of a Universe in which sin exists?

I. Some expressions of the Scriptures and the Fathers as to the character of God and of man.

The terms used throughout the Old Testament to express the Hebrew conception of the character and acts of Jehovah, dwell on His righteousness and benevolence. The Psalmist, Psa. 99 : 9, exalts "Jehovah our God, for Jehovah our God is holy." With him the prophet Isaiah joins, Isa. 5 : 16, in praising "Jehovah of hosts exalted in justice, and God the Holy One sanctified in righteousness." Now He is proclaimed by Moses, Ex. 34 : 6, "Jehovah, Jehovah, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in loving kindness and truth; keeping loving kindness for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty."

The New Testament joins in the exaltation of Jehovah made known as the God and Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ. He, the heavenly Father, is "perfect." To Him men may "commit their souls in well doing unto a faithful Creator." To Him, throughout the Gospels and the Epistles, is ever ascribed perfect excellency, until we hear, Rev. 15 : 3, "the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb,—Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God, the Almighty; righteous and true are all thy ways, thou King of the ages; for thy righteous acts have been made manifest."

There is no false pride to restrain the holy writers as they describe the character and works of man. In the Book of Job, ch. 25 : 4, is presented the inquiry of all ages: "How can a man be just before God?" and, ch. 15 : 14. "What is man that he should be clean? and he that is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?" Sin is ever the burden of the Psalmist's confession, Ps. 51 : 5. "Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity: and in sin did my mother conceive me." As the preacher in Ecclesiastes discusses problems of life and destiny, he notes the universal depravity. Eccl. 7 : 20. "Surely there is not a righteous man upon the earth that doeth good

and sinneth not." Solomon, as he lifts his voice in prayer, must make intercession for sinful men. "For there is no man that sinneth not." Then, as to man's inability, the expression is clear. Prov. 20 : 9. "For who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?" Jeremiah makes these same confessions in strong figurative language. Jer. 2 : 22. "For though thou wash thee with lye, and take thee much soap, yet thine iniquity is marked before me, saith the Lord Jehovah."

In the clearer light of the New Testament, men are revealed as "all under sin." Rom. 3 : 9. The Apostle John, speaking for himself and all men says, 1 John 1 : 8 : "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." Our Lord is not silent as to the cause of sin, for, of his malignant opposers, he says, John 8 : 44 : "Ye are of your father, the devil and the lusts of your father, it is your will to do.—When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father thereof." Jesus fixes responsibility for sin, when he says to the Pharisees, John 9 : 41 : "If ye were blind, ye would have no sin; but now ye say, We see: your sin remaineth." And so ever and ever from the Word we hear the confession, "All we like sheep have gone astray."

The Church Fathers give full and frequent expression to their views on these subjects, Clement of Rome, in asserting the benevolence of God in His works and arrangements for the welfare of men concludes, I Cor. VIII. "All these has the great Creator and Lord of all commanded to observe peace and concord; being good to all." And men shall worship Him, XII. 6. "Loving our gracious and merciful Father." There is uniform agreement in their estimate of character of God and His beneficent relation to man in His purposes and methods. We learn from Irenaeus IV. 37 : 7 of "God determining all things in advance for the perfection of man." They resisted with most jealous loyalty anything that would seem to detract from the excellency and supremacy of God. There could be for them no such separation of God and the Creator as appeared among the Gnostics.

As to wicked men, Clement of Rome says, I Cor. XVI. 23. "His enemies even the wicked, such as oppose their own wills to the will of God." Of man's weakness in sin, he says I. Cor. XVII., "But what can mortal man do? Or what strength is there in him that is made out of the dust?" In the Shepherd of Hermas Vis. I. 1 : 11, it is said, "Those who think wickedly in their hearts, they take to themselves death and captivity: their souls wander up and down, and know not where to fix." Seeberg says, Vol. I. 78. "There is a general agreement as to the sifnulness and misery of the human race, which is, through its disobedience, lost to God and given over to the folly of idolatry, the power of devils and eternal perdition." With the Fathers as in the Gospels and the Epistles, the responsibility for this dreadful condition is placed with man himself.

The subject of this Article is not merely of speculative interest, but of the deepest practical import. It passes beyond the limits of merely Academic inquiry and appears in most intimate relation to all the varieties of human life. "For all have sinned." If we could accept the low views of sin as held by some in modern times, the subject might well be dismissed as of interest to only a few given to research, more or less removed from the activities of life. Luthardt quotes from Schiller, "If we exchange the voice of God in Eden, forbidding man the tree of knowledge, for the voice of his instinct drawing him back from that tree, his supposed disobedience to the divine command is nothing else than a revolt against his instinct, and therefore the first expression of his spontaneity, the first venture of his reason, the first beginning of his moral existence. This revolt of man against his instinct, which indeed introduced moral evil into creation, though only to make moral good possible therein, is incontrovertibly the happiest and greatest event in history; from this moment man's freedom dates, and it was here that the first foundation stone of his morality was laid." The views of Hegel and Strauss are of similar import. The doctrine of sin as held by Ritschl, is, according to Prof. Swing,* "In so far as men as sinners individually or altogether are

* *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1902, p. 188.

objects of redemption and reconciliation, possibly through the love of God, sin is judged by God not as final determination by opposition to the recognized will of God, but as ignorance and therefore forgivable." Here the element of ignorance is made so prominent that the rebellion of the will against God is hopelessly obscured. And nowhere in the New Testament do we find that ignorance must be presupposed before the possibility of forgiveness appears.

In support of the sentiment of this Article there is the evidence of sin everywhere revealed. Not only the Bible tells of it; every-day experience proves it; the voices of all nations in the glory of exhaltation or of deep despair by decadence from crime lament it. We hear on all sides confession of the unhappy discord existing in every man between moral convictions and his opposing will. Always the question concerning the origin of evil has exercised men's minds as the fact of evil has been revealed in their own conscious transgressions of divine law. Plutarch says, "The evil passions are innate in man." Kant speaks of "the radical evil of human nature, lying beyond the resolves of our own temporal will." Jacobi says, "He who trusts in his heart is a fool. Reason can not think out a power of being righteous. Myself is bad—I am a worthless man—I am a horror to myself." However like Kant he has no remedy for this condition. Pliny says, "Man may well greet the day of his birth with cries and tears, and then count the greatest benefit an early death, and that he can procure this for himself." Seneca asserts, "We are all wicked." Sin is a universal fact, the evil of evils that brings only deepest distress into human life. The blight is not only of one phase of life, but of all the life. All religions are occupied with the question of sin, its origin and its abolition. To the inquiry, Whence is evil? Christianity gives the simple and only rational reply: Sin is not from God, but is from a will turning away from God and in rebellion agalnst him.

II. God is not the cause or author of sin.

This Article simply presents the uniform teaching of the whole Scripture on this subject. God appears as related to

man while yet sinless from his creation, but He is also related to him when man becomes a sinner, yet always as outside of any causal relation to his present woe and possible future eternal misery. He is in a tender relation in love, "God commendeth His own love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." Rom. 5 : 8. The whole tenor of the Scriptures is to magnify God's love for a sinful world, because it is sinful. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world should be saved through him." John 3 : 16, 17. His desire is always shown to be a great anxiety to bring men out of sin. "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his son to be the propitiation for our sins."

The origin of sin is not with God. "He that doeth sin is of the devil." I John 3 : 8. He is ever in the attitude of an enemy to sin. "Thou hatest all the workers of iniquity." Ps. 5 : 5. "Let none of you devise evil in your hearts against his neighbor; and love no false oath: for all these are things that I hate, saith Jehovah." Zech. 8 : 17. Whatever variety of sin may appear in the world, none of it is chargeable to Him. "For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the vainglory of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world." I John 2 : 16. Then we hear the definite statement: "In him is no sin." From the beginning men when they have sinned, have endeavored to be relieved of responsibility, but the Word of God has no such relief. "The soul that sinneth," surely means that where there is sin there is responsibility of a living soul. In his Epistle, 1 : 13, James gives a complete statement, "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God can not be tempted with evil, and he himself tempteth no man."

While the formal definition of sin seems to have been rare in early Christian literature, there are some statements that enable us to determine the views of the early Christians. Of God's relation to sin, Origen says, Cont. Cel. III. 70: "God is not able to

commit wickedness, for the power of doing evil is contrary to His deity and its omnipotence." So also says Tertullian, Adv. Mar. I. 26, 27, II. 13: "God is wholly good, because in all things He is on the side of good." A later theologian gives as the sentiment of the Fathers, "To fall into sin implies wavering and weakness; an infinite lapse from righteous strength, an unthinkable imbecility, must ensue ere God can indulge any wickedness." The view of Lactantius is interesting, in that while he asserts that God opposes and hates moral evil, it is yet regarded as a necessary constituent of a moral world, a condition of the existence of its opposite. *De Ira Dei*, XV. "He permitted evil on this account, that the good might also shine forth, since, as I have often taught, we understand that the one can not exist without the other." He may have had in mind the possibility of evil, but he clearly teaches that the seat of evil is in the body and of good in the soul. Clement of Alex. suggests that there is compensation for the presence of evil. Strom. 1 : 17. "It is the greatest achievement of Divine Providence, not to allow the evil which has sprung from voluntary apostasy to remain useless and for no good." In later times St. Augustine, looking from sin to the high destiny of the soul that triumphs in the struggle of sin and grace, that endures through the tribulations of life, that knows the love of Christ, and learns the lessons of the cross, and passes through death to life, cries out, "O blessed sin which is worthy to have such and so great a Redeemer."

The dualistic theory of the Universe found its typical expression in Manichaeism. Over against the Holy God is a Principle of Evil to which all sin is to be ascribed, and so God is relieved of all responsibility for sin. Sin is therefore incident to this earthly life, because the soul is entangled in a material body and so far separated from God. The Bible does not teach any such essential quality of Satan. For clearly Satan is finite as a creature and subject to God.

Thomas Aquinas teaches, "that sinful act is both being and act, and that God is no doubt the cause of all act considered as act. But then sin is more than being and act; its possi-

bility lay in the fact that the creature made from nothing and defective was capable of deficiency in acting according to God. Sin is both positive and negative, it is the lack of original righteousness and the unregulated disposition of the parts of the soul. God is the cause of the act where there is sin, but not the cause of sin, since he is not the cause of the defect which is in the act." Of God's relation to the world he argues, "that as God is supreme activity, thinking and willing, he realizes a good and because of his essential goodness, his will is marked by goodness or is love. The final goal is God himself." Everything must be referred to this, as God is the originator of the world. Hence his relation to the world is that of love for it.

The testimony to the supreme excellence of God and to His freedom from responsibility for the evil in the world is clear and full age after age to the time of the Reformation, and is continued by the Theologians of the Post-Reformation period. Luther does not enter into a discussion of the cause of sin in the world, although he clearly expresses his view of sin and the effect of sin on the will, so that Free-Will has no place with the unregenerate. His will is free only to do evil. Seeberg, II. 243.

The Theologians as quoted by Schmidt, are agreed in accepting the doctrine of this article and deny clearly and strongly that God had any responsibility whatever in the origin of sin. Melanchthon says, Loc. Th., 56: "God is not the cause of sin, nor is sin a thing contrived or ordained by him, but is a horrible destruction of the divine work and order."* Chemnitz follows with an explanation, "The explanation also must be noted, of what is intended when it is said that God is not the cause of sin, viz., that he neither desires nor approves of sin, neither does he influence the will to sin. For some understand that he is not the author of sin in such a sense, as in the beginning to create it, or to have it in himself, or to produce it through himself: but that men sin nevertheless by the will of God, and that God produces sin not only permissively, but also efficiently,

* *Loc. Th.* I. 146.

in men and by men; yet he is not therefore to be called the author of sin. Therefore is added as if for the sake of explanation: author and cause of sin."

This stands in strong opposition to the extreme view of Zwingli who assumed a casual efficiency in God over the fall: "God not only foresaw the first sin, but ordained it, and not only this, but actually brought it to pass through man. God incited the first man to transgress the law. God made the first man a transgressor,"*

Quenstedt (II. 49,) asserts his views with great definiteness: "God is in no manner the efficient cause of sin; neither in part nor in whole, neither directly nor indirectly, neither accidentally *per se*, nor whether in the form of Adam's transgression or in that or any other sin, God is not, neither can he be called the cause or author of sin." As already noted all the Confessions of the Lutheran Church also present the same view.

This general concurrence of sentiment through the ages is well supported by a variety of considerations to which confident appeal can be made. Holiness is an essential element of God's nature. If He is a holy God no evil can come from Him or be referred to Him as cause. As God is sole Creator, supreme and alone in creation, this excludes all being or creation, except as brought into existence by God. That at the beginning all creation was marked good, is evidence of His approval of all as fitted to work out His holy purposes. All His works as manifestations of God's will, are by this made partakers of His own quality of being in excellence and fitness. If God is good, just and benevolent, he can not be the author of sin and misery and the woeful destiny of depraved men.

The inquiry is suggested, Does sin become a necessity because of the limitations arising from man's created finiteness? Must men be sinful because they are mere creatures? Some may urge this, so as to find an excuse for sin in the weakness of human nature. If this were true, the only relief from sin would be in deliverance from all human limitations, and even in eternity it would not be possible to rise from the state of sin,

* *Dogmatik*, II, 6.

for then we would remain finite creatures. According to Evolutionary Philosophy, sin is only a necessary stage in the development of man to perfection. It ever avers that man is not yet completely conformed to his environment, and as evolution progresses, sin will exist less and less until the conformation is completed. But sin is not normal, it is abnormal. It is not progressive, but retrogressive. It has no self-corrective power. Man does not become holier by any process of sin. The question has easy reply, when we decide the nature of moral perfection and how attained. This is found in loving God and having His image and likeness. It is in spiritual excellence, and this can not have root in the soil of sin. It is then not in our finiteness, which is from God, but in free determination to evil that we find the source of sin,—not because men are creatures, but because they are willing to be fallen creatures. God did not so create Adam in weakness that sin was inevitable. It must ever be far from the conception of a Holy God, to regard Him as bringing into being creatures incapable of any course, but one so fraught with misery and loss as that of sin. Lutheran Theologians never accepted any such doctrine, so inconsistent with all claims of free-will.

God did not contrive for His purposes or invent a method by which man must sin, nor can it be counted as necessary that sin should exist as in any true succession or absolutely causal relation of Creator to creature. In knowing, desire with will is also present, and so in each of the designated modes of mental activity. But we can well say there is no action of will without desire. And who will predicate sinful desire as rising into control in the mind of the Almighty? Among the Scholastics there was common agreement that the omnipotence of God is an infinite barrier against any act of sin by Him; as to sin, is to manifest a species of impotence. Thomas Aquinas says, "God can not sin, because he is omnipotent." Sin is not in the natural order of the universe. The fall is not a necessary part of the order of nature as from God. It is not original, but an event, an accident after creation. It is not placed in the world as a factor by God. As said by Quen-

stedt, "From creation we exclude the defects of nature, which began only after the fall."

We can not regard God as the mediate cause of sin,—that because man has been created with a physical, sensuous nature, he is bound to sin. Augustine says, "It is not the corruptible flesh, that made the soul sinful, but the sinful soul that made the flesh corruptible. The flesh is not evil, but to live according to the flesh is evil." * To this we join the expression of Hollazius, "The human soul has not been cast by God into the body as into a foul prison, by which it is hindered from being able to elevate itself and fly upward to the knowledge, love, and worship of God." 412. Ambition, pride, and self-righteousness are as much sins as fleshly lusts, and it is quite indifferent with respect to the dominion of sin, whether the body is alive to the sensible impressions or not. Christ charges that the seat of sin is not in the body, but in the heart. Justin Martyr asks, "In what instance can the flesh possibly sin by itself, if it have not the soul going before it and inciting it?" † Tertullian agrees, "The first motion of sin must be ascribed to the soul, to which the flesh acts in the capacity of servant." ‡ There have been times when it was necessary to take strong ground against ascetic tendencies which urged the notion that the body was much of a hindrance to religious life.

Sin is not in the world with God's approval. If we say God made man sinful or regarded his fall as needful for any of His purposes, we deny His holiness, His love, and His benevolence; and, if we say moral purity is the goal and not as well the starting point, and that through sin God is leading man to holiness, we attribute to Him the method which St. Paul repudiates, "Let us do evil, that good may come." Rom. 3 : 8.

Sin is not a necessary step in the attainment of good, a part of moral movement to righteousness and completed humanity. We can not accept the views of representative Unitarians.§

* *De Civ. Dei*, XIV. 3.

† De Res. VIII.

‡ *Adv. Marc.* 1.24.

§ Dr. Bellows in *Restatements of Christian Doctrine*, p. 228–230.

"Let those who can, call the unfallen Adam and Eve satisfactory patterns and types of incomplete humanity. If Adam fell, the race rose by his fall; he fell up, and nothing happier for our final fortune ever occured than when the innocents of the garden learned their shame, and fled into the hardships and experiences of a disciplinary and growing humanity. The true theory of humanity presents us with a race brought into this world for its education, starting with moral and intellectual infancy and liable to all the mistakes, weaknesses and follies which an ungrown and inexperienced nature begets." Of human depravity, Farley says, "The doctrine of human depravity is itself repulsive. There is no such thing as the fall of man." * With writers of this class, much is made of the notion that contrasts and antagonisms are necessary parts of a method of development and that sin as well as holiness is an essential factor in a progressive moral world.

Such a view makes God the Creator of a sinful creature, and so He becomes directly responsible for sin with present misery and possible eternal loss. Without probably intendiug to advocate fatalism, it is really the same in effect, as it compels men without choice, in the weakness of originally sinful nature, to enter a life of deadly moral hazard. We say, Sin is that which ought not to exist; it can not therefore, be necessary. It is not the highway to good, but the opposite to good; evil is not the foretoken of good, but its antagonist, and good is not dependent on evil for place, but is its judge. Sin is not exaltation, but fall. It does not raise from the brute to man, but degrades from man to the brute. It is an act of freedom, but it is also an abuse of freedom.

The divine concurrence in the actions of men, has presented a problem of no little difficulty to the Dogmaticians. This difficulty is increased, when this concurrence is considered with relation to the evil actions of men, without at the same time referring this evil to the first cause, the Creator. Two formulae were used to meet the demands of the case. 1, God concurs in producing the effect, not the defect. 2, God concurs as to

* Unitarians Defined.

the materials, not as to the form. Quenstedt uses the former, 1.545. "The Supreme Being concurs in the actions and the effects, but not with the *'αταξία* of the actions; for, although the universal cause influences the entire action of the particular causes, yet indeed, of the *'αταξία* and evil, as such, if it inhere in an action, there is no other cause than a creature, inasmuch as in acting it departs from its own rule and the order of the First Agent, viz., God, and applies the divine concurrence otherwise than it should." Hutterus, referring to the same formula says, 234: "God as the universal cause, affords only this, viz., that you are able to act, but the fact that you act wickedly proceeds from a particular cause, viz, your perverse will." Hollazius thus uses the second formula, 443: "With the formal *'ανομία* or *'αταξία* of actions morally evil, God undoubtedly does not concur by any positive influence, because wickedness is a defect and privation, not proceeding from God the most perfect, in whom no defect can occur, but from a human will failing in its action. But God concurs with the remote, not with the proximate material of actions morally evil."

In close relation to this the matter of God's permission of evil in the world, but excluding the view that in any sense He is responsible for its existence or practice. Quenstedt thus defines it, 1: 533: "Permission is an act of governing Providence, by which God does not employ hindrances which no finite agent can overcome, or knows how to overcome, to restrain moral creatures, including, themselves of their own accord to sin from an evil forbidden by the law, but, for just reasons, permits them to rush into sins." Gerhard also says, IV. 88: "God does not will sin, and yet does not prevent it, which is permission,"

We conclude this part of the discussion with the words of the Holy Apostle, 1 John 1: 15. "God is light and in Him is no darkness at all."

III. The cause of sin is found in the depraved will of the wicked.

The statement of Article XVIII. concerning Free-will, being accepted, it concerns us to consider the human will parti-

cularly in its relation to sin, or after the fall into sin and its estrangement from God.

Whilst the Fall was an awful calamity, deep and far-reaching in its baneful effects, it did not destroy the will. Sin was not the spontaneous expression of man's original nature. It came to him. He was tempted, and not the inventor and prime mover in evil. Man is not in harmony with sin. He was brought to awful weakness and loss, but not to deprivation any of his original powers, he did not cease to be man and become devil.

Gerhard says, v. 100: "The question is not concerning the essence of will itself, whether this has survived the fall, for this we emphatically maintain, viz., that man has not lost his will but the soundness of it." Augustine presents his view,* "And I inquired what iniquity was, and I found not a subsistence, but the perversity of a will turned away from God." † "The evil will is the source of all evil." ‡ "He had a possibility, but not a necessity of sinning." By choice of his will he turned from God and placed himself in disobedient opposition to him. His sin in its immediate result is disclosed in his unbelief. Of some who would not hear His word, Jesus said, John 8 : 44 : "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do." All mental activity is dependent on knowledge and will, and as these are affected the self in all its modes is also affected. But whatever effect sin had on man it could not signify that man on account of his transgression of the divine will lost his will. As before the fall, man could not be determined by irresistible necessity, so also he can not be thus determined after the fall. All this is because will is of the essential nature of man, or the will is the man.

In describing the *liberum arbitrium* in fallen man, he is shown by Luther to be destitute in himself of power to choose the good. Gerhard quotes Luther as saying, V. 100: "Free-

* Conf. vii. 16.22.
† *Enchirid.* 4.15.
‡ Op. imp. vi. 5.

will is a title without the thing itself, or a thing with nothing but a title." Chemnitz states very clearly,* "The human will can not, by its own powers, without the Holy Spirit, either begin interior and spiritual movements, or produce interior obedience of the heart, or persevere unto the end in the course commenced and perfect it."

The human will is then a depraved will; not mere deprivation, but a will that is ever set to realize evil desire. Amselm with Augustine had the conception of sin as non-entity, that evil is merely an absence of good. It is more than this,—it is positive turning to what is contrary to God's law. In opposition to Roman Catholic writers, Melanchthon taught that all works without grace are sins. In the Apology to the Augsburg Confession, Art. XVIII. 230. 72. it is stated, "But it is false that the man does not sin, who performs the works of the commandments without grace." Formula of Concord, Part I. ch. II. asserts: "We believe, teach and confess that the will of unregenerate man is not only turned away from God, but also has become an enemy of God, so that it has inclination and desire for that which is evil and contrary to God. "Equally emphatic declarations are made by other Dogmaticians as Gerhard," *Loc.* XI. § 23: "In place of such liberty, in choosing good, there succeeded the unbridled impulse to evil."

From the fact of choice which is the chief element in the doctrine of responsibility, the will is supreme in this relation. Through it men come into this Satanic allegiance and by its action disclose this allegiance. The Apostle James in his Epistle gives the course of sin from its inception. 1 : 15. "Each man is tempted when he is drawn away by his own lust and enticed, then the lust, when it hath conceived, beareth sin: and the sin, when it is full grown, bringeth forth death." The harlot draws and entices the man. "The guilty union is committed by the will embracing the temptress, the consequence is that she beareth sin."† In his figurative language the Apostle is in accord with the best psychologic expression. No appre-

* *Loc. c. Th.*, 190.

† Vincent's *Word Studies*, Jas. 729.

hension of truth is effective until there is a reaction, until the will moves. There is no righteousness until the choice is made; so in evil, the sin is ever in abeyance, until the will turns to the evil desire and gives itself to it, realizing a motive. Not that God is excluded, either in inciting to good, or working for good, or in restraining from evil. The sin is not in the knowledge, it is not in the desire, but in the self joining itself to the desire in choice and accepting this as motive. Impulse is not sin, but when an end pleasurable or not is discovered, then the desire appears.. Then, if the desire is new, ensues the inevitable conflict between the desire already held and the new desire, or better, a conflict of self with self, and the conclusion is in a choice, with which choice the self is to be identified, and end is so formed to be attained and the motive operates; the realization of the impulse is effected. In all this the will is regnant and is decisive for all action.

Isolated acts of the body become capacity for action as the body becomes more and more a tool under command; from this there result various abilities to act in this way and that. These capacities become tendencies more or less definite. There is ever a deepening of control which we call habit. Through this we have the action of will or of self. Ethically as well as physically, the same movement is to be observed. The radical difference is not in the various steps or the form, but in the content of the end to be realized. Ethically the actions are judged, not by results, but by their motives, for which the actor is himself responsible. For, if the motives are not within his own control, he can in no case be regarded as responsible. But, as creator of the motives leading to the realization of impulse, he must in every case accept all the responsibility. So self condemnation arises from an estimate of an action, not by its results, but judged by his own self created motives. The motive can have existence only as the free will identifies itself with desire. Acts then are to be held as moral or immoral according to the motive. Here are not simply results that may depend on some contingency outside of possible control, but because the motive is determined by person-

ality alone. And this personality is Will—it is self. Right well then do the Theologians of the Reformation and their successors of the Lutheran Church in accord with Scripture, connect sin with the will as cause. A Sin is not mere knowledge, or mere desire, or mere act, but resides in the will of self, freely choosing desire and so constituting a motive which is realized in act.

The chief end of God in His eternal plan, is the establishment of His kingdom, or redemption. The chief end of man's being is nothing different. Our Lord commands, Matt. 6 : 33, "Seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness."

As stated by Hollazius, 488: "Sin is a deviation from the divine law," or as written in I John 3 : 4. "Sin is lawlessness." A rational, moral being, as he thus deviates from the attainment of this ideal, sins, in so far as his will does not follow this way in all its choices and volitions, and without such determination of the will there is no sin. Ethically he who wills to be good is good, and when the will turns to desire that is unholy, the man is bad. So we learn from Quenstedt, II : 49. "Whatever want of conformity to law (ἀνομία) there ever is in a rational agent, must be ascribed to the free will of the creature itself, being spontaneously deficient in acting." Ps. 5 : 5. Hos. 13 : 9. Matt. 23 : 37. In the will we find the citadel of personality. Sin is always by consent of the will, for the consent of the will is always a forceful consent of what shall be through me.

IV. Can we maintain the Benevolence of the Creator of a Universe in which sin exists?

How can God appear as benevolent in the presence of all that sin signifies for the life that now is and that which is to come?

Probably it is impossible for us with our narrow vision to know enough of God's plans for the moral world, to give full reply to such inquiry which is ever rising; but we can at least learn what will aid us in our view of Him as good, the One from whom comes every good and perfect gift.

Two great facts are before us—God is absolute and sin exists. Did God mean that sin should exist? Was this part of His

eternal plan and, if not, how could sin come into existence? We must distinguish as Chemnitz does, between "an act of God which is efficient, and one that is permissive." Certainly God could have created beings with no possibility of sinning. He might have so placed them that no temptation could assail them.

We may conclude that the Holy God, for wise reasons, determined from the beginning to permit all the sin that has taken place, simply because He saw it was best for his purposes of benevolence. But the question yet comes up—How can God be truly good and have his choices fixed on holiness, if He permits sin? Why is permission of sin part of his plan? Can we have a true and complete Theodicy? Heathenism has attempted to answer this inquiry, now by ascribing evil to the very nature of things, or by conceiving a dualism in control of the universe, or of sin and evil so inherent in nature that annihilation is the only end to be desired. Some have found the cause of sin in man's finiteness or regard sin as a necessary stage in the development of man, or that the possession of a sensuous nature makes sin a necessity of man's being.

Bonaventura says:* "The possibility of the fall lay in the fact that the crature made from nothing and defective, was capable of deficiency in acting according to God."

Whilst it did not escape the notice of the Fathers and the Theologians that it is a great and difficult problem to show that God appears in the creation and government of the world as the highest wisdom and goodness, despite the presence of sin, a formal effort at a harmony was not attempted until Leibnitz in *Théodicée* endeavored to refute by a method of reasoning, the objections raised against God's benevolence. The argument is based on the necessary imperfection of God's creation. That such imperfection, while it may, and probably often does work evil to the individual, nevertheless it does work good in the larger plan of God for the whole. Probably the failure of the author to satisfy the demands of the problem, was due in large degree to his peculiar philosophical basis of monads, and

* *Compendium Breviloquium*, 3, 1.

his lack of clear distinction between physical and moral evil. This theodicy placed so much emphasis on the divine efficiency as to obscure if not ignore human freedom.

The reasons why the possibility of sin is necessarily included in the conception of human freedom are most profound and convincing. The great subject for discussion at this point, is and has been, whether this is or is not a good universe, whether a philosophy of optimism is or is not a true philsophy.

Must sin be found in a moral system, or can there be a moral system without the possibility of sin? To this, Dr. N. W. Taylor of New Haven replies: "Perhaps God can not prevent sin in a moral system." Dr. Edwards A. Park of Andover, replies: "God can prevent sin in a moral system, that it involves no breach of man's freedom to prevent him by persuasives from doing what he is perfectly able to do," and presents the example of the angels in heaven. But when the problem of optimism is presented,—"Can God wisely and consistently prevent sin in the best moral universe?" this great disciple of Jonathan Edwards, replies: "Perhaps not." The best reply from this school is, that our limitations and our ignorance are such that we must acknowledge the possibility that sin was permitted for wise and good reasons. The possibility of sin is essential to freedom, but not the actual presence of sin.

There are some considerations that may be of help in relieving the seeming inconsistency between the character of God as holy and benevolent and His creation of a world that has fallen into sin.

It is inseparable from almighty power to create or not; or to create in one way rather than in another of the infinite possibilities that lay open before the Creator.

God can act neither absurdly or contradictorily. He could not create another being equal to Himself, else there would be two omnipotences, which is absurd, or else the first power would be exhausted in the creation. Creation necessitates that the creation be inferior to the Creator. Creation means the transference of some part, not all, of the power, wisdom, justice, knowl-

edge and holiness of the maker to the thing made. The creature is therefore imperfect in degree, for if perfect, it would be equal to the Creator.

If there is not an absolute equality between the creation and the Creator, there is some lack, in some way the thing made comes short of the perfection of the maker, and, if incomplete, it is not secure from becoming worse, i. e., further removed from perfection. For, where there is defect, there is possibility of increase or of decrease,—of increase of defect, if conditions are such that this defect can enlarge or multiply itself. A defect in the moral character of the thing created by infinite love and power, contained in itself the element or capacity of reproduction, not less surely than the positive excellencies in the same creature possessed possibilities of the Creator's ideal. If free agents, these creatures must be capable of exercising their excellencies or their defects,—by one course becoming better by the other moving yet farther away from perfection. This freedom is a necessity for moral character, for there can be neither virtue nor vice unless the man has the power to do himself hurt.

As suggested by Aquinas, this imperfection is not sin. A man may have a defect, which by determination, he never desires or allows to develop into greater defect or loss, and certainly he can not be regarded as guilty of sin which he has no desire to commit. There is possibility that the defect will never lead to actual sin, since, if he choose to do so, the free agent can surely prevent this. So God the Creator of a creation with defect can never be made the cause or author of what is never made actual. If sin is committed, it must belong to him who with the defect, is also clothed with the power to prevent the occurrence of sin. If, as in freedom, he does that which he has power not to do, which, if he does it, will entail misery on him, and from which he is warned by most positive command, as well as assurance of inevitable consequences, then it is clear that the Creator of such free agent is not chargeable with his wrong doing.

If the creature had been made of such perfection that there was no possibility of sinning, his actions would be devoid of

moral quality, as laid in necessity and not in freedom. These acts would be good, but good as the action of the severest fatalism. There could be no virtue, for there could be no trial for its production and development. There would be no choice and whatever goodness might be seen in any act, would belong, not to the creature, but to the power that made it impossible for man to be anything but good.

A creature so bound to goodness, could never develop character for himself. For character can come only by a free choice of desires, establishing motives, and coming into a persistent attitude to moral issues, forming immanent preference, or making a character for himself. In order that there may be moral quality there must always be possible alternatives. If there are to be such qualities as righteousness, virtue, self control, as the result of good action, there must be the condition by which these are possible, the condition of free choice of alternatives. Character as developed goodness, demands that man must have the responsibility of choosing for himself a course from that which makes appeal to lower qualities in his nature.

The poet says, "The perfect world by Adam trod," but clearly it was not a perfect world in an absolute sense, but one that required for its highest uses the subduing power of this one to whom God gave charge over the world. A perfect world as a perfect man is impossible of creation, and with the latter the notion of created perfection is inconsistent with the notion of human agency in the formation of character.

Man is either the responsible author of his own acts or he is not. If he is not, there could be nothing vicious or virtuous, good or bad, nothing deserving punishment or reward, because there is no person or thing to which these could be attached. If, therefore, man is responsible for his own acts, God cannot be. In order then for a man to do right or wrong, to incur guilt or merit reward, he must be the author, the cause of his own acts.

If there is to be creation at all, it must consist of beings that either shall be free to act for themselves, or shall be under the control of the power that made them. The latter includes the materials and forces of the physical world as seen under laws

fixed and irresistible and directed in its action by an intelligence without. No freedom has here been transferred, hence there is no responsibility. On the part of the Creator there is freedom to continue, change, or even reverse; with these there is simply necessity that admits of no self change. The freedom of rational beings has come to them by transference from the Creator, and so makes them independent beings, responsible by the power of choice for their actions.

The question may yet be asked, Why did God create man with an imperfect nature, so that it was possible for him to do wrong, and become miserable, possibly forever? If this is a world which is to furnish a place for the display of God's power and wisdom exclusively, then there can be no other freedom exercised, save this divine freedom of the Creator. But if there is to be individuality, responsibility, growth of character, with conscious self control, if here separate personalities are to work out their own destiny, the power to choose must be an endowment of man. If man were created perfect, there is but one way open to him, and all choice, and all demand for decision and consequent responsibility are eliminated. There can be no possibility of improvement, no way of development, no way of moral advance, unless there is a possibility of a wrong course. Human virtue is the result of conflict, not otherwise. Character is made by trials of decision and becomes strong under opposition. The Scripture is true as the Philosophy: the crown is "to him that overcometh." Human nature was created imperfect, but with potentialities that are exercised as it advances and are made real by trial and conquest.

Yet another question comes to us out of the terrible reality of evil. Can we show how any system of divine government can make amends for the woe which sin has brought into this world, and the presage that it brings of unending misery in the world to come? This is probably one of those problems of which man has no answer, his only recourse in the presence of this awful calamity to the race, is the cross that takes away the sin of the world. The supreme consolation comes, that it is possible to escape the penal consequences of sin and so to

render the presence of evil harmless so far as personal guilt or pollution may be concerned, and to be forever with the Lord, free from all sin.

The world in which we are placed is one where the great decisions of the will for the great ends of life must be under conditions of a mixed sort. Here are all the temptations to sin, there are all the varied influenccs of divine grace. Certainly God acted with forethought and purpose, in giving us our moral development in a world where sin and grace are struggling for the mastery or rather where man has in himself the struggle for the choice of either.

In all this discussion as to the goodness or badness of the world, the question at issue between the optimist and the pessimist, much seems to rest on the implication of the supremacy of human interests. What shall be the standard of a good or a bad universe? It is best because it seems to best conserve our interests, or bad because it ignores them? Probably it is better solved as a matter of experience, than as a question for metaphysical inquiry. Just as in the matter of free-will, all the wealth of Christian philosophy is of small value compared with conscious experience. The great question is simply whether the facts of experience are compatible with faith in God's goodness and benevolence. Having carefully interpreted experience, can we look out from a world in which sin abounds, and hold faith in the benevolence of God, and in the worth and desirability of living? The condition of the world is deplorable, whether we have regard for much that is unintelligible in the inorganic world, or the apparent lack of significance of so much that appears in the lower forms of life, or the malign and destructive activity of animals that seem endowed but to kill, or confine ourselves to the hard world of human life. Pain and death, pestilence and famine, heredity and social malignity, all seem leagued to hurt and destroy. War and confusion, wailing and heart-breaking, all seem to be man's portion. Then how scanty the attainments of the most of the race? How error and darkness have hung over the most of mankind, how men are shut in by necessities from which there is no escape, how

aimless and how valueless seems to be the drift of human beings! It is a world that lieth in sin. It is no wonder that seeing the misery of the world, Mallock should have propounded the inquiry: "Is life worth living?" If the only goods of life are pleasurable emotions, and if the supreme aim is to produce them, then no doubt the world is a failure. But, if the chief and lasting goods are those of the active nature; conscious self development, growing self possession, progress, conquest, lessening of defect and increase of attainment, the putting forth of energy and the resulting sense of larger life, the whole of life has different significance. If the great aim is a moral development for which men are themselves to be responsible, working out their own salvation, life is invested with larger and richer importance, and relief is at once furnished for much that perplexes and distresses. In such view the goodness of the world is to be found, as an instrument and not as a finished perfection in itself. Thomas Aquinas held that God could create another world better than the present one, but could not create one better adapted to the end for which this world has been made. It is by the end in view that the order adopted must be judged. Does the world furnish the conditions needed for true human development and offer a sphere for possibilities of growing indefinitely better? Considered as an instrument for the upbuilding of men, the very imperfections of the world are its perfection. Man, as he is, can be made perfect only through suffering and struggle. The higher manifestations of character spring from the soil of sorrow and wearisome effort. Dark things in mortal life have their deep moral uses. All that stands in the way of the best growth of character and the most beneficent social order is man himself. The difficulty is not in the order of the world, but it lies solely in the will of wicked men.

The justification of the creation of the world with the possibilities of sin, is thus to be found in experience rather than in speculation. Into this world created by the Holy God, with sin coming from the abuse of freedom in the action of a depraved will, there has also come One mighty to save, who bears

witness to the goodness and love of the Father and inspires the most glorious optimism, the ever glorius hope of the sons of God. Rev. 4 : 11. "Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honor and the power; for thou didst create all things, and because of thy will they were created. Rev. 15 : 3. Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God the Almighty; righteous and true are all thy ways, thou King of the ages. Who shall not fear, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy; for all the nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy righteous acts have been made manifest."

ARTICLE II.

THE MELANCHTHON EDITIONS OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

By Professor J. W. Richard, D.D., LL.D.

The Augsburg Confession was written by Philip Melanchthon with the counsel and assistance of other learned men, though he is the author of the Confession in every rational and legitimate sense of the word *author*. He thought and wrought on it daily for more than three months, and changed it daily to adapt it to changing circumstances. At first and indeed until some time after the arrival in Augsburg the intention was to present to the Emperor only some articles on the Abusus which had been corrected in the dominions of the Elector of Saxony, though such articles were to be preceded by "a long and rhetorical preface." Articles of faith were added shortly before May 11th, as a "remedy" against certain "diabolical slanders" that had been circulated about the doctrinal teaching of the Reformers. All that Melanchthon wrote was put in the name of the Elector of Saxony, until, June 21st, it was decided by the Lutheran Protestants present at Augsburg to deliver a common confession of faith. June 23rd the document that had been prepared by Melanchthon was carefully examined and considered, and was signed by seven Protestant princes and by the representatives of two imperial cities, though Melanchthon continued to make changes in it up to the last hour.

June 25th, between the hours of four and six o'clock in the afternoon, the Confession was read in German before the Emperor Charles V. and many assembled princes, counsellors and theologians. After the reading, both the German and the Latin copy were delivered to the Emperor, who handed the German copy to the Elector of Mayence to be preserved in the Imperial Archives, and retained the Latin copy in his own hands. In the course of three or four decades both copies were lost sight of obsolutely * The most thorough researches

* See Von Ranke, 7th ed., Vol. III., p. 175, *note.*

in the Imperial Archives at Mayence, in the Imperial Archives at Brussels, in the Vatican Library at Rome, and in several archival libraries in Spain, have failed to bring either of them to light. They are not known to *exist anywhere in the world*, and are believed to have been destroyed. Neither did the Protestants make an *official* and *certified* copy of the Confession as it was read and delivered. Hence there is no such document in use, nor even known to exist, as the *original and unaltered* Augsburg Confession, a distinction that should be applied only to the Confession in that form in which it was read and delivered, though the words are scarcely applicable in view of the fact that the Confession was revised and changed up till the last hour before its delivery. But the words *original and unaltered* may be allowed in an official and diplomatic sense, provided they be applied (as they were intended to be applied when first employed in this relation) to the Confession in the form in which it was officially read and delivered. Any other use of the words in this relation, or the application of them to any *printed edition* of the Confession, is a *falsification of fact and of history*, since every known printed edition of the Augsburg Confession is known to be, and can be shown to be, MATERIALLY different from the Augsburg Confession as it was officially read and delivered, June 25th, 1530; if we except *Die unveränderte Augsburgische Konfession deutsch und lateinisch nach den besten Handschriften aus dem Besitze der Unterzeichner, Kritische Ausgabe* (1901), constructed by Professor Tschackert, and accepted by all Augsburg Confession scholars as reproducing "the original and unaltered Augsburg Confession" with a high degree of accuracy, and consequently as discrediting utterly the *Textus Receptus*, German and Latin, of the Book of Concord, and all the Melanchthon, and all other printed editions; through this *Critical Edition* of Tschackert's has received no ecclesiastical authorization or sanction, and has not been made the symbol of any ecclesiastical body. But it has great historical and critical value, as it shows, if not verbally and literally, yet certainly, to a high degree of accuracy, the Augsburg Confession as it was read and delivered, June 25th, 1530; and it enables us to settle for-

ever, in its essential aspects, the hitherto hazy and uncertain contention over the *Confessio Invariata.* It shows, further, that no edition of the Augsburg Confession in official use in the Lutheran Church to-day can be claimed by its subscribers as "*that first and unaltered Augsburg Confession,*" not even in a *technical* sense as over against the Latin *Variata* of 1540, since the designation, "*that first and unaltered Augsburg Confession*" was coined to stand for and to represent the Augsburg Confession as it was read and delivered at Augsburg, June 25th, 1530—a form of the Augsburg Confession which is not known to have been seen by Protestant eyes since it was officially read and delivered, and is not known to exist anywhere in the world, except, to repeat, in so far as it has been restored by Professor Tschackert from what has been called "authentic codices." From which it must follow, of course, that there is no such document in ecclesiastical use to-day, and never has been, as "*that first and unaltered Augsburg Confession,*" for if the document intended by that designation is not known to exist and has not been seen by Protestant eyes since it was read and delivered, it could not have been, and cannot now be, in ecclesiastical use. Hence it is not only invidious, but it is untrue, as a matter of fact, when any ecclesiastical body says: "We accept the Unaltered Augsburg Confession," etc.*

* We find the word "unaltered" in this connection first in the *Liechtenberg Bedenken*, February 16th, 1576, where it appears thus: *Augspurgische erste ungeenderte Confession.* Hutter, *Concordia Concors*, Witebergae, 1614, p. 78b. In the Preface to the Formula of Concord, *Solid Declaration*, we have, in the German: *Erste ungeenderte Augspurgische Confession;* in the Latin: *Augustana prima illa et non mutata Confessio.* We have not been able to discover the first use of the word *invariata* in this relation, but it is exactly equivalent to *non mutata* and *ungeenderte;* and that by "*that first and unaltered Augsburg Confession*" the authors of the Formula of Concord and the editors of the Book of Concord meant the Augsburg Confession "precisely in the form in which it was committed to writing in the year 1530, and presented to the Emperor Charles V." (*Formula of Concord*, Jacobs, p. 536), is proved beyond doubt, or even the possibility of doubt, by their own solemn asseverations in the Preface to the Book of Concord and in the Preface to the Form of Concord. See Jacobs's *Book of Concord*, vol. I. pp. 14 and 536; the New Market edition of the *Book of Concord*, pp. 93 and 593; Müller's *Libri Symbolici*, seventh edition, pp. 12 and 569; and Hane, *Hist. Critica Augs. Conf.* pp. 18, 19. They even go so far as to say that copies of the Confession, which have been preserved in the archives of their predecessors, they "caused to be compared by men worthy of confidence with the copy which had been presented to the Emperor himself, and is preserved in the

I. THE EDITIO PRINCEPS.

Immediately after the Confession was read the Emperor requested the Lutheran Princes to refrain from publishing it. They promised to comply with his request. But in a very short time six editions in German and one in Latin were published surreptitiously. They are called the Ante-Melanchthon editions. They have no official or diplomatic value, and were so carelessly printed as to seem to have been purposely corrupted. Thereupon Melanchthon undertook the preparation of an edition "revised and emended," using as he tells us, "a copy of good credit," and "adding the Apology which had been also offered to his Imperial Majesty." *

This edition, known as the *editio princeps*, Latin and German, has different titles, though the *edition is one.*† The Latin title of the largest number of copies that have come down to us is as follows:

CONFESSIO FIDEI
exhibita inuictiss. Imp. Carolo V.
Caesari Aug. in Comicijs
Augustae,
Anno
M. D. XXX.
Addita est Apologia Confessionis.

Beide, Deudsch
und Latinisch.

Psalm. 119.
Et loquebar de testimonijs tuis in conspectu Regum, & non confundebar.
WITEBERGÆ.

* See *Preface.*
† C. R. XXVI., pp. 235 *et seqq.*

archives of the Holy Roman Empire." But, *mirabile dictu*, they took into their Book of Concord a vicious copy of a German manuscript destitute of authority, and for the Latin, Melanchthon's second edition! See below in the body of this article.

At the end of the Apology are the words: Impressum per Georgium Rhau, M.D. XXXI.

The title of the German *editio princeps*, reprinted from the original, two copies of which are before us, is as follows:

Confessio odder Be=
kantnus des Glau=
bens etlicher Fursten
und Stedte: Über=
antwort Keiserlicher
Maiestat:
zu Augspurg.
Anno M. D. XXX.
Apologia der Confessio.

At the end of the Apology, given in the German translation of Justus Jonas, on the opposite page, alone, stands: Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Georgen Rhaw. Anno. M. D. XXXI.

This bilingual edition of the Confession and Apology is in quarto form. Weber, on the basis of a confused and uncertain letter written by Pistorius to Landgrave Philip, June 18th, 1561, concluded that the Confession, both Latin and German, was printed without the Apology, and privately circulated already in the Autumn of 1530.* Bindseil has followed Weber, and has dated this edition anno 1530–1531.† But Professor

* *Kritische Geschichte*, II., 11 *et seqq.*

† C. R. XXVI: p. 234. Bindseil notes a very slight difference—a mere matter of spacing—in the titles of this first German edition. C. R. XXVI., p. 240.

Kolde has recently shown, on the basis of data not known to Weber and Bindseil, "that *an edition of the Augustana proceeding from Melanchthon has not existed from the year 1530*, that the *editio princeps* was first published in the Spring (the end of April or the beginning of May) together with the Apology, yet in such a way, that, inasmuch as the German translation of the Apology by Jonas was not yet finished, the *Latin* text was first published alone, and probably the recollection of this fact, namely, that the work at the beginning came out incomplete, helped to create the report about an earlier edition of the Augsburg Confession."* Though Kolde holds, as is evident from Melanchthon's Preface, that the Confession began to be printed in the year 1530.

But as regards the date on the title-page, both Latin and German, namely, ANNO M. D. XXX., there can be no question that that marks the date of the Diet at Augsburg, and not the date of the publication of the edition, as is evident from the fact that that date appears on the title page of *all* the Melanchthon, and of very many other, editions of the Confession. And when we consider that in the Preface Melanchthon has said: "And we have added the Apology which was also offered to his Imperial Majesty," we have a clear proof that this edition was not published in the Autumn of 1530, for we know that the Apology was not completed till near the Middle of April, 1531†.

This,—we repeat it for the sake of emphasis and clearness—is the *editio princeps* (first printed edition) of the Augsburg Confession, Latin and German, with the Apology in Latin added to the former, and with the Apology in Jonas's translation added to the latter. It is the private work of Melanchthon. There is not in the Preface, nor in any other writing that has come down to us, a single word that indicates that Melanchthon was authorized by the Elector or by any other person to publish an edition of the Augsburg Confession, though it is probable that the Elector, and certain that some

* *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, XVII. Jahrgang, Oct. 1906, pp. 729 *et seqq.*

† See Kolde, *ut supra* pp. 733–4.

other persons, knew what was being done.* Nor does it seem to have occurred to Melanchthon that the Confession was an official document in such a sense that its *verba ipsissima* dare not be changed.† He had written it to be a defence and vindication of the Lutherans as "professing no doctrine contrary to the authority of the Holy Scriptures and of the Catholic Church," as he says in the Preface to this edition. That the Catholic theologians had expressed dissatisfaction with portions of it, and that it had been already printed and circulated in a corrupt form, seemed to furnish a sufficient reason "to publish a revised and emended edition" (Melanchthon's Preface). That he was influenced in places by the Catholic Confutation is clearly evident, as especially in Articles XIII. and XVIII., and that he acted generally with great independence towards the text of the Confession as officially read and delivered, is also evident, though the changes and emendations are in very large part only redactional. But in not a few places the changes are material, and do materially affect the text of the Confession, so that Professor Tschackert is perfectly correct when he says: "Melanchthon's Latin text and that of the Book of Concord are thus with entire certainty not the Confessio invariata delivered, June 25th, but *a private work of Melanchthon.*" ‡

That the differences in texts may appear evident to the eye we place the most important of them in parallel columns, and henceforth write the word invariata thus: "*Invariata.*"

THE MANUSCRIPT TEXT. "*Invariata.*"	MELANCHTHON'S EDITIO PRINCEPS.
Art. XIII. The Article closes with the word *ostenduntur.*	Melanchthon adds the damnatory antithesis: Damnant igitur illos qui docent, quod sacramenta ex opere operato iustificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu sacramentorum, quae credat remitti peccata.

* See Kolde, *ut supra*, p. 731.
† Von Ranke, vol. 3, p. 175, vol. 5, p. 323.
‡ *Die Unveraenderte A. C.*, p. 61.

Art. XVIII. The Article closes with the word "homicidium etc."	Melanchthon adds the damnatory anthithesis: Damnant Pelagios, et alios qui docent, quod sine spiritu sancto, solis naturae viribus possimus Duum super omnia diligere. Item praecepta Dei facere, quoad substantiam actuum. Quanquam enim externa opera aliquo modo efficere natura possit, potest enim continere manus a furto, a cede, tamen interiores motus non potest efficere, ut timorem Dei, fiduciam erga Deum, castitatem, pacientiam etc.
Art. XXI. in Epilogue: Tota dissensio est de paucis quibusdam abusibus.	Sed dissensio est de quibusdam abusibus.
Art. XXIV. Ad hoc praecipue opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant imperitos.	Ad hoc unum opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant imperitos.
Art. XXVI. Here: The words "die festo" are followed immediately by "Act. XV."	Here between "die festo" and "Act. 15" we find the following: Item. Si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi. Quare tamquam viuentes in mundo decreta facitis? Ne attingas. Ne gustes. Ne contrectes.
Art. XXVI. Here: Aut satisfacere pro peccatis.	Here: Aut iustificari.
Art. XXVI. Here: Christianismus.	Here: Christiana iustitia.
Art. XXVIII. Here: Quod ieiunia sint opera etc.	Here: Quod ieiunia non naturae, sed afflictiva sint opera etc.
Art. XXVIII. Here: Ecclesiis imperare.	Here: Ecclesias cogere.

After making this exhibit Professor Tschackert says: "*As in all these* places, so in *numerous other cases all the authoritative codices are unanimous against Melanchthon.* Hence it is cer-

tain that the text printed by Melanchthon in the Autumn of 1530 and taken into the Book of Concord in 1580 is not the text of the Confessio invariata." P. 62.

If one compares the *editio princeps* with Professor Tschackert's *Critical Edition* he cannot resist the conclusion that he has here an *altered* Augsburg Confession. The attitude toward the *dogmatic* tradition of the Roman Catholic Church *is significantly altered.* Especially is this true in the condemnation of the *opus operatum* in Article XIII., and in regard to "the substance of actions" in Article XVIII. But to our mind the most significant change is found in the Epilogue to Article XXI. Here the "*Invariata*" has: "Tota dissensio est de paucis quibusdam abusibus." Now if the Reformation, prior to 1530, was only a dispute about a few abuses, then we have utterly misinterpreted its history and have misread its literature. We have always been of the opinion that the Reformation in its initial movement, the posting of *The Ninety-five Theses*, was in essence a *doctrinal* revolt, and we have always held that the *Assertion of all the Articles*, *The Three Great Reformation Writings*, the *Formula Missae*, the *Deutsche Messe*, the Catechisms, *The Visitation Articles*, the *Loci Communes*, were mainly *doctrinal* treatises, written in antithesis to much of the doctrinal teaching that prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church at that time. We have always taken offense at what we read in the Epilogue to Article XXI. of the *editio princeps*: "Sed dissensio est de quibusdam abusibus." There was *dissension in regard to certain abuses*, but we must change our mind radically in regard to the Reformation before we can reach the conclusion that *the entire dissension had reference to some few abuses.* But so says the "*Confessio Invariata.*"

Turning now from the Latin to the German *editio princeps*, we find that this differs from the "*Invariata*" in about four hundred and fifty places, though, as in the Latin, the vast majority of the differences are purely redactional. But some do materially affect the sense. Article IV. in the *editio princeps* has been entirely rewritten, and has been amplified from eighty-six words in the "*Invariata*" to one hundred and forty-one words. In literal translation Article IV. of the *editio princeps* is as follows:

"And since men have been born in sin, and do not keep the law of God, and cannot love God from the heart, it is taught that we cannot merit forgiveness of sin by our work or satisfaction. Also we are not esteemed righteous before God on account of our work, but we obtain forgiveness of sins and are accounted righteous before God for the sake of Christ out of grace, through faith, so that we receive sure consolation in the promise of Christ and believe that forgiveness of sin is surely given us, and that God will be gracious unto us, will esteem us righteous, and will give eternal life for the sake of Christ who by his death hath reconciled God, and hath made satisfaction for sin. He who thus truly believes, obtains forgiveness of sin, becomes acceptable to God, and is esteemed righteous before God, for the sake of Christ, Rom. III. and IV."

Article XIII. in the "*Invariata*" ends with und den glauben dadurch sterket. In the *editio princeps* the damnatory clause is added, as in the Latin. In Article XVIII. also the damnatory clause is added. Important changes are made in Articles XXVII. and XXVIII.

Thus Melanchthon's German *editio princeps* is very much *varied.*

II. EDITIO OCTAVAE FORMAE 1531.

Already early in June, perhaps even earlier, Melanchthon began to prepare a new Latin edition of the Confession and Apology. The former he conformed more closely to the German *editio princeps* on which he seems to have bestowed more care than on the Latin *editio princeps.** His main object seems to have been to make the article on justification in the Apology more luminous.† But he did not make any change in Article IV. of the Confession. A very important addition is made to Article XII. in the antithesis:

EDITIO PRINCEPS.	EDITIO OCTAVAE FORMAE.
Rejiciuntur et isti, qui non docent remissionem peccatorum per fidem contingere, sed jubent nos mereri gratiam per satisfactiones nostras.	Rejiciuntur et isti, qui non docent remissionem peccatorum per fidem contingere, sed docent remissionem peccatorum contingere propter nostram dilectionem et opera. Rejiciuntur et isti qui Cononicas satisfactiones docent necessarias esse ad redimendas poenas aeternas, aut poenas purgatorii.

* Weber, II., pp. 68–91; Hase, *Libri Symbolici*, p. XI.; Francke, *Libri Symbolici*, p. XXVII. note 10.

† C R. II., p. 506. In the Preface he changed the words *ante duos menses* to *ante semestre.*

In Article XXI., in addition to a couple minor changes, the following declaration is made against the adversaries: Nec docent quod sola fide propter Christum accipiamus remissionem peccatorum, which marks the first introduction of the *sola fide* into the doctrinal teaching of the Augsburg Confession, except as it appears in a quotation in Article VI.

This octavo edition very generally supplanted the *editio princeps*. It was received as the "first edition" into the Jena edition of Luther's Works (Vol. IV., pp. 191 *et seqq.*) in 1550, an edition published under the auspices of the Weimar–Jena theologians for the special purpose of reproducing Luther's Works in the most accurate form as over against the Wittenberg edition. At the Naumburg Diet in 1561 this octavo edition of the Confession was signed and sealed by the Lutheran Princes there assembled "as the original." In 1569 it was taken into the *Corpus Julium* edited by Chemnitz and often republished.* In 1571 it was taken into the *Corpus Doctrinae Thuringicum* which was published by the Jena theologians as a set-off to the *Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum*, and in 1580 it was admitted into the first Latin edition of the Book of Concord, which "was published in the name of the princes and the estates," and it was appealed to by the authors of the Formula of Concord as "*that first and unaltered Augsburg Confession* delivered to the Emperor Charles V. at Augsburg in the year 1530, at the Great Diet."—"A proof of how little the theologians of that time knew of Melanchthon's editions, and of how little they were able to distinguish them from each other," says Weber.†

III. THE GERMAN VARIATAE.

1. Melanchthon was as little satisfied with the German *editio princeps* as he was with the Latin. Weber thinks that he began already in 1531 to prepare a new German edition of the

*See Preface to the *Corpus Julium*, dated 1576, on fol. 4. That this *Corpus* "was published in print in the year 1569" is certain. See Rehtmeyer, *Braunschweig-Kirchen-Historie*, III., p. 349. See also pages, 425, 429. Schlegel, *Kirchen-und Reformationsgeschichte*, II., pp. 272 *et seqq*. Hase, p. XII., note 6. Francke, p. XXVII., note 10. Walch, *Introductio*, p. 84.

†*Kritische Geschichte*, II., pp. 98 *et seqq*.

Confession, shortly after he had published the octavo Latin edition.* However this may be, it is certain that a new German edition was finished in 1532, and was published at the end of that year, for at the very beginning of January, 1533, Melanchthon sent a book to Spalatin, and wrote: "I have also added the revised German Apology. I have revised two entire articles, namely, that on original sin, and that on righteousness,"† that is, on justification. The title of this edition is verbally and literally identical with that of the *editio princeps*, except that after the word *Maiestat* we have: Auff dem Reichstag gehalten / zu Augsburg / Anno M. D. XXX. Apologia der Confessio / mit vleis emendirt. The place and the date of publication do not appear on the chief title-page of the Confession. But on the special title-page that precedes the apology in German we read: Witeberg. M. D. XXXIII. Then at the end of the Apology: Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Georgen Rhaw. This edition is known in the Bibliography of the Confession as the German *variata* of 1533. Sometimes it has been referred to as the first German *variata*.

The author has informed us why he revised the Confession, which is still frequently called Apology. January 1st, 1533, he wrote to Camerarius: "The German Apology and the article on righteousness I have treated more sharply."‡ A day or so later he wrote to Spalatin: "I send you the Pastor. * * * I have also added the revised German Apology. I have revised (retexui) two entire articles, that on original sin and that on righteousness. I request you to examine them. I hope they will be profitable to pious consciences. For I have illumined, as it seems to me, most clearly, the subject of righteousness." that is, of justification.§

Turning now to the Articles of Faith in this new German edition of the Confession, we find that in Article II., *Of Original Sin*, at the end of the thesis, instead of "Who are not through baptism and the Holy Spirit born again," we have "Who are not born again by baptism and faith in Christ

* *Kritische Geschichte*, II., p. 55.

† C. R. II., s. 625. See also p. 619. C. R. XXVI. p. 698.

‡ C. R. II., p. 624.

§ C. R. II., p. 625.

through the Gospel and the Holy Spirit"; while more than half of the anthithesis is rewritten and materially changed. Change has been also made in Article XIX., *Of the Cause of Sin,* though it is not extensive nor of great importance. But taking all the changes together we find that the Articles on sin have been greatly illumined. And as for Article IV. we find that it has been entirely rewritten, and has been enlarged to about six times the size of the corresponding Article in the "*Invariata*" and in the *Textus Receptus* of the Book of Concord, and to about four times the size of the Article in the German *editio princeps.*

In this *Variata* the author declares that "this is the chief article of faith, that forgiveness of sins is bestowed without merit on our part, for the sake of Christ." As a statement of justification "alone through faith, without merit," this Article is not surpassed in clearness and compactness by any other statement of the doctrine in the entire field of Lutheran theology. Hence as an article of faith it is greatly superior to Article IV. in the earlier editions and in the "*Invariata.*"

There are also important changes by expansion, elaboration and addition in Articles V., VI., XII., XIII., XV., XX., and it seems as though they had been all made for the purpose of throwing light on and of adding strength and clearness to the doctrine of "righteousness." We thus have a clear perception of Melanchthon's reasons for revising the Confession again in 1532.

As regards Articles IX., X., XI., there are no changes except in mere matters of orthography. In Article XVIII., instead of: "We cannot keep the high commandments in the heart," we have: "We cannot keep the high commandments in the heart without the Holy Spirit," which adjusts the antithesis more accurately to the thesis: "Without the grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Spirit."

This first German *Variata* was reprinted at Tübingen in 1535. Bindseil says: "There is no doubt that the theologians assembled at Schmalkald in 1537 employed this edition."* This edition was taken into the Wittenberg edition of Luther's

* C. R. XXVI., p. 699. See Weber, II., p. 71 *et seqq.*

Works (vol. IX.), and was placed in the *Corpus doctrinae Philippicum* (1560), in the *Corpus Pomeranicum* (1565), and is noted in the *Index* as the "Confession * * * delivered to his Imperial Majesty at the Diet held at Augsburg in the year 1530." In the Schmalkald articles it is called: "The Articles of the Confession presented to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg."*

2. In the year 1540 Melanchthon published a German edition of the Confession in octavo form. The title is literally and verbally identical with the preceding, except that in this we have *oder* instead of *odder* and Anno 1530 instead of Anno M. D. XXX., and at the bottom of the page: *Anno* M. D. XL. Of this edition Bindseil says: "In which month this edition was published cannot be definitely determined, inasmuch as no mention of it is found in Melanchthon's letters. Since at the Diet of Worms, which was opened Nov. 25th, 1540, it was delivered Nov. 30th, to the Catholics (for which reason it is preserved in the Mayence Chancery), it must of course have been finished before that diet."† Weber says: "This edition has one and the same arrangement with that of 1533. Rhau printed it with the same letters even, and they agree almost throughout line for line and page for page, though on the last sheet F the lines have been somewhat changed."‡ The differences in the two editions, as noted by Weber and exhibited by him in parallel columns, consist of a few printer's errors and of nine readings that are peculiar to the edition of 1540, though these do not in any way change the sense. The fact is, this edition is simply a corrected reprint of the edition of 1533.

3. In this same year (1540) there appeared an edition in quarto form. The title is identical in words with the preceding, except that instead of *Anno* M. D. XL., we read: Ich rede von deinen Zeugnissen fur Königen, Und scheme mich nicht. Wittemberg, 1540. Of this edition Weber says: "After a careful collation with the two preceding editions, I have found that in printing, not the edition of 1533, but the octavo edi-

* C. R. III., p. 286.
† C. R. XXVI., p. 707, Weber, *ut supra*, II., p. 67.
‡ *Ut supra*, II., p. 64.

tion of 1540, has been followed. For it repeats not only the readings that are peculiar to this, and that distinguished it from that of 1533, but even many of its typographical errors." *

Weber then places the variations of the three editions in parallel columns. But none of these changes the sense or amplifies the form. He finds that the quarto edition of 1540 is more accurately printed than the octavo edition of the same year.

4. In 1550 appeared an octavo edition at Wittenberg printed by Peter Seitz. The title is identical with the two preceding, except that instead of Bekantnus, we have here Bekantnis, and at the bottom, 1550. This edition is a reprint from the octavo edition of 1540, though it has a few readings that are different from the edition of 1540,† but these do not in any manner change the sense. This edition also has the Apology, as translated by Jonas, appended.

5. In the year 1555 an edition in quarto was printed at Wittenberg by George Rhau's Heirs. The title is as follows :

Confessio oder Bekentnis des Glaubens / Durch den durchleutigsten / hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Johans Hertzogen zu Sachsen / Chürfürsten &c., und etliche Fürsten und Stedte / uberantwort Keiserlicher Maiestat / auff dem Reichstag / gehalten zu Augspurgk / Anno 1530.

Und dieser Confession Repetitio / geschrieben von wegen des Concilii zu Trident Anno 1551.

Und durch den durchleutichtigsten / hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Augustum Hertzogen zu Sachssen, Churfürsten &c., von wegen der Visitation itzt wider in druck verordnet / Anno

1555

WITTEMBERG.

This edition, as is declared on the title-page, was ordered by the Elector of Saxony for use in the visitation of the churches in the year 1555. Weber says that this edition was introduced

* *Ut supra*, II., p. 68.

† See C. R. XXVI., p. 713.

everywhere in the Electorate.* It differs in only a few places, and that insignificantly, from the octavo edition of 1540.†

This edition is not accompanied by the Apology.

6. In 1556 an edition in octavo form, with the Apology, was published by George Rhau's Heirs. The title is verbally identical with that of 1550, except that after "Wittemberg" we have 1556. It is a reprint of the octavo edition of 1540, with pages numbered alike and for the most part agreeing line for line.‡

7. In 1558 George Rhau's Heirs issued an edition with title verbally identical with that described above under "5," except as to date. Weber says of it: "It is a mere reprint of the Visitation edition of 1555, and agrees with this almost throughout line for line and page for page."§

These seven German *Variatae*, all printed at Wittenberg, are noted and described by Bindseil as Melanchthon editions.‖

The six last are, substantially, reprints of the edition of 1533. In doctrine they do not differ from each other by the breadth of a hair. In form they differ much in orthography (since during the first half of the sixteenth century the orthography of German words was very arbitrary) and occasionally in what are technically called "readings" (Lesarten), such, in general, as we find in the best class of New Testament codices.

To be convinced of this, namely, of the complete agreement in doctrinal teaching, and of the variety of spelling, and of the occasional difference in readings, in these *Variatae* we have only to consult the text of the quarto edition of 1540, as reprinted by Bindseil with the *variants* of the other *variatae* editions, printed in the margin.¶ Hence if we compare these seven *Variatae*, taken all together as a class, with the *editio princeps*, we find exactly that condition of things which we have described above—not a different doctrine, but the same doctrine elabor-

* *Ut supra*, II., pp. 72–75. C. R. XXVI., pp. 714–716.

† See Weber, *ut supra*, II., p. 73.

‡ See Weber, *ut supra* II., pp. 74, 75. Also C. R XXVI., pp. 717–719.

§ *Ut supra* II., p. 77.

‖ C. R. XXVI., pp. 695–722.

¶ C. R. XXVI. pp. 723 *et seqq*. Compare pp. 538 *et seqq*.

ated in certain most important articles, clarified and strengthened, rendered more pronouncedly Lutheran, and more decidedly antithetical to the then current teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. Of this no one can be in doubt for a moment who will compare these *Variatae* with the *editio princeps*, to say nothing about the German *Textus Receptus* and the "*Invariata*." Hence, from the standpoint of doctrinal clearness and of Lutheran distinctiveness, it cannot but be regarded as a great misfortune that these German *Variatae*, doctrinally identical, which for nearly fifty years had supplanted the *editio princeps*, were themselves supplanted by the *Textus Receptus*, which was taken from a manuscript "without authentic value," and which "is through and through inaccurate."*

In the qualities named above it cannot be denied that these German *Variatae* greatly surpass the *editio princeps*, to say nothing about the *Textus Receptus* of the Formula of Concord and the "*Invariata*." And it may be safely opined that had the authors of the Formula of Concord and the Elector August had as much critical acumen, and as much historical knowledge of the "*Invariata*" and of the different Melanchthon editions of the Augsburg Confession as they had desire to conciliate the Flacianists, they would not have made the blunder they did when they wrote the words: "*That first and unaltered Augsburg Confession*," and then took an unauthentic and thoroughly inaccurate text into the Book of Concord.†

Moreover, these *Variatae* show that in the twenty-six years that intervened between 1532, when he prepared the first

* Tschackert, p. 61.

† For reasons not fully known the Elector August of Saxony, in the year 1576, sent to Mayence and requested the Archbishop of Mayence to send him a copy of "the original Augsburg Confession as it had been delivered in German in the year 1530." A copy of the Confession was sent under the seal of the Secretary of the Archbishop. But it was not a copy of "the written original Confession," but a copy of a manuscript which had been made before the Confession had been signed, and which, consequently, has no authentic value. "The officials of the Mayence Archives had deceived the Archbishop of Mayence and the Elector of Saxony.". Tschackert *ut supra*, p. 60, and Weber, *ut supra*, I., pp. 122 *et seqq*. Göschel, p. 48. A copy of an unauthentic manuscript was put in the Book of Concord.

German *Variata* and the year 1558, when he published the second authorized edition (see "7" above), Melanchthon made no changes in the doctrine of the Confession, which is *prima facie* evidence that he was not conscious of any doctrinal change in himself. Nor even when engaged in preparing the edition of 1533, does he indicate or intimate, that he wishes to introduce any new views of doctrine. He only wishes to throw more light on the Confession, and to make the Article on Justification more accurate, and to make that Article and that on sin "profitable to pious consciences." *

IV. THE LATIN VARIATA OF 1540.

There is evidence that leads to the conclusion that when in 1535 Melanchthon revised the *Loci*, he was at the same time engaged in revising the Confession in Latin.† Bindseil is of the opinion that the revised Latin Confession was also printed in 1535.‡ Caspar Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, says that it was written in the year 1538, shortly before the Diets of Worms and Ratisbon, and that it "was ordered, revised and approved by Luther, and that it was necessary that it be written on account of the adversaries, who had found fault with many things that needed to be explained in order that the occasions and the reasons for such cavils might be removed."§ Nicholas Selneccer, one of the authors of the Formula of Concord, says: "The later Confession was revised in 1538, and was read over and approved by Luther, as witnesses still living affirm."||

The object of the revision as stated by Melanchthon himself, was "to throw more light on numerous discussions," and "to make it better in the article on justification," and to bring into clearly distinctness the proposition that "We are justified by faith alone."¶

But as no copy of this varied Wittenberg edition, bearing date 1535, or 1538, is known to exist, it may be fairly concluded that it was not published in either of these years.

* C. R. XXVI., p. 698. Weber, II. p. 103.
† C. R. XXVI. pp. 340–2.
‡ C. R. XXVI., 341. See THE LUTH. QUARTERLY, 1898, p. 560.
§ *Epistola Dedicatoria*, Witt. Edition of Melanchthon's *Opera*.
|| *Catalogus Brevis*, fol. 97.
¶ C. R. XXV., pp. 340–342.

This varied edition, quarto in form, was published at Wittenberg under the following title:

CONFESSIO

FIDEI EXHIBITA

INVICTISS. IMP. CAROLO

V. Caesari Aug. in Comicijs

AVGVSTAE.

ANNO. M. D. XXX

Addita eft Apologia Confessi-

onis diligenter recognita.

PSALMO. CXIX.

Et loquebar de testimonijs tuis in conspectu Regum, et non confundebar.

VITEBERGAE. 1540.

The Confession is followed by the Apology, at the end of which we read: IMPRESSUM VITEBERGAE per Georgium Rhau. M. D. XL. And though it is said in the main title that the Apology "has been carefully revised," yet as a matter of fact Melanchthon never carefully revised the Apology after 1531, and the Apology printed with this edition of the Confession is the same as that printed with the octavo edition of 1531,* a very few things excepted.

This Latin edition of the year 1540 is known *via eminentiae* as the *Confessio Augustana Variata.* In *form* it differs greatly from the Latin *editio princeps*, but Melanchthon himself de-

* C. R. XXVI. p. 345. Weber, II., 103–8. Francke says: "Sed pauca tantum secus habent atque in ed. 1531, 8. Quare cum *Hase* non dubitaverim, quin Mel. confessionem intellexit, quum a. 1533. *Ant. Corvino* scripsit: 'Latinam apologiam totam retexam.'" P. XXXVI., note 15.

clared officially at the Diet of Worms, January, 1541, that "the meaning of the things is the same, though in the later edition some things have been either more mildly expressed or have been better explained."* Bindseil has well stated the case as follows: "Very many Articles of Faith, especially IV., V., VI., XVIII., XX., XXI., have been more copiously treated. Articles XI., XII., have been transposed, and Article X. has been changed. Also: The first five articles on the Abuses that have been corrected, have been not only changed, but have been arranged in a different order. In the earlier Melanchthon editions they are arranged as follows: I. Of both Species; II. of the Marriage of Priests; III. Of the Mass; IV. Of Confession; V. Of the Difference of Meats. In this edition of 1540 their order is as follows: I. Of the Mass; II. Of Both Kinds of the Sacrament; III. Of Confession; IV. Of the Distinction of Meats and of like Papal Traditions; V. Of the Marriage of Priests."†

The change in Article X. can be best shown by a parallel exhibition:

"*Invariata*," EDITIO PRINCEPS and EDITIO OCTAVAE FORMAE of 1531:	VARIATA OF 1540:
De Coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint, et distribuantur vescentibus in coena Domini, et improbant secus docentes.	De Coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi, vescentibus in Coena Domini.

Here is change in form, indeed, but there is not the *slightest* reason to believe that Melanchthon meant to present a *new* doctrine of the Lord's Supper, or that he meant to favor or to allure the Sacramentarians. In the Confession as read before the Emperor, and in the two earlier Latin editions, it was necessary to repel Eck's charge of Sacramentarianism. Hence the "et improbant secus docentes." In the "*Invariata*" and in the older editions the tenth Article had not, either ex-

* C. R. IV., pp. 43, 47. See THE LUTH. QUARTERLY, 1898, p. 565.

† C. R. XXVI., p. 345. In Article XVIII, instead of: Per verbum spiritus sanctus concipitur, we have: Sanctum spiritum concipimus, cum verbo Dei assentimur.

pressly, or by implication, rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation, nor had it expressed any dissent therefrom, and the Catholics had interpreted it, as they still do, in the sense of Transubstantiation. Were they to be left forever under the impression that the Lutheran fundamental Confession favored, or at least did not differ from, the Roman Catholic Church in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper? * And as regards the Zwinglians and their theological *conferes* it must be recalled that in the year 1536 the Wittenbergers and the theologians of South Germany had come to an agreement on the Lord's Supper and had together subscribed the Wittenberg Concord, † in which in the Article on the Lord's Supper we have the same pivotal words, *exhiberi* and *cum pane et vino*, which particularly distinguish the *Variata* from the "*Invariata*," and from the older Latin editions; and sacramentarianism was no longer in the purview. Hence there was absolutely no call for the "et improbant secus docentes." Moreover, by exchanging the word *distribuantur* for *exhibeantur*, Melanchthon brought the Confession, as it regards the administration of the sacraments, into harmony with itself, for in Article XIII, we have this very same identical word *exhibeantur* in all the Latin editions, where it is said: Sacramenta * * * per malos exhibeantur, where, as well as in Article X. of the *Variata*, it means *administered*; and this same word is used by the Lutheran Dogmaticians more frequently than all other words taken together to set forth the doctrine that in the Lord's Supper, "the body and blood of Christ, that is, the

*Salig is undeniably correct when he says: "The papists believed that the Lutherans were entirely at one with them on this point and taught transubstantiation." *Historie Augs. Conf.* III., p. 471. And von Bezold, an Erlangen professor, has written: "In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper a form was selected that is so ambiguous that the Catholic theologions could only regret the lack of an express recognition of transubstantiation." *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation*, 1890, p. 620. For confirmation from the Catholic side that the Catholics approved Article X. of the "*Invariata*" and rejected and condemned Article X. of the *Variata*. See Fabricius's *Harmonia Conf. Augustanae*, second edition (1587), pp. 188–9.

† C. R. III., pp. 75 *et seqq*. Von Rauke, vol. 5, p. 323.

Lord Jesus himself," * "are administered to those who eat in the Lord's Supper."

Also: In the *Variata* we have the words "bread and wine." This makes it impossible to construe the Article in favor of Transubstantiation, as had been all along done by the Roman Catholics. Hence the Catholics have never accepted or approved Article X. of the *Variata*, and it was exactly this Article which Eck instanced at Worms in 1541, when he alleged that the Confession had been changed. Also the use of the words, bread and wine, are fully in accord with the Lutheran teaching that in the Lord's Supper the bread remains bread, and the wine remains wine, and that with and by these media the body and blood of Christ are administered to those who eat in the supper. The word *vescentibus* is distinctively Lutheran as over against the Zwinglio-Calvinistic view—*credentibus*.†

And as further evidence that Melanchthon did not mean to introduce a new doctrine into the *Variata*, we point to the fact that he changed not a single word in Article X. in any of the German *Variatae*, in all of which the Article stands as it was read before the Emperor. And it must never be forgotten that the German Confession, since it was chosen by the princes to be read, and was read, before the Emperor, must ever take precedence of the Latin as the Augsburg Confession. Rather must the Latin be regarded as the Augsburg Confession of the theologians, and the German as the Augsburg Confession of the Lutheran Church.

Hence, all things considered, it is not only gratuitous, but absolutely unhistorical, even anti-historical, to say, or to intimate, that Melanchthon changed Article X. in the Latin Confession on account of the Sacramentarians, or on account of their reputed successors, the Calvinists, in the later edition.

* *Wittenberg Concord, ut supra*, p. 78.

† For a strong and positive vindication of Melanchthon's Lutheran soundness see *Melanchthon, the Theologian*. By Dr. H. E. Jacobs in *The Lutheran*, the official organ of the General Council, February 18th, 1897, pp. 4, 5. Among other things, Dr. Jacobs says: "On the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, there is no evidence that he ever abandoned the explanation of Luther."

Consequently in the absence of any contemporary evidence and testimony to the contrary, we must hold as Peucer and Selneccer testify, that "the meaning of the subjects is the same, although here and there in the later edition some things are rendered more explicit on account of the adversaries, or have been softened."* And in corroberation of such a conclusion we note the fact that this *Variata* went out accompanied by the Apology exactly in the form in which it had appeared in the *Variata* of 1531, in which Apology we read: "In the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present and are truly administered (exhibeantur) etc." Surely Melanchthon could not be guilty of such a glaring inconsistency as to betray the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the Confession, and side by side to maintain it in the Apology in one of its most rigid and extreme forms of statement.

This *Variata* soon so far supplanted the Latin editions of 1531 that they became for a long time almost forgotten books. Immediately it was officially employed and defended at the Diet of Worms (1540–1), and again at the Diets of Ratisbon, 1541 and 1546. At the Colloquy of Worms in 1557 the *Variata* was not only presented to the Catholics as the Confession of the Lutherans, but it was made the basis of a Lutheran agreement that was signed by Lutheran theologians representing churches extending from Pomerania to Wüttemberg. Luther called it "the dear Confession." John Brentz praised it highly. Chemnitz declared that "it was in everybody's hands," and both he and Selneccer valiantly defended it, and declared that it was used with the knowledge and approbation of Luther.†

* Selneccer, *ut supra*, fol.,97, who wrote in the year 1571. Peucer wrote in 1562.

† See THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for 1898, pp. 570–1. Weber, *ut supra* II., pp. 333, 341, 343. Heppe, *Geschichte d. Deutschen Protestantismus*, I, 208. Heppe, *Die Confessionelle Entwicklung*, p. 118. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, I. p. 241. Köllner's *Symbolik*, I., 233–4. Weber, after an exhaustive inquiry into the history and text of the *Variatae*, writes: "And now what conclusion must we draw from all these historical facts? This and nothing else: In the *Variatae* Melanchthon has changed nothing in doctrine. Because Luther and the other co-reformers raised no

But at the Colloquy in Weimar, Flacius, hard pressed in argument, and unable to refute his opponent who had quoted from this *Variata*, said that Balthaser Winter had told him that George Rorer had told him that Luther was not pleased with Melanchthon's course in changing the Confession. It is almost superfluous to say that such an allegation is utterly without support. It is unhesitatingly denounced by historians as "an anti-Philippistic fabrication," invented by Flacius to cover the shame of defeat in argument. But, the fabrication now launched, in that day of suspicion and of theological jealousy and political animosity, the *Variata* became discredited. To satisfy the Flacianists the authors of the Form of Concord decided to exclude everything that had been brought under the suspicion of being *Philippistic*. They proposed to return to "*that first and unaltered Augsburg Confession*"—which, however, they did not do, and which has not yet been done, and which cannot now be done, for as we have said above, so we say here again, such a document as "*that first and unaltered Augsburg Confession*" is not known to exist anywhere in the world. The German *Textus Receptus* in the Formula of Concord is a faulty copy of an unsigned manuscript, and the Latin *editio princeps* is "a private work of Melanchthon's," and is already a *varied* Augsburg Confession.

V. THE LATIN VARIATA OF 1541–2.

Melanchthon was still not satisfied with the form which he had given the Confession in 1540. In the year 1541 he began, and in the year 1542 he finished and published, another edition in octavo. The Apology is added. The title is word for word the same as that of the *Variata* of 1540, except that the place

---

objection, but, as the evidence shows, approved and sanctioned them, and because the Evangelical Church by presenting them in religious colloquies, and by authorizing them at conventions, introduced them into schools and took them into *corpora doctrinae*, they received symbolical authority." Vol. II., p. 241–2. Long ago Strobel challenged the learned world to show any instance in which an evangelical theologian took exception to Melanchthon's changes in the Augsburg Confession prior to 1560. *Apologie Melanchthons*, p. 94. After prolonged researches we repeat Strobel's challenge. See Weber *ut supra* II., pp. 508–9. THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY. Oct. 1898, p. 568.

and date of publication appear after the Apology: IMPRESSUM VITEBERGAE *per Georgium Rhau.* M. D. XLII., and not at the bottom of the title-page.

In matter this *Variata* differs from that of 1540 very slightly in Articles IV., V., XI., XX., but considerably in Article XXI. In the Articles on Abuses there is considerable difference in Articles IV., V., VII.*

Of the Latin *Variatae* of the Augsburg Confession (1531, 1540, 1541–2), described above, we may speak in general, as we have spoken of the German *Variatae:* Each declares on the title-page that it is the Confession of faith that was delivered to the Emperor Charles V. at Augsburg in the year 1530, and each is accompanied by the Apology, which is universally recognized as the best and most authoritative explanation of the Confession. The Lutheran doctrine has not been corrupted in the *Variatae*, but it has been clarified, amplified in statement, fortified by argument, rendered more decidedly Protestant, and more distinctively Lutheran. The "*Invariata*" did not represent the Lutheran doctrine in opposition to the Roman Catholic dogmatic tradition, as is clearly shown by the different confutations, by the agreements reached in the celebrated committee of fourteen,† by the exclamation of Christopher von Stadion, Bishop of Augsburg: *Quae recitata sunt, vera sunt, pura sunt veritas, non possumus inficiari,* ‡ and by that of the Emperor himself: *Protestantes in fidei articulis non errare.* §

Such a confession could not have formed the *fundamentum* of a great Protestant Church, but rather a convenient bridge for crossing to the right bank of the Tiber. Thanks to Melanchthon! The deficiencies and ambiguities that every theologian encounters in the *editio princeps*, to say nothing about the "*Invariata*," are removed by the later *Variatae*, which, for almost fifty years, supplanted the *editio princeps*, and helped to determine the meaning of the Augsburg Confession and to distin-

* See Weber, *ut supra*, II., pp. 109–111. C. R. pp. 345–347. Jacobs, *Book of Concord*, II., pp. 147 *et seqq.*

† THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1907, pp. 374 *et seqq.*

‡ Walch, *Introductio*, p. 176.

§ Coelestin, IV. p. 109. See also Wiedemann's *Dr. Johann Eck*, p. 270.

guish the Lutheran doctrine. Consistency would require that in abandoning these by a backward step, we should go clear back to "*that first and unaltered Augsburg Confession*, delivered to the Emperor Charles V. at Augsburg in the year 1530," which they thought they were doing who authorized and introduced the change. But had they not deceived themselves by allowing themselves to be deceived, it is hard to believe that they themselves could have thought of subscribing the Confession in the form in which it was delivered to the Emperor, June 25th, 1530, and we cannot conceive that it would be possible to find a Lutheran body to-day which could be induced to subscribe the Augsburg Confession in that form, were it made possible to do so.

Hence the thanks of the entire Lutheran Church are due to Melanchthon for his *Variatae*. He represents progress and adaptation in the Lutheran Church; and in the fact that Luther and his co-reformers approved and endorsed his changes and adaptations, and made them their own, we have the positive proof that the authority of the Confession, in their estimation, was not to be sought in the letter, or in any particular form of words, but in the content and in the conception of doctrine.

The man who wrote the Augsburg Confession and the men, his contemporaries, who endorsed and approved it, did not think that it was perfect.* Much rather did they hold that it was capable of being improved, and they acted accordingly. In the *editio princeps* they gave us an *improved* Augsburg Confession, a confession that can stand and that for nearly four hundred years has stood as the distinctive *fundamentum* of a great Church. In this form the Augsburg Confession has had its widest recognition, but in this form it is not the *Confessio Augustana Invariata*, and no intelligent theologian, not

* After speaking of the Augsburg Confession as the purest and the most genuinely Christian manifestation of the Latin Church, Von Ranke writes: "It need scarcely be added that it was not meant to be set forth as a norm for all time. It was only a statement of a fact. 'Our churches teach; it is taught; it is unanimously taught; we are falsely accused.' These are the expressions used by Melanchthon. He wishes only to express the conviction which had been already developed." *Deutsche Geschichte*, 7th Ed. vol. 3, p. 175.

blinded by prejudice, would claim for it any such distinction, or would exhibit it as the proper and intended antithesis to the *Variata* of 1540, since it is itself a *variata*, and since it was not in the purview when the authors of the Formula of Concord invented their distinction: "*That first and unaltered Augsburg Confession*, which" they say "was most carefully *collated* by trustworthy persons with the genuine *Original* which was delivered to the Emperor, and which remains in the keeping of the Holy Empire; and since the Latin and German copies were both found everywhere to be of the same meaning, we will confess to no other."* —and then took into their "Christian Book of Concord," for the German, a text "without authentic value" and "through and through inaccurate," and for the Latin, first, Melanchthon's octavo edition, and then the *editio princeps*, "a private work of Melanchthon's,"† a *variata*.

* Preface to the Book of Concord, Dresden 1580.

† Von Ranke, 7th Ed. vol. 3, p. 175, note. Tschackert, *ut supra*, p. 61.

ARTICLE III.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE BIBLE.

By Professor Luther A. Fox, D.D.

The relation of Christian faith to the Holy Scriptures may seem at first glance to be a common-place subject needing no discussion. We are told that the Bible is the rule of faith. But a little closer look will show us that it is not to be dismissed in such an off-hand way. It is a part of the great problem of the supreme authority in religion. It leads up to the profoundest questions in theology and the philosophy of religion. Upon the clearness with which it is conceived will depend the clearness of our view of the authority of the Bible. Our present study is merly preliminary. Through it we would like to open the way for a fuller understanding of the fundamental principles underlying all religious faith.

Our opinions on a great many subjects, social, political, scientific, religious and philosophic, are often dogmatic because they are shallow, and confused because they are compounded of elements that have not been clearly defined and definitely conceived. One has to read only a few of the dialogues of Socrates to realize this. Descartes laid down this rule for himself: "Begin with the most simple things and proceed gradually to the things that are more difficult." If we always followed this rule with persistent patience and concentration we would find few nsoluble mysteries short of those made by the limitations of human thought. Trying to observe it we shall start with facts so plain that they are often overlooked and forgotten.

As a matter of fact our own personal Christian faith is very closely related to the Bible. Our creed is drawn from its teaching and our life is shaped by its principles. Practically its authority in religion is for us final. Its importance is so great that we often identify Christianity with it. But there is a distinction to be made between Christianity and the Bible. Christianity

is older than any book of the New Testament. If we date its birth with the primai promise, made at the gate of Eden, it is not only older than Genesis but also of any document that Moses may have used in composing the story of the creation and of the fall. Christianity in the narrower sense is based upon the life of our Lord. All of its elements as a creed and life and everything that makes it a religion are embraced in His character and work. The inspired Apostles only developed what was involved in His teaching. They made the truths and duties He had taught more explicit, but they added nothing essentially new. He gathered a church around Him as the custodian of His history and promised the members the Paraclete who would bring to their remembrance, after He was gone, all that He had said and done among them. Christianity as embodied in the Church remained after He ascended to heaven. He had been, while visibly present, their highest authority, but now that He was gone they had nothing but their memories, enlightened by the Spirit, and the revelations given them to guide them. If First Thessalonians was the first of the N. T. books and was written about the year 54, as is generally agreed among conservative critics, there was for twenty years an intensely earnest and vigorous Christianity but no Bible save the Old Testament. Mark's Gospel and at least the Logia of Matthew were written most probably about the end of the seventh decade. The canon was not complete before the end of the century. The Apostolic writings did not come into decided prominence until after most of the inspired men were dead. The earliest Church Fathers show themselves acquainted with the Scriptures and thoroughly imbued with their spirit and language, but they do not appeal to them as authorities. The Bible has rendered an exceedingly important service to the Church but is not absolutely essential to Christianity. If there had been no Bible it would have been very greatly hampered and cripled in its work but it might possibly have survived even the Barbarian invasions. If every copy were lost Christianity might still live.

As Christianity is a true religion, the facts and principles

which it embodies are truths. These are found in the Bible. The statement that the Bible contains the truth is legitimate even though we would prefer to say that the Bible is the truth. The distinction between the truths contained in the Bible and the Bible as a book is important. While the Bible is not, the truths are absolutely essential to the existence of Christianity. They distinguish it from all other religions. Take out its prime doctrines, as many of the modern theologians are trying to do, and we would have a code of moral preceps but not a religion. Seneca would take his place by the side of Paul and Confucius by Christ. Christianity must stand or fall with these truths. Without them Christian faith has no content. One may believe that these truths were supernaturally revealed without believing that the Bible as a whole is an inspired book. Such a position may have its difficulties but is not wholly indefensible.

Christianity is closely related to the Church. The Church may in a limited sense be called organized Christianity. The Church is older than the New Testament. The Bible is in one sense a product of the Church because certain individual members moved by the Holy Spirit wrote it. The Church did not commission them but they acted upon their own individual impulses without taking counsel from any representative body. The early Christians preserved in their memories the history of our Lord, and by frequent repetition of the story moulded it into a definite tradition. The Synoptists cast the tradition in their books. John supplanted their work by adding facts from his own personal observation. Paul and the authors of the Epistles had conceptions of the meaning of the life and work of the Lord and of the application of the truth to practical life, and they wrote them out to meet conditions as they arose in the Church. In this way book after book was written until the canonical body was complete. The Bible does not get its authority for faith from the Church, out of whose bosom it came, but from the Holy Spirit who created both the Bible and the Church. Augustine said that he would not have believed the Bible unless the Church had compelled him. As he is not a final authority for us we are not concerned about his exact

meaning. But if he meant to say that the Church gave the Bible its authority, we emphatically deny it.

The Church of the first and second centuries had a peculiar mission in regard to the New Testament. Only eye witnesses could preserve the facts of the Lord's life, and when they were written could pronounce upon the fidelity of the record. The first century decided the authenticity of the Gospels. The Apostles were endowed with an inspiration that ceased with them. The literary remains of the immediately succeeding age afford the most abundant proof of that fact. Polycarp, Ignatius, Clement and Barnahas stand at an immense distance from Paul and John, Peter and James. Only the contemporaries of the writers could be witnesses of the Apostolic origin of their writings. If Paul's Epistles had not been accepted and certified as Paul's by those who knew him personally, the Church could never have known that any one of them was genuine. The function of deciding upon the authenticity of these books did not belong to the Church because it was the Church but because it had in its possession the facts which enabled it to reach a right decision. The Church in the last half of the second century found it necessary to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious books which had gained currency. Instead of deciding upon the claims of a book by an inner light or an inherent authority, it sought to trace the history of each of the books back to its inspired authors. Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria have unequivocal testimony in regard to this method.

The Church in these early centuries fixed the canon. The books were published in different places and needed to be gathered together in one volume. The Peshito version and the Muratorian Fragment, both of the latter half of the second century, are examples. The canon was not definitely fixed until after the time of Eusebius. Separate churches were engaged in the work. They were governed by certain laws of historic evidence. When the proof of a book was not positive they put it among the antilegomena. In this fourth century local synods, as at Carthage in 395 and Laodicea in 350, named in

their decrees the canonical books. These synods did not claim any special inspiration but gave the results of their inquiries. The collections differed and that fact would have disproved any claim to supernatural enlightenment if it had been made. The story told by Haeckel in his Riddle of the Universe about the Council of Nice trying to decide the canon by miracle has no foundation whatever in fact. As he quotes no authority and gives no reference one has some curiosity as to the source from which he got it. This special mission of the Church in regard to the Bible ceased with these early centuries. Any claim that the Church might make to a superior or even coördinate authority with the Bible, based upon that work would be a groundless assumption. Paul did not rest his claim to authority upon any endorsement by the original Apostles. He is careful to assert that he did not confer with them. He claimed to be an Apostle having a direct revelation and was bold enough on one occasion to rebuke Peter and on another to say that if any apostle or angel preached a contradictory gospel, he is acursed. The Bible never makes an appeal to Council or Pope for proof, but Pope and Council must appeal to the Bible for the proof of their statements. Any part of the Church that would set itself up in opposition to the Bible would be excommunicated by every other part. Our faith, therefore rests with the Bible, and not with the Church.

The Roman Catholic Church seems to make tradition a coördinate authority with the Bible. The statement of the Council of Trent is guarded: "The Gospel * * * the Lord Jesus Christ, first promulgated with his own mouth and then commanded to be preached by his Apostles to every creature, as fountain of all both saving truth and moral discipline, and seeing clearly that this truth and discipline are contained in the written books and the unwritten traditions * * * have come down to us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand." (Session 4). If such tradition could be verified it would have all the force of the written word. A true word of Christ gets no additional authority from its being in the Bible. But we know of no such tradition. Justin Martyr seems to have used

to a small extent an oral tradition lingering in his day but we attach no great importance to his quotations from it. When we ask for the unwritten tradition we are pointed to the books of the Fathers and the decrees of Councils, but when we ask for the proofs of its genuineness it is not forth-coming. Abelard's *Sic et non* has proved for all time that the claim that it is found in the unanimous testimony of the Fathers is wholly untenable. Faith in this unwritten tradition resolves itself into a faith in the authority of the Roman Church. We must believe this statement about tradition and any other it may be pleased to make about fact or doctrine merely because the Roman Church says it has been transmitted from hand to hand from the lips of Christ. Unless we can prove that the Pope and Bishops have been made the inspired custodians of such a tradition, to believe in it is very closely akin to credulity. Moehler, whose Symbolism made such a deep impression at its publication in 1832 and has been recently brought out again in a new edition, must have felt that the Roman position was not easily defended. While he devotes fourteen pages to tradition in the sense of "the consciousness of the Church as the living word," he dismisses oral tradition with three or four sentences. He says, "But, moreover, it is asserted by the Catholic Church that many things have been delivered to her by the Apostles which Holy Writ doth not at all comprise, or at most but alludes to. This assertion of the Church is of the greatest importance and practically indeed includes the foundations of the whole system," p. 364. As it is a fundamental difference between Protestants and Catholics we expected a full statement but found only two specifications both of which may justly be challenged. "Among these oral traditions must be included the doctrine of the canonicity and of the inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures." An enlightened faith therefore finds very little support in an unwritten tradition. It must rest upon the Word of God as contained in the Bible.

The Roman Catholic Church makes itself the ground of faith by assuming the exclusive right of interpreting the Bible. The language of the Council of Trent is clear. "Furthermore

in order to restrain petulent spirits it decrees that no one relying on his own skill shall, in matters of faith and of morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine, wresting the sacred Scripture to his own senses, presume to interpret the said sacred Scripture contrary to that sense which holy mother Church, whose it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scripture, hath held and doth hold, or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, even though such interpretations were never to be at any time published." (Session 4). While guarding against the perversion of the Scripture, the broad principle is laid down that the Church has the sole right of interpretation: "Whose it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures." The right of personal opinion could not be more clearly denied: "Even though such interpretations were never to be at any time published." The individual Christian, whether Pope, Bishop or layman, must not believe what the Bible itself teaches but what the Church says that it means. The Church puts itself between us and the Bible and makes itself the ground and object of faith. The Bible is so far removed from the individual that it is practically of very little importance to him. The greatest theologian must not hold his discoveries as matters of faith until the Church pronounces its judgment upon them. Even the Pope in his private study must wait for his official decision or the decree of a general council. The withholding of the Bible from the laity is a legitimate consequence. The personal student is only an explorer engaged in finding material for the judgment of the common court.

There is involved in all this an element of truth. Beneath it is a great philosophic principle enunciated first by Heraclitus and repeated under different forms by a great many philosophers: The individual is more likely to be deceived than a larger number. Pliny said, "It is better to trust all than a few. Individuals can be and are deceived. No one deceives all and all deceivers no one." The approval of competent judges gives confirmation. Probability is always against the discoverer. It is never safe to break hastily away from the faiths of the

fathers. As a general rule they were right and the individual who sets himself up against them is wrong. Before one commits himself to a new doctrine or a new principle he ought to wait for the seaching examinatin of others who are working in the same field. But this rule is liable to abuse. Pressed too far there could be no progress. There are always conservatives who oppose new truths. The old authorities are usually the stoutest opponents of the new ideas. Often it is a grave question with the discoverer as to the tribunal to which he must submit his work. The judgment of a large majority of a current age is not final. This rule applies to religious as well as other beliefs. The Church has the promise of the Holy Spirit to guide it into all truth. The Church can never err in matters of fundamental faith. But what constitutes this Church? Where is that Church "whose it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scripture"? It is certainly not the little congregation or little synod or little denomination to which one may happen to belong. It is equally certain that it is not the Roman Church. One must forget that it condemned not only the Physics of Aristotle in 1209 but also his Metaphysics in 1215, but in less than a half century allowed public lectures on his philosophy and in a century made him its "official philosopher whom one could not contradict without being accused of heresy." Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of its theologians in the Middle Ages, adjusted the Catholic dogma to Aristotle's philosophy. One must forget also its persecution of Roger Bacon and Galileo. It interpreted Scripture for many years in the sense of the Ptolemaic system but now in that of the Copemican. Its interpretation in not infallible and therefore can not be a final authority. In multiplied instances furnished by its own history individuals were right and the Roman Church was wrong. The rule of Vincent of Lerins, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, so often appealed to by Roman theologians, is not applicable to Roman Catholic interpretation of Scripture. It is an ideal rule, true in theory but not easily applied. Christian faith must, therefore, rest at last not upon the authority of the Church but

upon that of the Bible. The individual may be wrong but the responsibility falls upon him. Absolute certainty may not be possible, but, if not, Christian faith is like the immense majority of our beliefs in every department of philosophy and science, except mathematics and a very narrow field of experimental physics. The New Academy was wrong in asserting that certainty is impossible and that there can be nothing more than a greater or less degree of probability in any field of thought, but there was much more truth in this fundamental principle of that school than our self-confident age is willing to believe. There are limitations to our powers set by our Maker, and we must adjust ourselves to them.

Christian faith, resting upon the authority of the Bible, is not a blind, irrational belief. It has a right to throw back with scorn the charge of credulity. It has reasonable grounds for its existence. When one gets aboard a train or an ocean steamer he believes that he will be carried safely to the point of his destination. He cannot reduce his faith, in the manner of an exact science, to the terms of a mathematical formula. But it would be absurd to charge him with credulity. It is not absolute certainty but rational belief. Faith in the teaching of the Bible can justify itself at the bar of reason The proof of this fact is close at hand. The great library of Apologetics, numbering many thousand volumes, is not a vast mass of absurdities. The immense work that has been given to the study of the Bible was not wasted energy. The tremendous efforts made by infidels and rationalists to undermine its authority are not regarded by themselves as unnecessary. That it still stands seems to show that it is planted upon an impregnable rock. In the presence of all these facts it is not unreasonable to accept its authority as something higher than merely human reason.

The authority of the Bible has been discredited and Christian faith has been brought into disrepute by the mistaken uses to which the Scriptures have been put and the numerous false methods of interpretation to which it has been subjected. It has been frequently said that it is a "book where each his dogma seeks and each his dogma finds." It has been used as

a manual of science, and for many centuries men proved by it that the sky is a solid floor and that the sun moves, and one knows not what all else. These abuses and misinterpretations are the stock in trade of those who write about the conflict of science and religion But certainly the Bible is not responsible for the abuses men have made of it. There is a mauifest distinction between the real teaching of the Bible and the interpretations put upon it. What good thing has not been abused, and what writer has not been misunderstood?

It is not strange that the main purpose of the Bible as a book of religion, and not of science, was overlooked during the Middle Ages. The flood of barbarism, which began in the time of Marcus Aurelius and continued until after the time of Charlemagne, submerged all institutions, educational, political and religions. Society was in great confusion. The philosophy and science of the past were lost. The Church had a hard fight for its existence. If it had not been for the work of Ulfilas and other missionaries among the barbarians in their native wilds, it would have gone down with the empire and cities and schools in the general disaster. For centuries men were so busy in reorganizing society that they had no time for science and learning. The Church led in the movement of restoration The Bible was the only book of authority that was known among them. It was only what was to be expected that they should look to it for light in regard to the nature of the world as well as instruction in religion. Under the conditions in which they lived they could not do otherwise. The charge that the Church hindered the progress of science is not fair, and upon the lips of some who have every opportunity of knowing better it does not seem quite honest. With only the help of the Arabian scholars and some fragments of Aristotle there could be no rapid advancement. The fault was solely that of the times. But science has at length taught us that the Bible is not a hand-book of science. It is a revelation of religion. It used the current scientific opinions of the times in which it was written as means of setting forth religious truth. The scientific statements are merely incidental and instrumental.

The truth remains while the temporary setting is changed. The false scientific beliefs that were supported by a mistaken interpretation of the Bible are not a part of Christian faith.

It is said that Christian faith is unreasonable because there are contradictions and errors in the Bible. These errors and contradictions are not so numerous as are commonly reported. Beyschlag, neither an orthodox theologian nor a "traditional" scholar, says, "The criticism of the present regards every traditional view with so much scepticism and every negative hypothesis with so much credulity." The "shifts and turns" of Apologists, so much ridiculed, in removing difficulties are fully duplicated by those who are trying to find them. As an example of contradiction the difference between the first and second chapters of Genesis is cited by Dr. Briggs. But if the two chapters were written from different points of view, the one the order of time and the other of importance, there is no contradiction. Another example is the accounts of the miraculous feeding of the multitudes. There is no contradiction except upon the assumption that similar stories are different version of the same event. But what is the ground of the assumption? Similar things are occuring every day. Still another example is the contradictory statement about the high places in the reign of Asa. "But the high places were not taken away, nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect with Jahveh all his days," 1 Kings 14 : 15. "And Asa did that which was good and right in the eyes of Jahveh his God, for he took away the strange altars and the high places * * * Also he took away out of all the cities of Judah the high places and the sun images," 2 Chron. 14 : 1–5. If we let the contradiction stand, what does it amount to? At the most it only proves that the two books were not equally inspired. The difference is about an incident in the life of Asa that has no practical value that we can see for our faith or life. These examples are typical. Many of the reported contradictions have no existence outside the mind of the critic. Some arise from false canons of criticism. Some may be due to copyists. Those that remain on the face of the Bible as we now have it

are about little historical or geographical details of no special importance to religion. Essentially the same things are true of the reputed errors. It was the fashion of the critics a few years ago to pronounce the Assyrian and Babylonian history found in the Bible as pure fiction. But it is a little remarkable that the very first mound opened in Assryia contained the story of Sargon who had been the special target of ridicule. Archeology has swept away whole columns of errors that had been cited in the Bible. Some difficulties remain but the Bible has been proved in so many cases minutely correct where it had been thought to be in error that it is presumably true in those points not yet certified. If there are any errors they are like the contradictions which remain in our text. If pressed to their fullest extent they affect only our theory of inspiration but not the validity of our faith in the Bible as God's word. Dr. Tholuck, among many others of unquestioned learning and piety, pointed out a number of seeming contradictions which he made no effort to remove, but he remained a devout believer in the inspiration of the Bible, and no one impugned his consistency. If there should remain some errors and contradictions in it after the final examination has been closed, they will no more prove that the Bible is not God's book than the wars and crimes and sins in the world prove that it is not God's world. As there is evil in the world by his permission so probably there may be with his consent imperfections in the book containing his revelation. God's thoughts are not always as our thoughts. It is never safe to say in advance how he must act. It is better to wait and see how he has carried out his plans before we form opinions about them. If it turns out in some other way than we had expected, it is none the less God's work. A faith that rests in God and in his word is always rational.

We can not think long about faith and the Bible without encountering the problem of the Higher Criticism. We had first that of the New Testament. It proceeded in its beginning upon the principles of the philosophy of Hegel but more recently it adopted the Darwinian theory of evolution. It

claimed to be historical but it read history through philosophic glasses. It started out with only four books of the old canon left: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians and Revelations. The last was retained because perhaps, it was a good club to use against the Fourth Gospel. But as the work advanced book after book was put further and further back until now nearly every one is placed within the first century, and book after book has been restored to the canon until only five or six are left out. The battle was hottest around the Fourth Gospel and here it lingered longest, but the victory of its Johanine origin is practically won. The traditional view of the authenticity of the New Testament has been substantially sustained. Critics emphasize the human element in them and claim to be able to pick out the higher truths from the personal opinion of the writers, but subjective criticism does not have much weight with Christian faith.

The Higher Criticism of the Old Testament is younger and is attracting wide spread interest. It is based upon the philosophy of evolution. It devotes a great deal of time and labor to internal criticism but mainly for the support of the principles it had drawn from philosophy. It assumes that there were such and such intellectual and religious conditions at the different periods of the history of Israel and by these assumptions determines the age of the several books. It eagerly caught up the archeological discoveries and tried to turn them into witnesses in its favor but soon found that the testimony of the monuments was as much against it as for it. Its work is not yet complete and its results are too indefinite to allow a final judgment. In the meantime those who are not specialists must look on and wait. But there are some facts that warrant the hesitancy of faith. The critics are by no means agreed among themselves except as to some general points. They disagree as to the date of the books, and the dependence of the writers upon one another, and the sources from which the material is drawn. When we mark in our Bible the parts assigned to J and E and P, and read J or E or P consecutively we find a disappointing incompleteness in the story. If they ever existed

as separate writings there must have been originally much more of them than has been preserved. They were all three parallels. If there were three independent documents, the fact tends to prove the truth of the history. We wonder at the skill of the critic in dividing our books into their several parts, assigning one part of a story and even of a verse to one and another part to another writer. Sometimes the division seems a little arbitrary, and when we find the masters disagreeing about it our doubt about both the process and premises is strengthened. We get still more doubtful when we find that J, E, P and R are still further distinguished as J^1, J^2, J^3, E^1, E^2, E^3, P^1, P^2, P^3, P^4, and R^1, R^2, R^3. We say frankly that we do not believe there is a critical skill or critical sense so acute as to be able to go through the books of the Bible and make such microscopic distinctions. When the critics say that their results are unquestionable and certain and demonstrable, we do not understand them to mean that they are absolutely certain but only upon their premises. When we are told that the story of creation and of the flood are borrowed from Babylon, we are not satisfactorily informed about the time of the borrowing nor of the reasons for the wonderful differences between the clay tablets and the Bible. The flippant talk about myths and legends in Genesis interests us but we are not at all disturbed by it. Despite the dogmatism of the critics we see no reason for surrendering any essential part of the traditional view of the Penteteuch. If we are told that we lack the scientific instinct we are willing to place over against that the religious instinct, and the religious elements in us have their claims as well as the logical. For all that has yet appeared to the contrary, Christian faith has solid reasons for holding on to the Old Testament as an important part of God's word.

Underneath this idea of the evolution of religion among the Hebrews there is an important truth. But that truth has been misconceived and misnamed. There was a development of religious capacity and a progress in the revelations given. The revelations given in any age were suited to the moral and religious conditions of the people to whom they were committed.

It would be absurd to talk to children or to ignorant people as if they were learned theologians. Our Lord said of his own teaching that he had many things to say to the disciples that he could not say at that time because they were not able to understand them. He said of the revelations of the Old Testament that some things had been allowed because of the condition of the hearts of the fathers. If Moses had written in the style of Paul his message would have been so far in advance of his age that it would have been lost. Genesis was addressed to a childlike people. Great truths were put in a form that they could understand. For example, it was said that it repented God that he had made man and that the serpent talked to Eve. The Psalms show a very marked advancement in the idea of the future life, during the period in which they were written. But it is unnecessary to multiply examples. Many mistakes have been made by interpreting these earlier statements as final, and by citing texts gathered here and there and every where, without any reference to their original relations, in proof of dogmas. The Bible contains the history both of the development of capacity and the progress of revelation. Christian faith having clearly grasped this fact of progressiveness is not disturbed by either the semblance of natural evolution or the seeming divine approval of what we now regard as great wrongs.

Christian faith is based upon the supernatural elements in the Bible. Without that it has no distinctive feature and is only one kind of natural belief. But here it encounters the decided opposition of natural science. The positivist of every school denies the possibility of the supernatural whether of miracle or prophecy or revelation. Science has undertaken to furnish a complete explanation of the universe and to admit the fact of the supernatural would be to acknowledge its incompetency for the self-imposed task. It tells us that it knows nothing of miracle, and we are fully prepared to believe it. It deals only with natural law and is not expected to know anything about the supernatural. There may be no miracles today but science has no means of proving that no miracles

ever occurred. The Bible records the miracles of the past and makes no statement whatever about any that might be in its future. We cannot understand the right of science to say that God cannot make a revelation or work a miracle if he wills to do it. There are some great facts and vital interests that lie outside of science. It cannot account for responsibility and crime and the worth of character. As long as these great and undeniable facts remain to defy the most strenuous efforts of the scientist and deny the omniscience of science, Christian faith has ample room for its existence. It can stand erect and repeat in tones of perfect confidence the words of the book of Hebrews, "God who in times past and in various ways spake unto the fathers by the prophets hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." And it holds to the words "which began to be spoken by the Lord was confirmed unto us by them that heard him, God also bearing them witness by signs and wonders and mighty deeds." Nothing has been brought out by either science or criticism or philosophy to disprove the faith of the unknown author of Second Peter: "Prophecy came not of old time by the will of man but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

Christian faith, confident of its ground, is not afraid of the most searching criticism. If Christianity is false, the Christian man wants to know it. He would not be a true Christian if he were not ready to give up error for truth. Christian faith acknowledges its indebtedness to science and literary criticism. Science has enabled it to realize more fully the meaning of the infinitude of God. We understand better His wisdom and power and providence since science has revealed more of His works. God seems greater to us than He did to the fathers. The contents of faith are made richer by Copernicus and Newton and Darwin. Literary criticism has enlarged our knowledge of the books of the Bible. We know more about the times in which they were written and the conditions that called them into existence. The mold that had gathered upon them has been brushed off and we see more clearly their meaning and feel more deeply their spiritual force. Christian faith,

therefore, instead of shuddering at the scalped and the fire by which its holy Scriptures are to be tried, welcomes them as valuable, although unwilling, friends and allies.

The Christian religion is a process of redemption. It began when God made the first promise to Adam and Eve and when they accepted the divinely made clothing of skins instead of their garments of figleaves. It was enlarged and extended from age to age until in the fulness of time Christ came, the fulfillment of type and prohecy. The covenant confined to one people was so expounded under the Christian dispensation as to include all the nations of the earth. From the first it was a restoration of God's kingdom, and our Lord who is its consummation talked a great deal about the coming of that kingdom. Religion is fellowship with God, and that is salvation. It is personal, but at the same time it is social. It creates a new fellowship among its subjects. As the natural child is born into a family, the spiritual child is born into the Church. Christianity is primarily a life. It is a life in God. It is God's life apprehended and appropriated by a personal faith. Creeds are formulated statements of the principles by which that life is generated and developed. True creeds are essential to a true life. They are not ends, but means of grace. We are saved through the truth. The Apostles were sent into the world to save it by preaching the Gospel to every creature. The word of God is living. Peter speaks of the living oracles of God. It is animated by the life of God. It is the living seed which the sower casts into the field of the world. The Church is a living tree, or the living temple of God made up of living stones. It is destined to grow until all the nations of the world shall become the kingdom of God and his Anointed. The Bible not only contains the record of this process of redemption from its beginning until the plan was perfected, but it has been one of the chief instrumentalities of its accomplishment. When the traditions of the race and of the family of the Hebrews were in danger of being lost, they were written out and gathered together in the book of Genesis. Moses wrote the law of the Covenant and afterwards wrote out the

restatement made in his farewell address to his people. Prophets, or their immediate disciples, wrote out their prophecies. The Psalmists wrote their inspired songs. Our Lord and the Apostles used these Old Testament books in their work. For a while the oral tradition and the inspired sermons of the Apostles were sufficient to meet the wants of the early Christians but even during the life-time of the Apostles it became necessary to write epistles and put into writing the story of the Lord's life. The Bible has been at least from the time of Moses essential in the work of the Church. It remains indispensable to the Christian. By it he was spiritually quickened and by it he lives and grows in grace. Whatever other sources of knowledge of the words and work of his Savior and of the doctrines and preceps of the Apostles he may have, he always comes back to his Bible. This is authoritative for his faith. There is a life and power in it he finds nowhere else. It is the shrine where he meets God. Here he hears God speaking to him as he hears him by no other means. In it is the bread of life on which he feeds. By it he gets the witness of the Spirit to the facts that in its sacred pages is the word of God and that he is himself a child of God. This inner light has been much abused by making it a means for the criticism of the books and even of the chapters of the Bible and the occasion even of dispensing with the Bible altogether, but it is in itself a great truth certified by millions of God's children. This may be rejected as mysticism but every religion is essentially mystical. The personal felowship of the individual Christian with God is mystical. If all forms of mysticism be false then religion is a delusion.

The Bible gets its authority neither from the power it has exerted in the world, nor from the Church, nor from the writers, but from God, the author of the religion whose records it contains. Christian faith does not rest finally in the Bible but in God who speaks through the Bible. We are not concerned so much about the author of a book as with the divine message contained in it. We do not know who wrote the book of Hebrews or Job or many of the Psalms and indeed many of

the other books, but that does not make them less valuable. It is most probable that Matthew Mark and Luke wrote the Gospel assigned to them by tradition but it is not beyond doubt. But no matter who wrote them they are true because we have in them the testimony of all the eyewitnesses who committed the facts as they saw them to an oral tradition that was repeated over and over again in all the churches in every country where Christianity had been carried. The controversy about the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch is more of an historic than a religious interest. Many of us are so sensitive about it and so ready to cry heterodoxy to any who even ventures to ask for the evidence that it was all written out as we now have it by the hand of Moses, simply because we do not like to be disturbed in our traditional views. If we are sure that it is true, what difference does it make if we do not know who wrote it. The traditional views about the authorship of the books of the Bible are in some manner important and, as we believe, they are in the main correct, but they are not an essential part of Christian faith.

The divine authority of the Bible does not depend upon any definite theory of inspiration. A book that records a divine message need not itself be an inspired book. A prophet to whom God has revealed a divine thought may be left to his own way to express it. Some of the revelations were given in words but some were given in visions. A sermon need not be a verbal repetition of Scriptural texts to be a mesaage from God. The King James version was not verbally inspired and yet it is a divine book. The original words of many parts of the Bible are irrecoverably lost, but they are nevertheless parts of the divine word. There was in some way a verbal inspiration, at least of that which was strictly revelation. We believe also that in every message when the words were not given the inspiration of the messenger extended in some manner to the choice of words. But a mechanical theory of inspiration, beset with so many difficulties, is not necessary to the Christian's faith in the divine authority of the Bible.

The guarantees of Christian faith are found partly in the

messages themselves and partly in the credentials of the messengers. Some of the messages, while undiscernable by reason alone, so commend themselves to reason as to carry with themselves their own proof. Some rise so far above the age in which they were given as to be manifest revelations. How can the pure monotheism of the earliest books of the Jews, so far in advance of all the rest of the world, even of the greatest philosophers and the mass of the people of Israel, be accounted for except by direct inspiration. Some of the prophecies lay beyond the range of the largest foresight but were proved inspired by their fulfillment. It is nothing short of miraculous that of all the ancient teachers the teachings of Christ alone are untouched by modern learning. Some of the messages were attended by miracles. If Paul performed no miracles how can his claim to have done so be reasonably explained? If Christ wrought none, how was it that so many were attributed to him by so many eyewitnesses? How was it that in an age that invented so many absurd and ridiculous miracles, only the most dignified and reasonable ones were reported as done by him? If he did not rise from the dead, how can the belief of the early Church be explained? Baur acknowledged that it was inexplicable. How was it that devout Jews, with all their horror of any departure from the idea of strict monotheism, came to worship him as God." If Christ was not that perfect character that the Gospels portray how did the conception originate? If there is no supernatural power in Christianity, how did it produce such men as Peter and John and Paul who under the most unpropitious conditions started such a movement as the Church has proved to be? If the Bible is only one of the sacred books of the world how was it that it has accomplished such a unique and marvelous work? These are only a very few of the undeniable facts by which Christian faith assures itself that the Bible brings to it the gracious revelations of God.

ARTICLE IV.

CONCERNING UNSEEN THINGS.

By Charles W. Super, Ph.D., LL.D.

A conspicuous trait of the human character, as it exists to-day, is hopefulness. It is rare to find a man in any sphere of life who is so completely enmeshed in misfortunes that he has lost faith in his ability to extricate himself. At heart, although it may be half unconsciously, every human being is somewhat of a Mark Tapley. Even the apostles of pessimism when laboring to convert men to a belief in the wretchedness of existence give the lie to their teaching by the evident satisfaction which they derive from life. Men do not "these fardels bear," or "grunt and sweat under a weary life" merely because of the "dread of something after death;" but rather because "Hope springs eternal in the human breast." They are like those men who dwell in the high north for whom the summer sun is long coming, but it never fails to come at last.

We must not, however, generalize too far. Faith as the substance of things hoped for is distinctively a Christian concept and has become general only where Christian ideas are in the ascendency. Greek Philosophy with all its acumen is pervaded by a tone of despair, or at least of resignation. Plato and Aristotle held that the affairs of the world move in cycles. "That which hath been shall be * * * and there is no new thing under the sun," is thoroughly Greek; and neither Jewish nor Christian. Hopefulness has grown with the advance of civilization. Look, for example, at the extraordinary development of the credit system. Every honest borrower has faith in the future, that he will be better able to pay some time than now. And the creditor shares this belief. Individuals borrow; communities borrow, trusting that their material growth will enable them to fulfill their obligations. It is hardly putting the case too strongly to say that public credit is an index of a nation's civilization and intelligence. For not-

withstanding that man is comparatively impotent before matter, as an individual, in combination with his fellows he is rarely defeated in what he undertakes to do. The hopefulness of men is therefore largely due to faith in their ability to control, to a greater or less extent, the material resources of the earth, to confidence in the superiority of the mental and intangible over the tangible and material. It seems plain to me from these familiar illustrations that there is a tendency, if not a clearly defined purpose, in the cosmos to give the precedence to the action of intellectual and spiritual forces. Such being the case, it will be to our interest and to the interest of those who shall come after us to profit by the lessons growing out of these conditions.

Consider for a moment the virtue called patriotism, and see how it grows in extent if not in intensity, as we go upward in the scale of civilization. Why should a man put his life in jeopardy or even lay it down for those whom he knows not and who will probably never hear his name? Why should he deliberately choose toil and renunciation and, in a sense, make existence a burden to himself and perhaps die in want?

Yet all the world calls such a man a hero. It is the world's unconscious tribute to the fact that he who recognizes the higher and remoter interests of men is the highest type of the species. In spite of inborn selfishness there are times in the life of every man when he is carried out of and above himself and his immediate environment; when he feels that the destiny of his country, yea, of his race is in a manner in his keeping; when he acknowledges fealty to the spiritual laws that are higher than any laws written in the statute books. It is at such times that he ceases to be selfish; that he passes outside the circumscribed circle of his personal desires and lays hold upon the great truth that no man liveth merely to himself.

It needs no careful examination of the materials that make up ancient history to convince the student that society flourished and rose in exact ratio to the national recognition of the claims of duty; of the paramount importance of the spiritual forces in society. In the public or rather in the

popular mind, the perception was rarely clear; but choice spirits here and there, with keener vision than was vouchsafed to their fellows, saw and felt the price of national salvation. Gross and materialistic were the men of Bible times, for the more part, but the voice of far-seeing prophets here and there was rarely silent. What a penalty did the Jews have to pay for their spiritual deafness! In common with that frequent irony of fate, the words that made so little impress upon contemporaries have gone ringing down the vistas of time, all the more impressive because those for whom they were primarily spoken and written heeded them not and paid the penalty of indifference. Although the Jews as a nation ceased to exist, the doctrines proclaimed by their prophets are in the ascendency everywhere, except in the lands of stagnation and decay. A few centuries later and a little farther westward we find a noble nation going to destruction; slowly, it is true, but going nevertheless; its representatives alternately the admiration or the aversion of contemporaries after their consciousness of national solidarity, their mental tribute to this spiritual force had been overborne by narrow self seeking. It may be said that God never forgave the Athenians for the judicial murder of their greatest citizen, this national sin against a divine spirit. It was the tangible expression of mental blindness and spiritual degredation. But again the idea was triumphant; and for millenniums the soul of Socrates has been speaking to men from the pages of his friends, the condemnation of his executioners. The Athenians made their greatest contemporary a martyr to his sense of duty, but they could not extinguish his spirit. I do not believe there was a man in Athens in the year 399 B. C. who would not willingly have changed places with Socrates, if he could have got but a single glimpse of the place the philosopher was to occupy in the esteem of men two thousand years later. Would that it were possible for the majority of men to look at their thoughts and their actions from all sides and to weigh them in a just balance! Society would advance a hundred times more rapidly than it does and the greater number of current sins would be as unpopular as they are

popular now. The later history of Greek Philosophy is an undying tribute to the persistent claims of the human spirit to recognition. Its tendency is toward a farther and farther removal from the material until it finally lost itself in the mazes of mysticism. But the written records furnish to us only the thoughts of systematic thinkers: they give us little insight into the spiritual wants and aspirations of the multitude. This comes to us in another way—in the rapid triumphs of Christianity. St. Clemens says: "Philosophy, before the coming of the Lord, was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness, being in some sort a preliminary discipline for those who reap the fruits of faith through demonstration. Perhaps we may say that it was given to the Greeks with this special object; for philosophy was to the Greeks what the Law was to the Jews, a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ." It should not be overlooked that Christ's miracles were nearly all performed upon men and for their benefit. They manifested goodness rather than power; they astonished the spectators less than they touched their hearts. In addition to this Christianity promulgated a new order of things. It made little of temporal and immediate rewards, but laid great stress upon the realness of a future life. It taught men to look beyond the things of time and sense and to lay hold upon those that are only spiritually discerned. This is all the more noteworthy because the Old Testament does not make much of the future life. The claims of spiritual recognition are no less urgent upon the minds of the lowly than upon the lofty. Its importance, therefore, lay chiefly in the stress it laid upon the individual man no matter what his rank in the social scale. If it had been only a body of doctrine; if it had not laid great stress on the solidarity of the human race and upon the universal fatherhood of God, spiritual truths preëminently, its founder would have been deemed but one more god in the already overcrowded pantheon of his day. And while I do not believe that men would be good if they were not corrupted by society there is no doubt that much of the evil in the world is due to society. It is the besetting sin of mortals from the highest to the lowest

to allow their attention to be monopolized by that which is immediately about them. The affairs of daily life thrust themselves into notice and blind their vision to the higher laws and relations that are of much greater importance. This short-sightedness is not confined to miners, longshoremen and others of the same general class; it invades the domain of the professional man as well. In his eagerness to gain the case of his client, the lawyer too often forgets that it is for the best interests of justice that the verdict should go against him. The best man may make mistakes; but happy is that community in which there is not at least one man well versed in jurisprudence and well endowed intellectually who is always ready to become the champion of any cause which has for its object the gratification of the baser passions of men at the expense of their nobler aspirations. Too often the legislator, misled by what he conceives to be the true interest of a section, sacrifices the larger interests of a state or of a whole country. He fails to see where the sun of progress is ascending because he does not go outside of the cabin of immediate concerns that himself and maybe his neighbors have constructed for him. Not unfrequently disease as a succession of pathologic phenomena has such an absorbing interest for the physician that he forgets how much the fraternity to which he belongs may do in a large way for the prevention and alleviation of human misery.

Now and then a member of that sacred calling whose special mission it is to win souls and to bring about a transformation of men's inner life, forgets, in his zeal for a lifeless creed, the great truth that it is worth nothing unless transformed into living spirit. If sinners will not consent to be saved by his way, may they perish! or if they will not come into his fold, let them remain out of every other also! Often the eager student in his library or laboratory becomes almost oblivious to the fact that the community of which he forms a part has a valid claim upon a portion of his time and labor. Study may degenerate into a sort of intellectual gratification which is only an end to itself and nothing more. Such a course is harmless in itself, but harmful in its effects in so far as it fails to recog-

nize a bounden social duty. So it frequently happens that a man of extensive knowledge lives his little day, like Dr. Casaubon in Middlemarch, and leaves no record behind him because he sought that which he did not find and neglected the duties which were in plain sight Others of keener spiritual vision, but of far less ability, often accomplish much more for the good of mankind than he.

The man who has no firm and persistent grasp of the spiritual verities that ultimately control human destiny can never accomplish any work of permanent utility. His labors are necessarily confined within the narrow circle of the material, of that which has within itself the sleepless powers of disintegration and decay. Even material objects take on somewhat of the spiritual and eternal when fashioned in obedience to spiritual impulses. Among the oldest and most admired objects formed by the hand of man are the temples and statues shaped by the ancient Greeks. Many Christian churches in Europe which have stood a thousand years and longer yet are as stable as ever. It is the ideal, the intangible in art, in literature, in religion that the world will not willingly let die, even when imprisoned and finding its expression in matter. Alas, that men should be so often deceived by the potent spell cast over them by the word "practical." The highest motives of our fellow men are never controlled by the practical in the sense in which that word is generally used. Practical people are those who do not defer a present advantage to one that is merely prospective. If I have a chance to cheat my neighbor in an important business transaction to-day, if I am a strictly practical man I will improve my opportunity: I am sure of a material advantage *now* and the chance may not occur again. Why should a man who claims to be practical keep his word—it often pays better to break it? Why should a practical man care anything for personal honor; it is after all only a figment of the imagination: let him sacrifice it when its guardianship becomes expensive and inconvenient. Why need a practical man be temperate in eating and drinking in order to enjoy long life, good health and public esteem? Rather let him gratify his

appetencies. Who knows but some casualty may suddenly end his days, and thus the real be sacrificed to the ideal, the near to the remote. Almost half a century ago the two historical sections of our country met in hostile array: the one in defense of a practical, the other in vindication of an ideal aim. The leaders of the South declared that the talk about one flag, one country, one destiny, about the wrong of slavery was twaddle. Many people in the North said the same thing. They were particularly bitter against the folly of interfering with slavery; for, even if an evil, it was so far off and at worst of no practical harm to them, and of proven advantage where it existed. Whatever may be our opinion as to the destiny of the negro none of us now denies his right to be free. For centuries both Germany and Italy suffered untold miseries from the spirit of particularism. Rulers opposed and subjects, except a few farsighted spirits, ridiculed the project of a united country. The former preferred to gratify selfishness the latter preferred ease to a far-off good that might after all never be realized. Statesmanship and statecraft have always been diametrically opposed; and when the former has not gained the mastery it was in the end to the detriment of the subject.

From the remotest times until now politicians have been divided into two classes: the practical and the sentimental. The former sought that which would make them immediately popular and elevate them to places of honor; the latter thought of themselves last and least, feeling the assurance that although their plans might for the time prove abortive because the public regarded them as visionary the day of their triumph was sure to come and when it came it would abide. The first Napoleon was a politician of the genuinely practical kind. No man ever lived who had less of the ideal in his mental make-up or who was more given to practical and immediate ends. Endowed with superhuman genius, swayed by ambition that may well be called towering, and by selfishness that was colossal in its narrowness, strange as the expression may sound, he soon turned the world down side up. He caused the death of nearly four millions of men and anguish utterly inconceivable in its magni-

tude. In all he did he was rarely moved by a generous impulse. He failed utterly to comprehend the force or even the existence of spiritual laws, and to understand that no monarch, however mighty for a time, can prevail against the powers that be ordained of God. Before his ashes had been deposited in their final resting place the work to which he had devoted his whole later life and all his energies was all undone. We shall let his talented countryman Taine sum up the heritage this *practical* statesman left to his countrymen: "All that the poor, enthusiastic and credulous Gauls have gained by confiding their public welfare to him is two invasions; all that he bequeaths to them as the reward of their devotion, after this prodigious waste of their blood and the blood of others, is a France shorn of fifteen departments acquired by the republic, deprived of Savoy, the left bank of the Rhine and of Belgium, despoiled of the northeast angle by which it completed its boundaries, fortified at its most vulnerable point and, using the words of Vauban, 'made the field square,' losing 4,000,000 of new Frenchmen which it had assimilated after twenty years in common, and worse still, thrown back within the frontiers of 1789, alone diminished in the midst of its aggrandized neighbors, suspected by all Europe, and lastingly surrounded by a threatening circle of distrust and rancor." This is what France has to show for its devotion to a man who was first and last and all the time practical; who sought only visible and tangible results and who regarded every sentiment as unreal as the "stuff dreams are made of." Louis XIV was equally ambitious and hardly less tyrannical; but he had a sufficiently firm grasp of spiritual truths of a certain kind to make him see and feel that an immortality of honor can not be gained by sacrificing everything and everybody to shortsighted self-interest. And his reign is called the Golden Age of France, not because of its material prosperity, but because of its intellectual superiority to all others.

If we want to see the paralyzing affect of an unswerving devotion to the narrowly practical we have only to look at China. There is no sentiment in a Chinaman; there are no

dreamers among the Chinese, except those that are drunk on opium, and as a people they have no conception of a spiritual verity. They are industrious, temperate, frugal, steady, without passion or enthusiasm. Of utilitarians the typical Chinaman is chief. He has a sharp eye for those things that pertain to men's daily wants; he cultivates those arts and sciences that serve a practical purpose. He is satisfied with the state, with the government as he finds them; he believes in enjoying this world as much as possible because there is, strictly speaking, no other. His religion is a body of practical precepts and thoroughly materialistic. Yet the regeneration of this practical people, which seems to be in the full tide of progress, is the work of visionaries, of men who for half a century labored for an ideal with hardly any realization to cheer them. It is the well nigh unanimous testimony of all competent observers that the Celestial Empire has at last waked up because of the labors of the missionaries scattered all over it.

I will not say that the condition of things is absolutely worse than with us. If men are willing to take the world as they find it, such a state of mind will greatly conduce to their ease. But even admitting this to be the best, abstractly considered, it is not the best for us people of the setting sun. We cannot put a quiescent mind into the breast of any considerable number of our countrymen, even if we wish to do so. It is ours to strive after betterment whether we will or no, to set our minds persistently upon that which we have not. The only question left for us to decide is whether our striving shall be after that which gratifies our senses, or after those spiritual benefits which may not after all be realized, for ourselves at least although they help on the world to a better and a higher life. With the materialistic and unimaginative Chinaman contrast the idealistic and sentimental Anglo-Saxon—idealistic, not in the philosophical sense but as designating his conception of social progress. It is often said that it is the chief glory of the Anglo-Saxon that he is practical. If there be any praise in that he is far behind some other peoples. He is practical only in attaining the ends towards which his efforts are directed.

I maintain that nowhere is there so firm a grasp of spiritual truths as among Englishmen and Americans. I admit that their spiritual vision is circumscribed, absolutely considered, but, relatively, they have not been surpassed or even equalled by any other people on the earth. When we are disposed to ridicule New England as the breeding-ground of Yankee notions and mechanical trifles, we will do well to remember that there alone transcendentalism got a foothold and there alone may we find at least the beginnings of an American Philosophy. Almost alone in New England is there an approach to a popular appreciation of education for ends that are not narrowly practical, while more than four-fifths of our literature had its origin in that part of the Union. It is Yankee ingenuity that has accumulated great wealth among the comparatively barren hills east of the Hudson; it is Yankee intelligence that has founded and still maintains throughout the middle West communities that are conspicuous not only for thrift but for culture and morality. Behold with what intensity of purpose, with what tenacity of grasp the Anglo-Saxon people laid hold upon the principles of the Reformation! In parts of Germany and in France these principles made rapid headway for a time; but it was not long until they met with a check. In many places hardly a trace of their former existence remains; in others they are scarcely more than a reminiscence of what was once a mighty impulse. To-day those who speak the German language are about equally divided between Protestantism and Catholicism.

From the practical point of view all the money and all the energy devoted to missionary work is wasted. But those who have insight enough to apprehend that many things are not what they seem, will acknowledge that devotion to an unselfish motive, to one that requires some personal sacrifice, is profitable to the party of the first part if it is not to the party of the second. One of the most cheering signs of the times is the existence and activity of the various Humane Societies. It is pure and unadulterated philanthropy, taking into its circle the interests of almost every sentient being. It represents a

natural tendency no less than a desire on their part to project their sympathies completely outside the circle of personal advantage and to confer benefits upon those from whom they can hope no direct return. It is doing good, in the words of the Scripture, hoping for nothing again. It is profitable nevertheless, albeit not in the way men generally count profit. It pays, not in dollars and cents but in those things which have a value appreciable only by the noblest natures. And what is the tangible evidence that this spiritual yet practical race is destined soon to lead all others in good works? One hundred and fifty years ago less than ten million persons spoke English as their mother tongue; at present more than ten times this number use it daily and are making its influence felt almost over the whole earth. Contrast with this wonderful progress, which no man can deny and which leads in the direction of completer living, the stagnation of India and China that for more than a thousand years have stood where they stand at this day, except for the slight advance they may have made from the impact of other nations. I will not deny and have no wish to disguise the fact that the presence of the English-speaking people is by no means an unadulterated blessing. I know that the rum-seller and the opium trader follow too closely on the heels of the missionary and the philanthropist. But the presence of other nations among the backward races brings with it equally great evils and few or none of the possible benefits. Extremes are wont to meet: the greatest spiritual elevation exists side by side with the greatest degradation. In the largest cities where the most numerous and most efficient agencies for the uplifting of men are found, there too we find working with them and among them almost equally potent forces that bear downward. Great wealth is accumulated in cities, there too is the deepest poverty; and contrasts of a similar character would make a long list if enumerated. Satan is ever appearing among the sons of God.

It may strike us as paradoxical, yet all experience proves the statement, that the only truths that men seize and cling to with undying tenacity are spiritual in their nature; those which

practical men sneeringly call sentimental. An eminent historian says: "As a matter of fact the human heart is most deeply stirred, and the chief events in the history of mankind have been caused, by emulations of the kind that are sneered at as sentimental. Sentimental grievances, that is grievances which do not touch a man's back or his pockets, but which do touch some point of national, religious, or personal honor, have caused more wars and revolutions than grievances which do touch men's backs and pockets." First and foremost, every religious war is a war for a sentiment. Many men who sneer at the folly of wars about religion would be ready to fight for personal or national honor, both of which are equally sentimental. A practical man might easily reason: Why should I take up arms to defend my religious belief or to disturb that of my neighbor? No matter what either of us is forced to do or say, our power to think what we please cannot be abridged. There were no honors or emoluments that the Monk of Wittenberg could not have had at the hands of the Roman hierarchy, without even the asking, if he had but intimated his willingness to keep silent. The alternative was a life of toil, of danger and of poverty.

The man who has not a tenacious grasp of the spiritual verities that control human destiny can never bring about any permanent good. His work, no matter how great it may appear for a time, is bound to the material, to that which has within itself the active powers of decay. But the man who is guided by spiritual insight, who allows himself to be borne along by the gentle current that flows unceasingly toward some point higher than himself will always have a standard of conduct nobler than mere expediency. It will be the man of whom Emerson says: "He who would help himself and others should not be a subject of irregular and interrupted impulses of virtue, but a continent, persisting, immovable person—such as we have seen a few scattered up and down in time for the blessing of the world; men who have in the gravity of their nature a quality which answers to the fly-wheel in the mill, which distributes the energy equally all over the wheels, and hinders it

from falling unequally and suddenly in destructive shocks." Such a man is one who has his eye fixed upon God as the helmsman of a ship upon the pole-star. Amid storm and darkness, tempest-tossed or becalmed, he will never be in doubt as as to his position or his course. The search for truth in its higher relations, mental, moral and material—if there be any such thing as material truth—is not fruitful if confined within the narrow limits of bare facts: which is only saying that the man who studies nature with the aims and methods of the true scientist will continually find his facts pointing outward and upward into a realm where the imagination must be his sole guide. There is no scientist of note, so far as I am aware, whether he calls himself an agnostic, or a positivist, or even a materialist, but admits that the human soul has the power to lay hold upon an existence, to feel, if not clearly discern, its laws and relations beyond the pale of the senses, that is just as real, just as worthy of our recognition, yea more so, than any other.

"Undoubtedly," says John Burroughs, "religion knows certain things in a more intimate and personal way than science does; so does poetry, so does literature; and science can understand how this is so. What we receive through the emotions is more vital and personal to us than what reaches us through the reason. The person in whose mind has been awakened a deep love of Christ, comes to know Christ in a way the mere outside observer does not; his spirit takes hold of the Christ idea, and is filled and modified by it to an extent the other is not. An emotional process is more potent than a rational process. The knowledge thus gained is no more truly knowledge, but it is more vital knowledge." Let us beware of laying too much stress upon those things that minister to our material wants—upon telegraph, and telephone, upon rapid transit by land and sea, upon the much vaunted increase of knowledge in our day. These things are wonderful in their way, but they are far from being everything that is important to us. Our desires grow faster than our power to satisfy them; and though for a time a man may be estimated rather by what he has than by what he is, that estimate will not stand long.

Who is the better for sending a message to the uttermost parts of the earth with the speed of lightning, if like its prototype it bears with it destruction rather than words which will build up and enlarge and adorn? What profits it that the shores of the Atlantic are but a few days apart if those who cross and recross do so, not for wisdom but for lucre? Commerce has its value, its inestimable value; but there are a few things of even greater moment. The increase of knowledge does not by any means keep pace with the multiplication of words. How little happens from day to day in the whole world that is really worth telling, that puts information into our minds which is likely to blossom into good works. The present age is justly proud of its achievements in science. Human life has been lengthened, human misery greatly alleviated. But the same knowledge that increases one man's power to do good increases another's to do harm. The forces that at one time preserve society may at another destroy it. The expenditures for military purposes are annually appalling in their magnitude; yet they are almost, if not wholly a loss to the world. Some years ago a cannon was cast from the Krupp factory, the bore of which is more than fifty feet long, from which every shot consumes 485 kilogrammes of powder. How many hungry would the cost of this gun feed; how many naked, clothe? What part of the average salary of a teacher or of a preacher flies into the air at every discharge? To what extent is the manufacture of such pieces of ordnance an evidence of social progress? Many self-styled reformers are eager to destroy society because it is corrupt; generally their plans go no farther. Their accusation is in part at least correct. Albeit how much easier to cast down than to build up! This can only be done by those who are willing to labor and to sacrifice themselves and to look to the future for their compensation. If the capacity of the human heart for enjoyment is greater now than in the days of Moses and Plato and Dante, is there more happiness generally attainable? We should not forget that with the increased capacity for enjoyment goes the increased capacity for its opposite. Unless those who are mainly responsible for the world's

advance in material things cause an advance also in others they are no benefactors to their kind. What gain is there in restoring a blind man to sight if his vision rests oftener on misery than on happiness? Why should society seek to give skill to the hand of the prospective artisan, if that skill but enables him to do the greater mischief? Why should we teach a child to read if that only adds one more to the inlets through more darkness than light is likely to enter? Mere knowledge and mere skill will do little for the betterment of the world. I question whether the sewing-machine, one of the most wonderful inventions of modern times, a labor saving machine as it is called, has really lightened the toil of a single needle woman. The lot of this class has, especially in our large cities, always been one of toil, toil, and toil it is still. The same verdict holds good of many other important inventions. Have all the sewing-machines in our land put as much cheer and hope and brightness into the lives of young and old as the poetry of Longfellow? I do not believe they have. Germany could better do without a single mile of telegraph than without the wholesome influence exercised by the memory and writings of Schiller. What an enormous amount of mental energy is wasted in the effort to devise some new patent! The object in view is almost always the hope of pecuniary profit. Except in so far as medicine and surgery are concerned, the number of discoveries that contribute to the real happiness of mankind is very small. And so he who labors with merely a pecuinary object in view is almost sure to lose his reward except in a transitory sense, while he who labors for the moral and spiritual elevation of his fellow men never fails of a return although it be not immediately visible. I quote again from the address of ex-president Holden. "There never was a period or a country in which the reign of fundamental law needed a more constant assertion and more perpetual proof than in our own country. All our modern inventions which give quick locomotion and quick transmisssion of thought tend to exalt the temporary expedient and to debase the general principle. The immediate and harmful effect of all this is to paralyze continuous effort

based on sound belief, and to substitute a wavering policy of daily temporizing. But the living danger is that society may come permanently to distrust the reign of laws. Recollect that we have to train our young men to appreciate this vital truth in the midst of a society where there are apparently many glaring exceptions; in a society where wealth has come, it seems by accident, and where power seems to have been gained by work." He further calls attention to the importance of any institution "devoted to the incessant announcement and to the perpetual proof of the fundamental truth of all life here and hereafter, namely, that it is governed by unchanging principles which can not be shirked nor evaded, and that a national or a personal life built on the expedients of the day, like a house built on sand, will invariable come to ruin. When this truth is grasped and firmly builded into the character, then it is that the steam-engine and the telegraph and all the myriad inventions of the day first become truly useful" Although these truths have gone ringing down the corridors of time, not many persons have heard them. Men need to be reminded much more than to be instructed. Not everything is real that is called so, and not everything is practical that passes for practical. So then, it is better to do a little real work in the world, work that will stand the test of time rather than much that is as evanescent as each succeeding generation. There is a sense in which it is an honor to be called unpractical—it is always better to be called unpractical than unprincipled. The banker poet Rogers is reported to have said to Wordsworth that if he would allow him to revise his poems, making only some unimportant changes, he would warrant that Wordsworth would become as popular as any poet living. The reply was: "I am much obliged to you, Mr. Rogers; I am a poor man but I would rather remain as I am." A cultured mind, one that is ever on the alert to appreciate the beautiful in God's wide creation is an intangible possession, but it is not an unreal one. Devotion to scientific pursuits, not for the money it brings but for the insight it affords into the wonders of the universe, marks a state of mind that represents more real enjoyment than can be in-

dicated by dollars and cents. Labor in the service of religion is a pursuit of a high spiritual order when it seeks the approval of God through the well being of man. The glory of the warrior is slowly dissolving before the brightening sun of enlightenment; and the time is certain to come when men will wonder that their predecessors adjusted their differences by force as much as we now wonder that ours burned their fellows at the stake for sorcery, witchcraft and heresy.

ARTICLE V.

SPACE AND TIME.

By Theo. B. Stork, Esq.

Space and time may be called the *pons asinorum* of philosophy: They test the capacity of every philosophical aspirant to read the pages of his bewildering and only book, consciousness, they measure his grasp on the meta-physical subtleties involved in the phenomena there displayed for his perusal and study.

Stendhal (Henry Beyle) the French critic, playfully remarked of musicians that if there were a Musical Academy each candidate might be asked to furnish a melody as a certificate of his right to membership. If there were a similar Academy of Philosophy, surely this subject of Space and Time might serve to try the powers of all seeking admission.

The philosophers have themselves recognized the crucial character of this test. Schopenhauer considered that Kant's claim to remembrance rested largely on his treatment of Space and time. And with good reason, for the attitude of the thinker toward them fixes his whole view of consciousness. It was here that Herbert Spencer displayed the limitations of his philosophical grasp. His criticism of Kant's position exhibits the feebleness of his method when brought into touch with those mysteries of consciousness which every philosopher, be he never so materialistic, must inevitably face and consider, for

they lie at the very beginning of all thinking, materialistic, idealistic or what you will.

A mere verbal argument, a sort of logical *leger de Main* such as Spencer employs in criticising Kant's exposition, is meaningless. It does not touch the matter. "That space and Time are objects of consciousness," argues Spencer, "Kant emphatically asserts by saying that it is impossible to suppress the consciousness of them. How then, if they are subjects of consciousness, can they at the same time be conditions of consciousness? If space and time are the conditions under which we think, then when we think of space and time themselves our thoughts must be unconditioned and if there can be thus unconditioned thoughts what becomes of the theory?" (Section 15 First Principles).*

*The philosophizing reader may easily convince himself of the childishness of Spencer's criticism by elaborating and analysing his statement of it. If space and time are conditions under which we think, then when we think of space and time our thoughts must be unconditioned, is the gist of Spencer's argument, but in it he uses the terms space and time in two different senses as if they were the same. Space and time as conditions of thought are not the objects of thought; such a supposition is contrary to all we know of thought. Nobody ever succeeded in thinking reality: what we think is merely a representation of the reality: and when we use the expression thinking space and time, or making space and time the objects of thought or of consciousness we mean only those representations which we form of them. Often our thinking them is incorrect, faulty, mistaken, as in the present case with Mr. Spencer, which of course would be impossible were these thoughts of them space and time themselves, i. e. their reality. We no more make space and time an object of consciousness in this sense than we can a horse and wagon of which we think. As well might a carping critic say to my assertion I was riding on a horse of which I thought a great deal that I must be mistaken since I could not have as an object of thought or in my consciousness, could not think a horse that was in fact swiftly carrying me to my destination.

Space and Time are realities, no matter of what sort, may govern and condition all my thinking and yet I may without escaping them as realities and conditions of my thought of them make representations, ideas, images of them which I may think or have as objects of consciousness; and this indeed is the only way in which I can think them, by representation of them just as I think houses, horses, what you like, by images, pictures, representations of them which I never by the slightest hair think of confusing with the real houses, horses, etc. And so with space

From which it results not that Kant's position is untenable, but simply that Spencer did not understand it, perhaps did not care to, preferring to dismiss it with a sort of logomachy, a mere battle of words by which real discussion was made impossible but an apparent verbal triumph secured.

It may be laid down as a fundamental principle that if we are to understand either Kant or Hegel, but one way is open. We must go to our own consciousness as they did to their's, and examine it for ourselves. It is not as Spencer would have it appear, a matter of verbal definitions and logical distinctions, but of the actual processes of consciousness which we must examine and are only able to hint at, to approximate, in words. Thus Kant's characterization of both space and time as forms of intuition is to be understood. "Form" is but an attempt to picture the process of operation; to truly know space and time we must look into consciousness for ourselves, observe how each is generated as a method of reconciling and thinking the phenomena presented to us by the external world in consciousness. For space and time are manufacturers—to attempt another picture of them from a different point—made by the Ego in the course of its spontaneous activities of perception and thought. Simple consciousness without these does not present us with either space or time. The mere mass of sense-impressions that come into consciousness unacted upon by those Egoistic activities do not demand either. For these sense-impressions are on the one side (as manifestations in

---

and time which by Kant's account of them are real conditions of thinking.

By Spencer's method of criticism a short way is provided for destroying any similar law of thinking. I posit for example a first cause which I declare conditions all subsequent causes and effects, myself included, and Spencer replies that, when however, I think a first cause my thinking must be unconditioned by it, *quod erat demonstrandum*: A first cause does not condition the thinking of itself, and so on idefinitely. Or to put it a little differently, but to the same effect: I can never have as an object of consciousness and can never think any reality that conditions my thinking since it cannot condition my thinking and at the same time be an object of thought, therefore, all thinking of the conditions of thought including this particular thinking of space and time and the reasoning about it by Mr. Spencer, are impossible unless we assume the point in controversy that Space and Time do not condition my thinking.

consciousness independent of the Ego), part of the non-ego, but on the other side (as forming and being in the consciousness of the Ego) are part of the Ego. In this double, amphibious, character, they are simple consciousness, unpreceived, unthought. The artificial egoistical nature of space and time is made evident by the truth of consciousness that it is only when the Ego takes up those sense-impressions as the material for perception and thought that space and time become necessary and so emerge. They are born of the need to perceive and think objects out of the raw material of sense impressions. Space and Time cannot be perceived or thought in themselves as objects disconnected with the objects of perception and thought: Empty space or time is nothing, an allusion, for each is but a certain way of perceiving or thinking objects. Space is simply the manner of perceiving a number of objects at the same time, in relation to each other. It is our method of unifying them; for the Ego must in some way find a method of perceiving them and so thinking them in relation, in some sort of unity together, no matter how diverse they apparently are. To perceive or think objects as independent, separate, having no relations of distance, position, etc., each to the other is impossible. This is the simplest unity, a mere mechanical relation so to speak of each object to every other, and fixed and stable beyond any chance of arbitrary alteration. When I perceive objects I am aware that I can only perceive them in fixed relations—such as the rule prescribed to my faculty of perception—all measurements, reasoning, geometry, concerning space and space relations, are really not with it but with the objects of perception and their relations to each other. The name space and the image of space as an actual object to be perceived and thought like other objects merely signifies the possibility of our awareness of such relations in consciousness. Objects in consciousness cannot be perceived or thought without space, since that would be to perceive or think them without any positional relation to each other, each independent of the other, being at no distance, neither above, below, on a level with its fellows. We cannot think such a chaos, we must

think every object at a fixed, not a varying or uncertain, although possibly unknown distance from every other, as in the case of some fixed stars whose distance while utterly un known can never be thought of as anything but fixed and certain, although not ascertained and perhaps never ascertainable.

Thus the idea of space as limited or unlimited with all the contradictions thence arising is evidently absurd. It grows out of that convenient habit of representing space as if it were some immense, empty frame into which all objects of perception must be placed for our seeing and measuring, whereas, if the truth be told, the moment objects disappear, space, their possibility of mutual relations, disappears with them.

An attempt to limit space or declare it unlimited is in fine an attempt to limit the possibility of perception or of thought of objects to some fixed number or particular set of relations: to set bounds to the possibilities of consciousness, or to declare them without limits. It follows that when objects of perception disappear from consciousness, space disappears with them, being no longer required. The testimony of consciousness on this point admits of no dispute for luckily there are conditions or states of consciousness which involve neither the perception nor the thought of objects, states of simple consciousness referred to above. Intense pain, or intense pleasure, excluding perception or thought contain no space, yet there are no more vivid states of consciousness that these. All similar simple states of consciousnes made up of sense-impressions, feelings, what you will, unmodified by the perceiving and thinking activities of the Ego, are in fact nothing more than modes of existence of the Ego itself known as only they can be in consciousness. These are the Ego.*

* The ingenious reader can supply instances of such states of consciousness with little difficulty. All cases where some single sense-impression is so vivid as to fill consciousness and centre attention on itself to the exclusion of ideas and other sense-impressoins, and to the consequent prevention of the thinking or perceiving activity of the Ego from taking it up and acting upon it are of such a sort. A simple smell, an

This first simple state of consciousness is speedily lost, superceded by perception and thought. The simple sense impressions (part non-ego, part ego), the touch, color, smell, size of an object which perception constructs into a rose become merged in the perceived object and space and time are born out of the necessities of perception and thought, to reconcile and make harmonious the contradictions that thus arise. A rose as an object of perception must as such object have a place with reference to other objects: it cannot be perceived or thought alone, its relations of place must be thought, an unrelated, independent object of perception is impossible, hence arises that which we call space in which these are all possible. A mere sense impression makes no such demands, for it is a modification, a mode of being of the Ego itself, known directly and immediately, it is the Ego and the Ego is it. It is reality in other words, so far as we know reality or can conceive it.*

* The action of the perceptive faculty of the Ego on the sense-impressions of the non-Ego, the sensations, presented in consciousness constituting simple consciousness, and the distinction between the perception of an object—say a rose—and the simple consciousness of the separate isolated sense-impressions presented by the various organs of sense, the smell, color, touch, that taken up and united by the perceptive faculty are made into the object, a rose, may seem at first obscure. But an appeal to some of the psychological phenomena of dreaming will enable us to get a clearer understanding of the process of perception. For in dreams it not infrequently happens that a single-sense impression intruding itself into consciousness, which at that time is empty of content, i. e. in the condition we call sleep, will set up the process of the perceptive faculty in such a way as to display its whole method of operation so that we may observe it with a minuteness impossible when the Ego is awake, and exercising its faculties in the ordinary manner.

---

ear piercing sound, a violent blow, make no demands in consciousness for either space or time.

If it were otherwise, we might ask the distance of one feeling from another, the shape or size of a particular sensation of sound, which are manifestly absurd questions because sensation not being the object of perception or thought as such (i. e. as a modification or mode of being of the Ego itself) makes no demand on space or on time. The point of distinction lies just here, sensation is reality known not mediately by the perceptive faculties, but directly, the Ego is itself the sensation; the particular sensation is for the time part of the Ego, a mode of its existence and so itself.

Some understanding may now be had of what Kant meant when he called space a form of intuition, an understanding gained in the only way possible, by an actual examination of the processes of consciousness.

The generation of Time, although taking place in a different manner (called for by difficulties of thought, rather than by those of perception) is even more than Space a manufacture of the Egoistic activity dealing with the content of consciousness. Without memory Time could never arise as a possibility of thought. We should live in a perpetual present, without past or future. The latter, so far as it has positive character, is but a manufacture of the imagination from the material furnished by a remembrance of what is past.

Observed in the simplest way, the generation of Time would seem to grow out of a knowledge of change in the content or state of consciousness. This knowledge can only be gained

---

If, for example, a cold current of air strike a sleeping person, intruding the sense-impression of cold into his empty consciousness. He may shiver, draw his clothes about him, turn from the unpleasant sensation automatically, as we say, showing consciousness without any direct act of will. This sensation may, and very often does, set the perceptive faculty to work and the sleeping Ego has a perception, i. e. a dream of an object, for the aroused perceptive faculty takes up the simple sense-impression, and proceeds to make an object of perception by combining it with other invented sense-impressions—out of the simple sense-impression, coldness, it cannot make an object and it has no real actual sense-impressions such as the sight of an open window, door, or the like, which are the usual appropriate sense-impressions accompanying that of cold—and so the sleeper perchance has presented to him in dream the perception of an object, say perhaps a river, into which he is plunged and so the sense-impression of cold is combined with the sense-impression of sight of a river, etc., and at the same time the thinking faculty, the understanding, is set in motion: the two faculties are inseparable in that reality which we seek to unravel, perceiving an object compels a thinking of it in connection with other objects, and a rationalizing it, accounting for it in accordance with the laws of thinking and so a long story may be presented to the dreamer, as a fanciful but intellectually and Egoistically sufficient explanation of the simple sensation of cold presented to consciousness, the man may dream he is out sailing in a boat which is capsized and his plunge into the cold water may be the explanation of the sensation of cold first experienced. Thus the simple sensation or sense impression of cold is made intelligible, is perceived and thought.

through the activity of memory: for all the Ego is conscious of is the present state of consciousness with its content of sense-impressions, ideas and so on. If this suffers a change to a different state with other content of sense-impressions, etc., then the Ego would lose the first state which would be superseded by the second and there being no trace presented by memory of the first, no change would be perceived. But as we well know a recollection, an image of the first state is preserved—automatically almost we might say—by memory. This image is not the same as the first state, it is fainter, less vivid, an image or representation of it. It is by the contrasting of this fainter, less vivid, representation of the first state with the second and present actual state of consciousness that a knowledge of the taking place of a change is given us and so of Time, which is a succession of changes united by the activity of thinking. For the Ego is placed under the necessity of thinking these two different states of consciousness—a knowledge of which memory has made possible to it—together, united; it must think them as having some common basis or ground of identity. To think them as separate, independent one of the other, violates the laws of its thinking. It is coerced by these into uniting them by the categories of casuality and of substance to use the Kantian terms. Those categories require the Ego to think of itself and of matter, the Non-Ego, as always substantially self-identical. The knowledge of change, therefore, which it gains in experience seems to contradict this law of its thinking. How can there be changes in what is ever the same: or to put it still more simply, how can the same thing be different: logically this is a contradiction in terms. Logic declares it impossible: experience exhibits it as a fact, and the Ego reconciles the quarrel with the idea of Time. The same thing is different in different times: its different states which seem to give the lie to its identity are not simultaneous but successive. The experimental fact of change reconciled with the cognititive necessity of self identity in Ego and Non-Ego is the Keynote of Time.

The importance of time in this respect is apparent (one of

the earliest examples) in the identity of the Ego itself: one state "A" of consciousness is succeeded by another "B," and the Ego, in defense of its own unity and identity, treats them as successive states of itself, changes which do not destroy, however, its identy. The undoubted deliverance of consciousness in both states of its own identity yet accompanied by an equally undoubted deliverance of the differences of the two states compels the reconciliation by Time. I am one, yet I know myself in the states of consciousness in which alone I can have any knowledge of myself as different; first, as "A" then as "B" state. I must unite these despite their differences, else I myself disappear and they become simply disjointed, separate "A" and "B" states entirely independent of each other. This is to annihilate me as a person, leaving me a changing, disconnected, unintelligible series of states of consciousness, not one but many.

The highly artificial nature of Time as an Egoistic manufacture, may be realized by the study of its genesis, in the simplest example, that of the successive changes of position, which we call motion, let us say of the hands of a clock or of a watch as they pass round the circumference of its face. No matter how rapidly or slowly these move, whether it be the split second flying or the hour hand crawling slowly in this simplest example (the symbol used for time in all our ordinary thinking of it) our consciousness is only enabled to have a perception of the motion and so of time by the help of memory. Motion for us is the perception of change of position of an object obtained by a comparison of the present perceived perception with a past remembered perception of the same. Motion is a mere inference, therefore, of perception and memory, it is not directly perceived for the most rapidly succeeding changes of position, a split second hand or the slow majestic changes of the planets, are equally dependent on memory for the consciousness of that past position, without which a knowledge of motion would be impossible.

It is, too, an inference which is not infrequently wrongly made, so that a spectator beholding a moving object infers, not

its motion, but his own, thus accounting for the change of position by a different motion from the true one, which could not be if there were a direct perception of motion. *

Nor can motion be thought any more easily than it can be perceived; for it is, in thinking, a succession of changes and these are incapable of being thought without contradiction. Thus arose the famous dilemma of the schoolmen that motion could not exist for it could not be where the object was since the object was moving from that place and of course it could not be where the object was not.

It is no easier to think changes, i. e. in this case, motions, beginning or ceasing to be than it is to think matter (the assumed permanent substance) beginning or ceasing to be.

It is a daring thing for any man to criticize, on this point, the position of Kant, who by reason of his grasp on all the subtleties and intricacies of the human thinking might well deserve the title Master of Consciousness, but it is impossible to draw any real distinction between the thinking of the beginnings of change or motion, and the beginnings of substance. One is no less difficult than the other and for precisely the same reasons. For example, and continuing that simplest example of change with which we started, what distinction is

* This matter will repay further scrutiny by the philosophical reader. Let him ask himself the visible difference between an object at rest, "without motion" as we say, and an object moving: or let him attempt by actual inspection to perceive an object changing from a condition of rest to one of motion. What does he perceive to take place as it begins to move? Or, reversing the process, can he perceive the ceasing to move of an object, the change from moving object to stationary object? On this point is not the statement of the text the only accurate one possible: that we only know the difference between a moving and a stationary body by changes of position measured in comparison and with reference to other objects, and that without such objects, say in that situation impossible to our experience, where the moving object was entirely alone, without and independent of all other bodies, a perceptfon of its motion could not be had.

Space and Time are simply the necessary relations which the laws of thought require to exist between objects of its activity. If there were but one object, and no more, neither space nor time, therefore, could arise, for no relation which is their basis could arise.

there between thinking the beginning of a change of position which is motion and the beginning of substance. Something, no matter what you call it or how you distinguish it from substance must begin to be which in a previous moment of time was not. Something comes out of nothing quite as truly as in the case of matter coming into being out of nothing. The rule *nihil ex nihilo fit* is violated by my thinking of a motion or a cause beginning to act or be which in the previous moment had not begun; for a minute examination of such thinking compels me to find somewhere the existence of a new cause or a new activity not previously in being as such. It is a mere subterfuge to posit the new existence as merely a new combination, a new condition of what was previously in existence. Two reasons equally forbid this, first, we have no warrant in experience, as Kant would say, for the *a priori* distinction between that which we call substance and posit as permanent and that other non-substance which we consider as differing from it. All that experience gives us is sense impressions, whose main characteristic that stamps them as Non Ego is, that we cannot control them or prevent or secure their presence in consciousness. The distinction, therefore, between the beginnings of substance and of assumed non-substantial "other" is purely Egoistic: it is not a real distinction. Secondly, supposing the distinction real, it makes the thinking no easier: for the real difficulty which is the source and origin of the category of substance is the impossibility of our thinking the beginning or ceasing to be of anything—matter, substance, motion, change—call the new sense-impression what you will, and the category of substance assuming a permanent substratum for all the observed changes only avoids the real difficulty by throwing it back another step. Those changes of substance, of the permanent, must have a cause, and that cause must be a new cause, otherwise it would have exercised its causality in a past time. For our thinking the coming into existence of that new cause, is as much an impossibility as the coming into existence of a new substance. It may be possible, trace back the origin of the category of substance to its source

in that still more fundamental law of Egoistic being the necessity for thinking unity into all phenomena, whether considered as Egoistic or Non-Egoistic. Of this the inability to think the beginning or ceasing to be of matter or of anything is but a mere corollary; for the absolute beginning or ceasing to be of anything, no matter what, must violate that sense and instinct of unity which the Ego has in regard to itself and to all that other than self which environs it. An all embracing unity that is either added to or subtracted from is not a true unity for our thinking, since the unity we must think—have the instinct for thinking if you please—must be an organic unity bound together by laws such as causality, etc. An arbitrary coming into or going out of something from such a unity destroys it; for either the unity is not complete and the coming and going of the something is governed by some rule or law outside the supposed unity or there is no law at all and therefore no organic unity, and those new somethings are independent, separarate, unrelated to all the rest, not governed by the law of cause and effect.

Instead of so thinking the Ego is forced to supply a *nexus* for all the ever-changing flux of the phenomenal world presented to it in consciousness. This it calls for the Non-Ego substance for the Ego it supplies what is equally efficient the feeling of its own identity throughout all changes of consciousness.

For its own satisfaction it assumes these, giving, it is true, in the case of Egoistic phenomena no name distinctive from itself, but regarding its own identity as the substratum of all those various and different states of consciousness both the immediately present and the most remote past states preserved for it by the function of memory.

How memory accomplishes its task, reproduces past states of consciousness, is beyond explanation, but that its office is essential for all thinking is self-evident. If we had no memory we should dwell in a perpetual present state of consciousness which would consist simply of feelings which only exist as present and of sense-impressions wrought into intelligible ob-

jects of perception by the spontaneous activity of the Ego, but only as present sense-impressions. There would be no thinking possible; but what is still more to the point, there would be no need for thinking. A simple consciousness made up of present perception and feeling makes no demand for thinking, it simply is. Thinking arises from the representation of past consciousness, of past perceptions and feelings and the difficulties which these cause and which call for thinking to reconcile them.

The manifold of present intuition, to borrow Kant's terminology, cannot be thought as such: it will not yield to that control of the thinking subject which is necessary for thought; at any moment against the will of the Ego it may be withdrawn or superceded. It is only by means of these representations made by the activity of the Ego in accordance with the laws of that activity that thinking becomes possible. These representations, of perceptions, of feelings, of all the content presented by consciousness, are constructed out of them as the material. How exactly we cannot tell, but we are aware that the process consists in part at least of a certain dropping out of some detail and an emphasizing of other detail so that we know intuitively that the representation is not the same, but something more or less different from its original The distinction between the object as perceived and the object as represented in thought is elemental. Herbert Spencer has described it as a vivid as contrasted with a faint impression, but the great master of consciousness has gone much farther. Kant calls it "the schematism of the understanding" and admirably calls it "an art hidden in the depth of the human soul whose true modes of action we shall only with difficulty discover and unveil."* If I understand his language he refers to a very much advanced and abstracted representation of the perceived objects of experience. But the activity by which this representation is formed must in its general character be of the same sort. For whether out of the present perceived object, say a

* Critique of Pure Reason (Meiklejohn's Translation). Schematism of Pure Conception, etc.

brown dog with curly hair, brown eyes, etc. I make a representation of a dog, omitting all the etcetera, and preserving only the color, the hair and the eyes, or going a step farther omit all such detail and retain perhaps merely the size and the four legs and the shape, or if I go still farther and out of many representations perceived or remembered and so already made into representations I make a still more abstract representation which I may call a quadruped or still farther abstract my representation until it has no details no quality but that of a living creature, an animal, the whole process must be substantially the same, differing only in the degree to which the abstraction of the details of the perceived object is carried in the represented object. Kant's attention was centered on the highly abstract representation of the object perceived which he called the schemata formed by the imagination corresponding to no one perceived object exactly but representing all of a class in a certain way and serving as a medium between the perceived objects and the conception of the pure understanding. For the conceptions of the pure understanding Kant saw could not apply directly to the manifold of intuition there had to be some representation formed which should on the one side have an homogeneity with the conception and on the other side with the perceived object, something that omitted many details of the perceived object according to the laws of that activity and thus formed an abstract representation which should have something homogeneous with the pure conceptions which the thinking subject had to apply to all objects thought and yet should retain some of the experimental content furnished by the per ceived object. To such a representation the word image could not be applied for no concrete image could be conceived of such abstract representation, say a living creature; the word symbol perhaps would most truly approximate the more highly abstract representations formed in and for our thinking in its most abstract process. These representations, more or less abstract, approaching always to the symbol very naturally call in that artificial invention and aid, words, which are pure symbols in their outward aspect but which as internally considered still

retain in part traces of their source in actual representations; for I think all words, no matter how abstract, are understood as representations still and call up in the mind some half symbolic, half imaging picture. The word tree, soldier, house, nation, all have a sort of image in consciousness that each individual Ego annexes to them and so thinks them.

So much very briefly of the whole process of the making of representations out of perceived objects in present consciousness. The main differences between the perceived object and its representation may be thus enumerated. First, and most important for our thinking, the very reason of its being at all, the representation unlike the actual perception of the object may be recalled at will, may consequently be compared, modified, judged as this or that in comparison either with another like representation, or with a present perceived object, in other words, may be thought. Secondly, the representation is never a perfectly accurate reproduction of the represented object. This may be accidental, the mere faultiness of memory as we sometimes say, and which is proverbial, accepted as a commonplace, or it may be an intentional omitting of some details and emphasizing of others in that process of abstracting and generalizing the representation just alluded to. Thirdly, it is a representation not the perception itself, less vivid, not real as we usually phrase it. We instinctively know that for example the present consciousness of a manifold of sense-impressions called a dinner and the representative recollection of it are totally different. The one is reality, the other is at best a vivid memory, or possibly a mere abstraction, the idea of any dinner. Fourthly, and as a matter of course space and time which are alone possible by reason of these representations apply to them and thus make the last difference between simple consciousness and them; for simple consciousness allows of neither space nor time. It is only when thought the representative comes in that these become possible. This we have already seen in regard to time which requires for its generation the representation or memory of past consciousness. Space likewise grows out of the necessity of the percipient faculty of the Ego which out of

the manifold of intuition cannot frame an object all by itself, but must place it with other objects in relation therefore with them and so in space which but another name for the local or positional relation of objects to each other when perceived or thought.

ARTICLE VI.

UNIVERSALIZING.

AUSTIN BIERBOWER, LL.D.

This is an integrating or universalizing period, when men consider the whole of a subject, and operate complete systems. The fragmentariness of former ages is superceded by an all-including movement in each department. The Twentieth Century is taking stock of the world's contents, closely computing what we have. Since the Sixteenth Century the energies, like the thoughts, of men are more comprehensive, as the result of several movements which opened up totalities, where before but parts were known. The whole world was discovered, the entire solar system was brought in view, principles were found which applied to all facts, and laws were recognized as universal. The circle was completed in which force was thought to run; and this viewing of totalities set more universalizing agencies in operation.

Till the new world was discovered, and so all the earth invoiced, with its exhaustive catalogue of lands and seas, there could be no intercourse throughout the globe, or system of business covering the whole. But when the world became known as a whole, men began to work it as a whole. Systems of universal communication were established; migration sought all parts; and the question of commercial or industrial enterprises involved a comparison of each country's claims. India, Australia, America all were canvassed for chances; and world movemements resulted—inter-oceanic steamship lines, which, with their canals, threw all the water of the globe together; inter-continental railroads, which brought all the land together; all-the-world migration schemes, which effected a comingling

of peoples and a universal acquaintance with one another and one another's possessions. The whole world is accordingly now united in one system of intercourse. Lines connect with other lines, and the network of lines is so adjusted as to entwine all the earth in one plan. Tourists in New York, Paris, Constantinople, Calcutta and Alaska can pick out in one hour their routes to all parts of the earth, with full confidence that at each point facilities will be had to reach every other point. The world as a whole is so joined by railroads and steamships, its caravan and donkey teams, its lines over seas, mountains and deserts, through jungles and into the polar seas, as to have literally universalized travel, and, parallel with it, geographical and ethnical information.

The business of the world is also now universal. What is done in one part has reference to what is done in every other. What the mills of England do depends on what the cotten fields of South Carolina and the sheep pastures of Australia produce; and all the cotton fields and sheep pastures of the earth are estimated, and the figures cast up to see what each part must furnish in the whole. The business of the entire world is coralled, and made the basis of estimates, as much as is a single farmer's tobacco crop. The Chicago Board of Trade reports weekly all the grain in sight throughout the country. Our manufacturers inspect the industrial statistics of the whole world. The country's exports and imports are accurately studied. Prices turn on the world's schedules, and a depression, as in the sea, causes a rush thitherward from all over the globe to restore an equilibrium. Even the weather is made an interest, and, like news, telegraphed over the world. A hundred-handed bureau, Briareus-like gathers trade prognostications from the clouds. The rains along the Danube and Yellowstone are noted in the market quotations of Liverpool and Chicago. What is done anywhere gets a world recognition, and is estimated in cosmopolitan terms. A new diamond discovered in Brazil attracts the eye of a Jew in Amsterdam. An operatic star appearing in Sweden or Hungary is seen from London or the Leipsic Conservatory. The earth's entire products are brought within the market of the whole world, and

made the subject of speculation everywhere. There is a general adjustment by which everything, no matter where produced, goes where it is most wanted; so that the entire world is brought into one system of commerce or general business plan, the race as a whole having whatever the race as individuals possesses. England's political economy turns on the trade of every nation; and ministries rise and fall with the fluctuations of markets ten thousand miles away. One pulse-beat is felt around all the world; and the telegraph is a nerve that quivers with the business sensitiveness of the whole earth.

A short time ago this was not so. One part of the world knew not how another part lived, and still less was influenced by it. The people in India were starving while those in Italy did not gather their superabundant crops. The French manufactures toiled without reference to the productions of Canton. The furs of Alaska were used only by the people of Alaska, and its gigantic gold fields and forests were not visited by foreign capital. Central Europe lived off Central Europe, and there were communities in Russia which got nothing from beyond their bounds. Industrial isolation and commercial independence prevailed in ignorance of the rest of the earth's products. Men were influenced by narrow surroundings, and so were narrow men. The industrial, like the intellectual, horizon was small; and world thoughts, like world activities, rarely came to the people.

But now the universal has come to commerce. Busines has risen to the dignity of ideas; trade has been philosophied; the shipper, railroad magnate and manufacturer deal in universals; practical men take in the whole world in their thoughts, as much as did the ancient philosophers. All the world's grain, all the world's railroads, all the world's land, all the world's people are factors in their reasoning; and men as individuals or corporations seek to deal in the totalities of these. "The whole" is a term used as much on the Board of Trade as in the universities. Religion is no longer the only missionary which propagates itself over the world and seeks exclusive possession. Trade goes everywhere, and we have a universal Exchange as well as universal Church. There is one money,

or standard of value, one banking system, one method of clearance, which is universal; and all forms of business are being enlarged to appropriate these totalities. Even the individual is becoming universal in his aspirations. The trusts aim at a combination of entire industries under one ownership. The world, in short, operates in business together, catholicity marking all secular energy. Mankind is brought into a unity in a degree that exceeds the dream of the ancient sage or mediaeval saint, the race acting as a whole, and not merely submitting as a whole.

There is like universalizing in the methods, implements and resources of the world. Men formerly worked differently in different countries, and got little suggestion from one another. Each small section had its own ways, and there were no universal means. A dozen kinds of money prevailed in Germany and as many systems of weights and measures in Europe. The means of manufacturing differed widely, and inventions were confined to the place of their origin. Men had more ways of doing things, not as the result of preference, but in ignorance of how others did them; and they were as likely to be the worst ways as the best. Men worked at retail instead of wholesale. But of late they have universalized their methods, founding them on what is common in them, instead of on what is differential—on logic and mathematics instead of on custom and tradition. The decimal system is fast spreading over the whole world and being applied to all departments instead of merely to counting. In fifty years the world will likely have one kind of money, one kind of weights, one kind of measures, which will all grow out of one idea. Our methods are being formulated on the general principles, or laws of thought, and so are simple and of universal application, like the principles themselves.

The universalizing of methods, however, has become possible only since there has been a universal acquaintance with the subjects to be affected thereby and with the means at man's disposal. The metrical system grew out of an all-including classification, or invoice, of the things to be weighed, measured and counted. The whole world is taken to furnish the unit of

measure, and everything in the world is taken up to be measured by it. Since the whole world has been traversed, systems have been developed to apply to the whole world; and men everywhere are invited to use them. This was not possible while men lived a provincial life, instead of a world life; but now, when all know one another, and know what one another knows, the adoption of one another's methods, and so a universal decision on the best one, becomes possible for the first time.

And so in our customs generally, to the most trivial fashions and amusements, there is a universalizing which extends them everywhere. By the intermingling of people, throwing the distant races together, the world is daily made more uniform. We eat the same food everywhere, and the German and Irish can anywhere get their national drinks. What is best in each nation's food is selected, and from such selection an international diet is being fixed on the people. The hotels set the same table the world over; and while men are learning to eat a greater variety they are getting everywhere the same food. The differences in custom do not shock men as formerly; both because the extremes of difference have disappeared and because men are more versatile and cosmopolitan in their tastes. The peculiarities of individuals are being rounded off, and what is common in them is wrought into a general symmetry of the whole race. One fashion now runs over the entire earth. A new gown starting at Paris, crosses to New York, and is soon multiplied into millions in San Francisco and Australia. An American notices little difference in the dress of St. Petersburg or Buenos Ayres. A similarity of taste is everywhere developed, and ubiquity is impressed on art as on trade. Greece has no longer her exclusive architecture, and Egypt and China a distinct style; but the styles of Paris and Chicago are found in the east as well as in the west. Nationality has been driven out of art, and the whole appropriates what belongs to any part. Men dress alike, are amused alike and are buried alike; and the few remaining differences are in process of rapprochement. The world is universalizing its fashions

and customs, and man is taking on a cosmopolitanism in things social.

The nations even are working in concert. One international law prevails today everywhere, and the universal features of government, or what applies to all, are supplanting the particularities in each. While there are still nations there is now a nation of nations—a conclave of states, or confederacy of peoples. The Hague Tribunal is recognized as a court of last resort for all of them. The world must fight and have peace together. A single state cannot declare war, or Austria and Russia settle their own disputes. The balance of power must be preserved; and before any can fight all must assent. The world acts as a whole, with a solidarity between states as between individuals. The universal has thrown its network over all nations, however hostile, and entwined them into one group from which none can escape. The unity of government has been established like that of the ancient church,—a friendly coöperation with local independence. Instead of the "great powers" it is becoming the "great power" which decides state questions—humanity instead of England, Germany or Russia. No government, nor all governments, may act against the general reason of the race. What is universal in men governs states as well as individuals, and makes them act in concert, so that we have many inter-state movements. This integrating of power comes from the general intermingling and acquaintance of the people, which characterizes modern times. We are fast becoming conscious of ourselves as a race, and learning to wield our power as a world.

There is also one morality for the whole earth. What is right on one side of the Pyrannees is no longer wrong on the other side. Small communities do not make codes, nor are these the result, as once, of local custom, but of general reason. Like the civil laws they have become national and international. Mankind as a whole legislates for morality and enforces its judgments on people everywhere. About all the great ethical principles and rules are recognized alike by all men. And as all have the same morality, they exercise it alike toward all—towards stranger and foreigner as well as to-

ward friend and neighbor. What is wrong for an Englishman is not right for a Frenchman or Chinaman. Universality is stamped on morality, and mankind are one in ethics as in politics and art. What is changeable, and applies differently to different people, is what is trivial, and hardly deserves the dignified name of morality. Since all men have been thrown together they have learned to love all men, and they see little in any to hate. When only a small part of the world was known, and the different peoples were foreigners, friendship was necessarily confined to a narrow neighborhood, and enmity and indifference accorded to the rest. The universalizing of our knowledge and relations has universalized our feelings and forms of conduct. Like politeness morality is expressive of general good will, and unity characterizes the moral law. There are no longer sectional, or even national morals, but only morals, morality being catholic like religion, and one of the possessions of the whole world. The unity of mankind is here effected, and one more subject taken out of strife.

Language too is fast becoming one for the world. Dialects are fast disappearing, and the few great languages are driving out the smaller ones. Recenty thirty-five hundred were flourishing in the world; and each small principality and county, whether in Germany, England or France, had one of its own, or a dialect not understood fifty miles away. In jumping a fence one was likely to get into a new speech as into a new money and new customs. The English is now the same over all America and Australia, and becoming so even in England—swallowing its dialects like a serpent its young. And so with the other great languages. The smaller ones, like the Gaelic and Low Dutch—struggling tongues of petty countries—are fast disappearing, and no more of them are forming, the day of language-making having past. The last woman who spoke Cornish recently died, and her countrymen are building her a monument as a curiosity. The Irish and Brabant will disappear about the time our buffalos and several other needless species become extinct. For, along with the extermination of plant and animal species, will go many institutions from the earth. Only four great languages remain in Europe—English,

French, German and Russian—and the English is so gaining on the rest that it must ultimately replace them in all countries but their own, and become in time the international language. The number speaking it has nearly doubled in the last generation, while those speaking the other tongues have not perceptibly increased. In another century English will likely be spoken everywhere, and in two centuries all other languages will have disappeared as the general language of the people. The world can have only one universal language, as it can have only one universal morality; and English, which is more general than was the Latin in its greatest sway, shows the same spirit of conquest as does the Anglo-Saxon Race in statesmanship. The language of commerce, of travel, of widely scattered peoples—in Europe, America, India and Australia—it is spoken in every great city, bank, hotel, court and public office in the world; and he who can learn another language besides his own now learns English. There will soon be in each country the vernacular and the English, and then the English only, which will indeed be greatly modified on its way to universality—its spelling being brought under a few rules and its inflections conformed to the general reason—a much less task than conforming the German or French genders to reason. Whether a new universal language, like Esperanto, could be constructed, or if constructed, imposed on the world, is doubtful; but that the English can be so modified as to meet most requirements of such theoretically-constructed speech seems probable. It already suffices for nearly all purposes of science, literature, commerce, and polite intercourse—for poetry, eloquence and love. It is simple, vigorous, comprehensive, versatile and musical, with a larger vocabulary than any other, and capable of indefinite expansion. It is a growing and self-adapting tongue that in a university, drawing room and mining camp is open to all the additions required.

Literature also is fast becoming one for mankind. The best of every language finds its way into every other. Nationality does not confine authorship as formerly. Translations are as much a matter of business as transportation. There is an established route from one language to another, as from one land

to another. Thought has its lines of international travel as well as corn. D'Annunzio is read as much in England as in Italy, and Tolstoy as much in Germany as in Russia. Cosmopolitanism marks our thought as well as our speech and dress; and a people's peculiarities affect less their opinions than formerly. As men think more alike and have tastes more alike, they express themselves more alike; and every people's literature, if good, now suits every other. We appreciate the poems of India and tales of Scandinavia, which, till lately, were thought childish superstitions. We speak less of the literature of England or Germany, and more of literature. All literature is our literature, and the land or language of its birth concerns us little. In estimating what is good, scholars count the authors of all countries; in determining what to print, publishers look over all the world for material; in choosing what to read, the people scan foreign as well as domestic books. The range from which to select is wider, and in choosing each country's best we get a higher literature. The tendency is to what is general in thought and taste, and away from what is particular, local and temporal. Inferior authors are eliminated since they must compete with the best of all lands. Literature, in short, has been universalized and it bears less the race and land marks of its origin than it did in the past. Germany, France, England speak all one way, to ears tuned to the same key; and all men have more nearly the same attitude toward intellectual problems. Fashion is driven from the author's as from the builder's art; and taste in rhetoric, as in music, has become universal.

Science, too, spreads into other languages, and is taken up by the learned everywhere, thereby becoming also universal. No nation confines information as formerly, and science is one for the whole world. Spread before all men in countless books, reports and periodicals, it is the possession of all, whithout much variation for different countries. What England knows, or any man in England, is not unknown in Germany. There is no longer British knowledge, Dutch knowledge or Persian knowledge, but only knowledge, which has become a world interest. No Queen of Sheba need now go to a Solomon for

what Jerusalem knows; Sheba's libraries contain Jerusalem's knowledge. Cosmopolitan instead of national, science is a unit instead of divided parts, inter-dependent, like the sea, in which all interflows and commingles over the whole globe, and not like the separate lakes of Wisconsin appropriated by local owners. Laws confine knowledge no more than they do air. Language is no barrier to it, more than to trade or literature. Distance stops it no more than it does telegraphing. Having no nationality, it is naturalized everywhere as soon as born anywhere; and no people can monopolize or localize a great truth. Discoveries travel as fast as war news, and intellectual light, like sun light, spreads over the whole earth in a day. In estimating science, therefore, we take in all the world's information, as in estimating the wheat crop, we take in all the world's wheat. Migrating freely, it circulates with as much intercommunication as the railroads give to commerce.

In our intellectual methods, too, and in the material with which we work as investigators and scholars we labor with all that is known. Our library, museum and laboratory facilities are encyclopedic, covering the whole range of material; so that we work in view of the aggregate of the world's information as no other age has done. Exhaustive collections make up our data; exhaustive indexes point to every topic; exhaustive compends give us treatices on every subject, citing all authorities; so that we may quickly get abreast of all that is known in anything. Lexicons, gazeteers, maps, tables, and similar works, covering entire departments, constitute a great part of literature. The whole field of science, like the whole earth's surface, has been mapped out, and put in everybody's reach; so that what is known to any is in the general storehouse of harvested facts on which all may draw. An intellectual weather report, made from observation on every peak of science, hangs in each scholars study; and no traveler can come, like Herodotus or Marco Polo, from an unknown country or subject with anything to greatly surprise the world.

Exhaustive libraries contain these treatises in completeness, so that they furnish materials for the adequate study of each department, the modern library being an encyclopedia of ency-

clopedias, or collection of sources of information, where investigators, by a systematic examination, may soon learn whether any fact is among the possessions of the race.

Exhaustive universities, as their name implies, furnish studying facilities in all branches, having besides the books mentioned, great collections of scholars who can easily get information on any subject, and where men, standing on the pinnacle of the known, may get the new, and build still higher the fabric of universal knowledge, a university being the meeting of the information of the world, or encyclopedia of scholars—a library of books still in the brain, where one can ask instead of read; so that, as, a library is a dead university, a university is a live library.

Institutes of learned men, like the French Academy and Royal Society of England, focus the world's information upon current problems; as also do, though less completely, the local collections of specialists, like the societies of physicians, engineers, clergy, and laboring men, in our cities. The means are general of getting all information together for whoever wants it, so that we largely use the universal as an instrument, and make all men, as well as what all know, factors in our thought.

In the special sciences this universalizing is in both the scope and treatment of their materials. Each department takes in all of its kind, and subordinates the whole under laws which are universal. Geography is thus a description of the surface of the whole earth; geology is the science of the contents of the whole globe; astronomy is the science of the whole heavens; chemistry treats of the composition of all the planets; natural philosophy takes in the movements of the whole universe; the laws of nature, as of mind, are treated as universal; in the most distant spaces the forces of matter are recognized as operating in universal interchange with the dust at our feet, no lost star or wandering nebula being left out of the universal sweep. The whole heavens, like the whole earth, are circumnavigated in thought; and as the earth is understood as a cosmos, the system entire is conceived as a universe.

Our theories make the whole world stand together as a system

in one history, as in one construction. In the nebular-hypothesis it is the outcome of one movement; in the evolution of its parts there is one development; in the philosophy of history there is one series. Sacred, like geologic and profane, history moves forward as a unit and makes part of one process, which involves all things. Religion, philosophy and art are all cast in universal molds, and our conceptions applied to all things as one system. Thinking in limitless terms, we recognize today the universality of every truth.

In religion we have made the three great ideas—God, immortality and morality—all universal. Instead of the localizing Polytheism, which gave different gods to small spaces like different languages to small peoples, setting Jupiter on Olympus and Isis by the Nile, we have now one diety, who is God not only of Palestine, or Greece, but of the whole world; and who, like the universe, is universal, taking up everything needed for an infinite. The soul, instead of being limited to this life, has a continuous course across death, and an eternal one beyond, thus making its career universal in time. Its future state, too, is not only a happy one, but a perfect one, taking up everything needed for a universal condition of enjoyment or ideal of life. The moral laws, which apply alike to all beings, are eternal as well as universal. Infinity and eternity stamp all our theological conceptions. We have infinite virtues and infinite sins, infinite rewards and infinite penalties, and men and destiny are seen in wholes, not in parts. The moral government takes in all action; its periods take in all time; its decisions take in all interests, thus being universal in every relation. Our sacred history runs from everlasting to everlasting. Commencing with the Creation it reaches to the Judgment. If the Hindoos had no beginning, and the Greeks no end, in their sacred cosmogony, we deal with both the beginning and the end, and leave out nothing between. The Bible commences with the words, "In the Beginning," and ends with a revelation "of the end." We run through all eternity in every religious conception, tracing God in infinite distance back as the first cause of all, and infinitely forward to to a purpose without end. Things go from everlasting to ever-

lasting in a universal sweep of cause and effect, and of design and execution. A typical religious, as also scientific, idea is expressed in the words, "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end."

And so, in general, modern thought, like modern effort, is engaged in a struggle to become universal. It delights in a broad sweep which takes in all, rather than in a concentration on details which leaves out the horizon. Our view is from the mountain, not from the plain, and is telescopic rather than microscopic. We think with larger factors than ever men thought, and aim at larger results. As missionaries and trade go to all the world, as ideas go to all minds, as enterprises go to all wills, and as trusts and labor unions gather up all the scattered pursuits into general interests, and make men in each line act as an entirety, and not as mere individuals so the ideas and inspirations accompanying these movements are universal. The Christian seeks a universal church, the politician a universal republic, and the philanthropist a universal brotherhood. There are international societies, international aims and international benevolences; and the best thoughts and sympathies of men now take in all the world. This is an age of solidarity—of all men, of all knowledge and of all enterprises in one universal reason, in one universal science and in one universal purpose.

ARTICLE VII.

PROFESSOR HOSKINS ON THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION.

By Rev. H. E. Berkey, A.M.

A Princeton University Professor, in *The Princeton Theological Review* for January and April, 1907, has traced the history of "German Influence" on "American Culture."

We propose in this article to consider certain views presented in his paper in reference to (I) *The Lutheran Church*; (II) *The Reformation.* Our reasons for doing so will best appear as we proceed. We accordingly notice at once his views in reference to

I. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The Lutheran Church is the "Mother of Protestantism;"* she numbers in her communion throughout the world as many adherents as all the rest of Protestantism combined; in this country, for some years past, she has been exceeded in numbers by only two other Protestant bodies, the Methodists and the Baptists, and has outnumbered the Presbyterians considerably, and the Episcopalians and Congregationalists combined. Yet, in spite of these facts, it has justly been remarked by those of our Lutheran host who give attention to such matters, that time and again the Lutheran Church in this country has been entirely overlooked or ignored. And this by writers and others where better things could properly be expected.

But, wherever else this wrong has appeared, it cannot be charged

*Schaff: *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. VI. p. 690–2; *Johnson's Cyclopædia* (1896), Vol. V. p. 395a; *Evangelical Review*, Vol. V. p. 196 Note; *Idem*, Vol. XVII. p. 187; Seiss: *Ecclesia Lutherana*, pp. 116–127; Beard: *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, pp. 225–6; Abbott, *et al.*: *The Prophets of the Christian Faith*, pp. 120–121. In this last work, Harnack, writing on "Martin Luther, The prophet of the Reformation," says: "He (Luther) became *the* Reformer. Beside him Zwingli and Calvin can claim but second places; they are dependent on him. Yes, we can even say: *He was the Reformation.*"

to the Princeton Professor. He has discovered the Lutheran Church. He finds that "As a result of immigration, a *new* ecclesiastical organization, *the Lutheran Church*, has been making gigantic strides forward *in the Middle West.* Its number of communicants already exceeds that of the various Presbyterian organizations in the United States." (Italics ours). "In the city of Chicago there are as many communicants in the Lutheran Church as in the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Methodist combined. In St. Louis, Cleveland, Buffalo, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis the Lutheran Church stands first. Today the total number of (Lutheran) communicants in the United States is 1,789,766, giving it fourth place as a religious power."* Accordingly, Lutherans may well take courage; for, "Lutheranism is no longer an element to be easily absorbed by other churches but one likely to make a deep impression on the religious character of our people." Nay more, the Lutheran Church is the hope of the country. "Its significance as a cultural and religious factor should not be overlooked. If German science tends to reduce the world to matter and motion, if German higher criticism has shaken man's confidence in the inspiration of Scripture and German critical rationalism his reliance on philosophy, here at least, is a German influence which will tend to keep alive the idea of man's eternal destiny. Among the masses in the cities of the Middle West it will serve as a powerful check upon the materialistic tendencies of the day." * * * And "it may have a large part to play in the religious life of the future, if the present drift towards Episcopalianism is a trustworthy sign of the times. * * * With its elastic theology, its less austere attitude towards the joys of life, its elaborate ritual and use of music, the Lutheran Church will have a powerful attraction for those who lay little emphasis on the logical formulation of creeds but much on the aesthetic and emotional in worship." Referring to the proposed union of the Lutheran and the Episcopal Church by the Bishop of London in 1761, the Professor thinks, "Future generations may witness the consumation of some such plan."

* Instead of 1,956,433, thus giving it *third* place.

Surely after all this coming from so prominent a source, Lutherans ought to be grateful and no longer bewail their fate! We don't mind saying that for ourself we are pleased to see this notice of the Lutheran Church in this quarter. It is bound to do good, and will put the Lutheran Church under lasting obligation to the Princeton Professor.

But then truth compels us to confess also that it leaves us, and perhaps others, somewhat confused in regard to Lutheran history. For we had got the impression that that,—not to mention the colony of Germans that settled in Venezuela in 1529 and adopted the Augsburg Confession in 1532, just two years after it was adopted at Augsburg,—the Lutheran Church in this country dates back to 1639. And that about the time of the "Great Awakening," (1740), one of the "forces" which the Professor considers, there were "sixty thousand Lutherans in the province of Pennsylvania." We had also got the impression that the general baker who furnished the bread for Washington's army, and of whom Washington spoke as his "honest friend," was a Lutheran; likewise the first treasurer of the United States; the first speaker of the National House of Representatives, and a Major General in the Revolutionary War; and that the funeral eulogy on Washington was pronounced by Major General Lee in a Lutheran Church in Philadelphia; that likewise the funeral of Franklin was held there; and that one year in the early history of the University of Pennsylvania only three men were honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and they were all Lutherans. And so we have thought of the Lutheran Church as having been identified with this country practically from its beginning. But the Professor tells us "a *new* ecclesiastical organization, *the Lutheran Church*, has been making gigantic strides forward *in the Middle West*,—due to immigration." We are, of course, aware that one of the "twenty-three varieties" of Lutherans has in recent years, due to immigration, appeared in the Middle West. And it has served notice to the rest of Lutheranism, in this country and abroad, that *it* is *the* Lutheran Church. That branch of Lutheranism will therefore, no doubt welcome and endorse the

statement that the Lutheran Church is "new" and "in the Middle West." But let not our professorial friend lay too much store by this fact. For, although we do not know the concensus of opinion of the rest of Lutheranism in regard to this Western "variety," we venture the assertion, from what we do know, that, could such an opinion be had, it would in all probability agree with that of an ardent Lutheran polemist who some years ago, waxing warm in controversy, gave it as his solemn conviction that if his opponent's views "should ever come to prevail generally in the Lutheran Church, Gabriel might as well blow his horn." And so, if the Professor means our Western friends, we may agree with him when, in summarizing certain "forces" now active in this country, he remarks that "the prominent part which Lutheranism is playing in our religious life,—may lead ultimately to a serious modification in the character of American Christianity."

But while the Professor's views on the Lutheran Church are not what those who know the facts could wish they might be, and may mislead the uninformed, we shall, in view of what we noted at the start, in reference to the practice of overlooking or ignoring Lutheranism, console ourself with the old saw that "half a loaf is better than none," and pass on to notice the Professor's views in reference to

II. THE REFORMATION.

Here, in substance, Professor Hoskins holds that there was a "striking contrast" between "Pietism, Wesleyanism, and the Great Awakening" on the one hand, and the Reformation on the other, in reference to (1) doctrine and practice; (2) spirit and aim.

So much for the general setting of this head. Now for the particular views. Under

1. *The asserted contrast between "Pietism," etc., and the Reformation in reference to doctrine and practice.* Professor Hoskins holds that,

"Theologically speaking, *these movements* (Pietism, Wesleyanism and the Great Awakening) *were a reaction against the doctrine of justification by faith alone.* In his bitter dispute

with the papacy, *Luther had been forced to carry this doctrine to an extreme. As a result, great laxity in regard to religious practice had followed. The Pietists and the Methodists*, therefore, not only return to a cultivation of individual feeling, but *aim* likewise *to restore good works to their proper place in religious life.* Schools for orphan and neglected children, care of the poor, the sick and the aged, preaching in prisons, etc., all bear witness to the philanthropic and missionary zeal which was *inspired by this new conception of religion.*"

Here, it seems to us, Professor Hoskins has misapprehended the facts and doctrines involved. We propose to consider here his claim (a) that Luther carried the doctrine of justification by faith alone "to an extreme;" (b) that "as a result great laxity in regard to religious practice had followed;" and (c) that "the Pietists and the Methodists restored good works to their proper place—inspired by this new conception of religion."

In view of what these points involve, it will be profitable for us, before proceeding to their consideration, to recall briefly the origin and character of the Reformation "in and through Luther."

"One of the most noticable things in the Reformation was the preparation, by which Luther was qualified for his work. The doctrines of salvation with which he roused the sleeping Church, were *not* apprehended simply as *cold dogmas, or theoretical abstractions.* * * * The Reformation took place first in Luther's own soul. * * * The great deep of his earnest soul had been broken up in conviction and penitence, and through faith he entered into the kingdom of grace * * * a renewed, converted man, whose experience of the power of saving grace had been most marked and extraordinary. * * * This thorough religious experience has been denominated 'The Reformation *in* Luther.' It was needful to the Reformation, *through* Luther. * * * Luther could never have been satisfied with simply mending the outward order of the Church. He sought the restoration of its life." * (Italics ours). We are now ready to consider,

* M. Valentine in *Evang. Review*, vol. XIX. p. 159 *et seqq.*

(a) The claim that Luther carried the doctrine of justification by faith alone "to an extreme."

We are aware that in holding this view, Professor Hoskins has eminent company. Even so noted a historian as Ranke has so viewed the matter: "Luther *already* (1522, after quelling the disturbances, in Wittenberg, that had grown out of the Zwickau fanaticism) *began* to perceive the danger of insisting on the saving power of faith alone; *already he taught that faith show itself in good conduct, brotherly love, soberness and quiet.*" (Italics ours).*

The scholarly Dr. Schaff has recorded a similar judgment: "He (Luther) gave disproportion to solifidianism and presented it sometimes in most ungarded language, which seemed to justify antinomian conclusions; but he corrected himself, he expressly condemned antinomianism, and insisted on good works and a holy life as a necessary manifestation of faith. And it must not be forgotten that the same charge of favoring antinomianism was made against Paul, who rejects it with pious horror. 'Let it never be.'" †

Others have taken a similar position. However, being in eminent company in reference to a question does not by any means guarantee correctness of views. The leaders may be wrong. Witness Paul before his conversion. He had the whole Jewish hierarchy from Gamaliel on down on his side. Likewise Peter in his earlier contracted Jewish conception of Christianity. In this view Peter had the head of Jewish Christianity, the apostle James, Bishop of Jerusalem, and the "apostles and elders" of this part of the Christian Church to whom he could appeal, and to whom, characteristically, he yielded even after the vision had shown him the cosmopolitan nature of Christianity, and this after he had strongly withstood them in the first council of the Christian Church. Yet subse-

* *History of the Reformation*, edited by Johnson, London & New York, 1905, p. 261.

† *History of the Christian Church*, vol. VI. p. 124; Cf. Fisher: *History of Christian Doctrine*, p. 275.

quent events proved that the respective representative of both Peter's and Paul's early position were wrong.

Likewise we hold that Ranke, Schaff, Professor Hoskins, and others, who claim that Luther carried the doctrine of justification by faith alone "to an extreme" have misapprehended Luther and his doctrine. Such a position calls for reasons. We accordingly proceed to give them:

(I) It is to be remembered that the question at issue involves theology; and not simply theology in general, but Lutheran theology; and not simply Lutheran theology in general, but the heart of Lutheran theology. Therefore

(II) In order that one may be a competent judge in the case, we hold, he must needs be a Lutheran in conviction, though not necessarily by profession; and not only a Lutheran by conviction, but one well versed in Lutheran theology, in heart as well as in head; so that he may be able to appreciate and to estimate at its proper value that which, in its founder's view, is the great doctrine of Lutheranism and Protestantism. He must be able to see the matter as nearly as possible from the standpoint which Luther, from soul experience and mental appreciation, saw it. Only thus can he fairly judge as to whether or not Luther, "was forced to carry the doctrine of justification by faith alone to an extreme;"* "began to see the danger of insisting on the doctrine of justification by faith alone;"† or "gave disproportion to solifidianism;"‡ all practically the same. In short, the doctrine, in its presentation, must be considered from the stand-point of Luther, and what he saw and knew it to be; and not from what others, hampered by lack of knowledge, or biased by other systems of theology, conceive it to have been, or think it ought to have been.

(III) On this basis, neither Ranke, nor Dr. Schaff measures up to the requirements.

Ranke, though a great historian and a "good Lutheran," was, nevertheless, not a theologian. He, therefore, lacked, as

* Hoskins.
† Ranke.
‡ Schaff.

we have seen, one very essential qualification of a competent judge on this question. Dr. Schaff, however, had a knowledge of theology, though he, too, was more especially a historian than a theologian, and, therefore, necessarily, with Ranke developed and exercised the historian's objective point of view.

Further, though Dr. Schaff knew theology, he was by conviction as well as by profession, not a Lutheran but a Reformed theologian. This fact seriously disqualifies him for being a competent judge of the great doctrine of justification by faith alone as presented by Luther. This will be evident to any one who recalls the position which this doctrine holds in the Lutheran system and the Reformed system respectively. To Luther and Lutheranism, yea, Protestantism itself from his view-point, justification by faith alone is the great central doctrine of a standing or a falling church. In reformed theology, justification by faith alone is relegated to a minor place, not in the center but on the circumference. God's eternal decree is the great central rallying point in that system.

When we consider these facts in regard to these men, and then recall the requirements that we have seen are necessary to judge fairly of Luther's presentation of his great doctrine of justification by faith alone, is it to be expected that Ranke or Schaff, or Professor Hoskins would or could very well do otherwise than hold that Luther "gave disproportion to solifidianism?"

(IV) Furthermore there is yet to be remembered the very important fact that when Luther revived the great doctrine of justification by faith alone, the conception was diametrically opposed to then existing views of righteousness. *Good works*, it was taught, merit righteousness. And this merit may be secured either by performing the works, or by purchasing the merit that has been accumulated, through the superfluously industrious, for the Church's use. Hence when the correct doctrine was stated, it was misapprehended, and still continues to be in some quarters.

We have now seen that in order to judge properly of Luther's course in reference to the doctrine of justification by faith

alone," certain qualifications are necessary; and that if those who charge him with having carried it "to an extreme" those whose record we have examined did not possess these qualifications, and were consequently not competent judges; and further, that this was an age of "good works," and therefore misapprehension of Luther's diametrically opposite doctrine was to be expected. In view of these facts, we believe we are justified in contending that Luther did not carry his doctrine of "justification by faith alone" "to an extreme;" and that to charge him with this, as we have seen Professor Hoskins and others do, is a misrepresentation of the facts. We are now ready to consider, as noted above,

(b) The claim that "as a result (of carrying the doctrine of justification by faith alone to an extreme) great laxity in regard to religious practice followed."

That some very foolish and unfortunate practices did follow, no one who knows the facts, and regards the truth will deny. But to hold, that these practices were *due to* and "a result" of this doctrine as taught by Luther; or to regard these practices as evidence that Luther was forced to carry the doctrine of justification by faith alone to an extreme, is to fall into the logicians *post hoc ergo propter hoc* that here cannot be established.

To hold Luther responsible for these practices would, on the same basis, condemn God the Father, Christ, and Moses, since from the Commandments given by God, through Moses, and endorsed by Christ, a certain young man got a very superficial view of duty, and was probably lost. For, let it be noted, it was not because the Commandments were "carried to an extreme" that the young man erred so seriously. The trouble was in the young man himself. This Christ plainly showed him. So likewise with Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone, the doctrine was not at fault. The trouble arose from the superficial interpretation which some put upon it. In accord with this view of the matter, hear Professor Harnack: "Protestantism was forced by its opposition to Catholicism to lay exclusive (not "extreme") emphasis on the inward character of religion, and upon 'faith alone;' but to formulate one

doctrine in sharp opposition to another is always a dangerous process. The man in the street is not sorry to hear that 'good works' are unnecessary, nay, that they constitute a danger to the soul. *Although Luther is not responsible for the convenient misunderstanding that ensued* (italics ours) the inevitable result was that in the Reformed Churches in Germany from the very start there were accusations of moral laxity and the want of serious purpose in the sanctification of life. The saying, 'If ye love me, keep my commandments,' was *unwarrantably* thrust into the background. Not until the Pietistic movement arose was its central importance *once more* recognized. (Italics ours). Up till then the pendulum of the conduct of life took a suspicious swing in the contrary direction, out of opposition to the Catholic 'justification by works.' "*

We would not have it inferred that we accept Harnack in general, but on this point we think his view that "Luther is not responsible" is correct.

But further, we not only hold that Luther did not carry his doctrine of justification by faith alone "to an extreme," and therefore was not responsible for the moral laxity that followed; but, on the contrary, (speaking loosely, after the manner of those who hold that he did carry his doctrine "to an extreme") we hold that *Luther did not carry his doctrine far enough.*

We assert this view in all seriousness, and are firm in the conviction that in its recognition lies the safety of the great doctrine for which Luther so strenuously contended. And not only the doctrine itself, but all the blessings that rest back upon it. What we mean is this: Luther did emphatically teach that we are justified by faith alone, without works in the sense that Rome understood "good works." But *he did not, at the start, go far enough to show that his doctrine, fully and correctly comprehended, includes good works in the evangelical sense.* This failure on his part was due to the simple fact that *he himself did not yet fully comprehend what had taken place in his own soul.* That it had taken place, we have seen from Dr. Valentine's summary of it as quoted above. But Luther had not

* *What Is Christianity?* pp. 307–308.

yet come to recognize it fully, and consequently could and did only partially expound it.

In this, however, he was but in accord with nature. There is first the blossom (faith), then the fruit (good works). Luther, in his own "good works" of bringing about the Reformation, the fruit of his faith, gradually recognized the fact which his own soul had from his conversion been demonstrating, that "*good works*" follow as *a result of true faith.*

Hence we hold further that *Luther did not "correct himself,"* —as say Professor Hoskins, Ranke, and Schaff, in substance as quoted above,—*in the sense that he subtracted anything from his declaration of by faith alone*, as if in that he had gone too far as, we have seen, they, indeed, claim. *He left his teaching, on "justification by faith alone," stand as he had at first proclaimed it. He added nothing to it, but, by expounding it, showed that rightly comprehended his doctrine included good works, in the evangelical sense.* Hear him:

"He that will be a true Christian, or in Christ's kingdom must be a true believer. But *he does not have true faith, in whom works of Charity do not follow faith.* Thus he (Paul) excludes hypocrites from Christ's kingdom. * * * the indolent, the inactive, and the idle, for they say: *If faith justifies without works, then we will not work, but only believe and do what we please. Not so, ye godless, says Paul.* It is true that faith justifies alone without works, but I am speaking of *true faith*, which *after it has justified, does not rest idly, but is active through love.* Therefore, Paul * * * here sets forth the whole Christian life, namely, that faith towards God is subjective, and charity or works towards our neighbor are objective."

Of similar import is another passage from Luther: "Faith is a living, busy, active, mighty thing. It is impossible that it should not be continually doing good. It does not ask whether there are good works to be done, but before the question is asked, it has done them, and is always at work. * * * It is impossible to separate works from faith, just as impossible as it is separate burning and shining from fire."

In view of all we have now seen in reference to the claim

that Luther carried the doctrine of "justification by faith alone" "to an extreme;" that he "corrected himself," etc.; we not only hold that he *did not* "correct himself," in the sense claimed; but that, on the other hand, speaking loosely, he did not carry it to an extreme. And we now add that he did not "correct *himself*" when he more fully emphasized the necessity of "good works," but rather he corrected *others*,—those who had abused his doctrine of justification by faith alone. Recall his words as quoted above: "Thus he (Paul) excludes hypocrites from Christ's Kingdom; the indolent, the inactive, the idle, for they say: If faith justifies without works, then we will not work, but only believe and do what we please. Not so, ye godless, says Paul." Here clearly Luther is not quoting Paul to "correct himself" (Luther), but others who have abused the doctrine.

We have dwelt thus long on the charge that Luther "carried the doctrine of justification by faith alone to an extreme," because we believe it to be radically wrong. We believe further, that it, persisted in and allowed to prevail, cannot but help to subvert the truth which Luther's great doctrine, rightly apprehended, holds.

We go a step farther. We hold that *the doctrine of "justification by faith alone" cannot be carried to an extreme.*" For, if that were possible, then "faith alone," thus conceived, would mean something *more* than "faith alone," which is absurd. Therefore, those who contend that Luther, by giving in later years proper recognition to "good works," thereby "modified" his, as they think, "extreme" doctrine of justification by faith alone, overlook the fact that by as much as they hold that view, by so much they cripple Protestantism, and hold to a Pelagian or Romanistic doctrine of justification by works. Otherwise their contention means nothing.

To sum up this whole matter: When Luther claimed good works *as a consequence* of being justified by faith alone, he thereby simply indicated that he had come into full possession of what from his conversion and from his first step as a Reformer was potentially his.

We come now to the last point noted above under doctrine and practice, namely.

(c) The claim that "the Pietists and Methodists restored good works to their proper place, * * * inspired by this new conception of religion."

On the preceding page Professor Hoskins had indeed said, "The doctrines these eighteenth century revivalists insisted upon were not new. In great part they only repeated what Luther and the reformers had already taught." But the context shows that in contrast with Luther's having carried the doctrine of justification by faith alone "to an extreme," "Pietism," etc, in the judgment of Professor Hoskins, "restored good works to their proper place in religious life. Schools for orphans and neglected children, care of the poor, the sick and the aged, preaching in prisons, etc., all bear witness to the philanthropic and missionary zeal which was inspired by this new conception of religion."

The "conception of religion" that in the mind of Professor Hoskins, is "new," here is the place that it gives to "good works." While we frankly admit that "Pietism" etc. gave an enlarged and prominent place to good works, we cannot concede that this was a "*new conception* of religion," either in contrast with the Reformation, or with the early Church. Reliable authority shows that good works, similar to those claimed for Pietism, had existed in the early Church. During the Middle ages this charity died. "Men gave and ministered no longer for the sake of helping and serving the poor in Christ, but to obtain for themselves and theirs merit, release from purgatory, a high degree of eternal happiness." When one remembers this fact, would it be surprising if the Reformation, with its diametrically opposite doctrine of faith alone, showed no interest in these things? Yet just the reverse was true. Says Uhlhorn: "Not till the Reformation was the source returned to, the primitive Christian notions of riches and poverty, of property and alms, of work and vocation revived, and consequently new fountains of active love unsealed."*

* *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, pp. 56, 397, 398.

While there were some worldly-minded who saw no reason for considering the poor, etc., and Luther deplored this, he was, nevertheless, consoled that others, Christians, did remember them. He was likewise concerned for the orphans; the poor, the sick, and the infirm in general; and admonished the Church to care for them. This, done even in the smallest way, he argued significantly, was better than to build a church of gold in honor of St. Peter.

History testifies that over all Germany his admonitions were heeded. Therefore, in view of all we have seen above, and just now, in reference to Luther and good works, need we say anything further in reference to "this new conception of religion" than to suggest that when expressing that view good Homer must have nodded? Even Harnack, between whom and Professor Hoskins in their respective views, as quoted above, when superficially considered, there is seemingly much in common, even Harnack does not warrant the phrase, "this new conception of religion." Harnack's conclusion is: "The saying, 'If ye love me, keep my commandments' was *unwarrantably* thrust into the background. Not until the Pietistic movement arose was its central importance *once more* recognized." The terms "*unwarrantably*" and "*once more*" clearly imply that good works as they appeared in Pietism were not "new." This is, of course, in accord with what we have abundantly seen above.

It is therefore evident that, in reference to the matter of good works, the world did not need to wait for more than two hundred years after Luther had revived the great doctrine of justification by faith alone, until Professor Hoskins' "forces" brought to light "this *new* conception of religion."

Having completed our consideration of the points under doctrine and practice, in Professor Hoskins' asserted contrast between Pietism, etc., and the Reformation, we conclude our paper with a notice of

(2) *The asserted contrast between Pietism, etc., and the Reformation in reference to spirit and aim.*

Says Professor Hoskins: "In another of its phases, this

eighteenth century revival of vital religion stands in striking contrast to the Reformation of the sixteenth. The latter was militant in spirit and led to the establishment of many mutually hostile sects. * * * The religious leaders of the eighteenth century did not aim to found a new sect. Regeneration within the Church itself was the object of their endeavors. * * * The Pietists in Germany never founded a sect at all. * * * Just as little did John Wesley in England intend to organize a dissenting body."

We confess that at this, in view of what we have already seen, we are tempted to give way to a degree of impatience wholly incompatible with our profession. But we will simply say that when a Professor who holds a chair in a prominent university, and who has been honored by one of the foremost universities of the world, with a degree that implies learning, ventures in a leading theological review, to interpret history, it is to be expected that he will at least evince a correct knowledge of the facts. We look in vain for such knowledge here. For any one familiar with the facts, as given by Luther himself, to say nothing of the eminent historians who have called attention to them, will have noted the striking likeness, not "contrast," in general, between the course of Luther and what is here claimed for Professor Hoskins' "forces." While there was a difference in minor details and relative importance, in Luther's favor, there certainly is no warrant for the Professor's assertion that in the respects named in this conclusion, "this eighteenth century revival of vital religion stands in striking contrast to the Reformation of the sixteenth century."

Proof of our assertion is found in Luther's letter of May 30, 1518, to Pope Leo X. In it there is outlined:

(a) Luther's aim as a Reformer.

"Recently the preaching of indulgences was begun here, and soon assumed such importance that the preachers, thinking that under the overawing influence of your name they could do anything, ventured to teach publicly crass, impious and heretical views, to the inexpressible scandal and derision of church-authority, and in utter disregard of the Church's decretals.

"Not satisfied with publishing their poison in the most impudent language, they also distributed books and scattered them among the people. And such insatiable and unheard of avarice did they display in this business, that they put the confessors under oath to press these godless and heretical ideas (Dinge) with all possible faithfulness and urgency (auf das treulichste und dringendste) upon the people. I am telling the truth and there is nothing by which they can justify their zeal. The books are here and these they cannot deny. * * *

"Nevertheless, accounts of the avarice of the priests, and attacks on the keys and the Pope were spreading in the taverns continually. This talk was so common that our whole nation is witness of it.

"I confess, I burned with zeal for Christ, or if men prefer, with youthful ardor. Yet I saw that it was not properly my business to take action in reference to the matters. Therefore I privately admonished several prominent officials of the Church. Some took me seriously, others laughed at me, others treated me indifferently, but the awe of your name and the menace of Church-discipline prevailed. Finally, when I could accomplish nothing otherwise, I deemed it best at least to oppose them peaceably (ganz gelind) and bring their teachings into doubt. Therefore, since I, by your apostolic authority am a professor of theology, and have the right to hold a public disputation, according to the custom of all the universities, and the whole Church, I accordingly availed myself of this right and announced a public disputation. This is the fire that has set the whole world ablaze.

"That my theses have had so great an effect, and that they have spread into nearly all lands, amazes even me. Now what shall I do? Retract I cannot, and I see that through this publication an extraordinary hatred has arisen against me. I do not relish publicity, for which I am unfitted, particularly in this most flourishing age which might lead even a Cicero to hide himself.

"But to appease my adversaries, as well as to satisfy the wishes of my many friends, I publish my views. I publish

them, holy Father, in order that I may live more securely under your protection. From this, all who wish may know with what purity and simplicity I have sought Church-authority and shown respect for the keys; and likewise how unjustly and falsely my adversaries in so many respects have wronged me.

"Therefore, most holy Father, I prostrate myself before your Holiness, and submit myself to you with all that I have and am. Deal with me as it may please you." *

Here it will be noted: (I) that Luther's aim at the start was simply to protect and defend the honor of the Church of Rome against her enemies; (II) that to do this he first tried privately to interest some of the leaders of the Church in his cause; (III) that when this failed, he decided in all peaceableness to exercise his right as a theological professor to open a disputation and endeavor to show that the indulgence mongers were teaching sinful and heretical views; (IV) that when, as a result of this course, sentiment was divided, many espousing his cause, and many others violently opposing it, he sought security from the latter by appealing to the Pope; (V) that through all this Luther was still in the Church of Rome, working in all earnestness and sincerity for her good; and (VI) that he had no thought of separating from her, much less of founding a new Church.

But let us follow Luther further. Hear him before Cajetan, at Augsburg, Oct. 12, 1518. Does he consider himself outside of the Roman Church? Is he tearing it down, or striving to erect one of his own? Not at all. Addressing the Pope's representative Luther says: "I have appeared before you as an obedient and humble son of the holy Christian Church. I am in obedience ready and willing to hear the charges brought against me and if I have erred, to be instructed in what is better."†

Here Luther again. When interviewed by Miltitz in Spalatin's home at Altenburg, January 2–3, 1519, Luther conceded

* *Werke*, St. Louis Ed. XI. p. 1455.
† *Werke*, *ut supra*, XV. p. 561.

that it was "as a true child of the Church" that he opposed the disgraceful preaching of indulgences, etc.

In accordance with his agreement with Miltitz, just noted, Luther wrote approximately about March 3, 1519 to Pope Leo X. as follows:

"Most holy Father, I testify before God and all his creatures that I never intended, nor do I now mean to be in any way disrespectful or by artifice to detract at all from the Roman Church or your Holiness. On the contrary I declare without reservation (plenissime) that the power of this Church is supreme, and that nothing in heaven and on earth is to be preferred to her, save only Jesus Christ the Lord of all.

"It pained me greatly that my most devoted service met such an evil fate that what I had undertaken in order to protect the honor of the Roman Church was interpreted as irreverence; and also by the supreme head of the Church himself was regarded with unreserved suspicion as altogether bad. * * * For I thought only this: that the Roman Church, our mother, should not be defiled by the infamy of foreign avarice; also that the people should not be seduced by error and taught to regard love as less important than indulgences."

In one of the papers called forth by the Miltitz agreement Luther expressed himself as follows: "If now indeed matters in the Roman Church are not what they might be, yet neither that nor any other reason that now exists or that may appear is so great that one should separate from the Roman Church. On the other hand, the worse things go there, the more we should go and stay with it, for separating from it or despising it will not make it better." *

To summarize again, in all that we have just seen we note: (i) that Luther recognizes the Roman Church as supreme, save only Christ; (ii) that he regards himself as a true son of the Church; (iii) that he is greatly pained that his efforts, put forth in all good faith in her behalf, have been interpreted unqualifidely to his discredit; (iv) that his sole aim was to protect her honor, and the spiritual welfare of her members; (v) that there

* *Werke, ut supra*, XX. 706.

is not, neither can be, in Luther's judgment, any reason whatever for separating from her; (vi) that a Church apart from Rome was to Luther's mind at this time not to be thought of; and (vii) that with all this Luther has shown a pacific spirit.

How then, it will be asked, did the "militant spirit" that "led to the establishment of many mutually hostile sects" arise? We shall gain some light on this by noticing briefly.

(b) Luther's spirit as a Reformer.

The "militant spirit" was not of Luther's choosing but was forced upon him (i) by Eck's disputation, and (ii) by the Pope's bull excommunicating Luther and his party.

Luther had agreed with Rome's representative, Miltitz, to cease agitating the matters in dispute, provided his opponents would do the same. But the Roman giant Eck in his prospectus preliminary to the Leipzig disputation with Carlstadt, reopened the breach by attacking Luther in thirteen theses, and forcing him into the disputation. Here Luther's line of defense led him to see that not only the papacy is a human institution, but that even councils may err. Thus he was being prepared for what was seen to be his fate.

"During the early months of the year 1520, (after the Leipzig Disputation) Luther had remained comparatively passive. * * * But when the tidings of Eck's success at Rome, and the impending excommunication reached him, at first as a vague rumor, but daily acquiring consistency and strength, *his ardour for spiritual combat awoke* (Italics ours); the conviction which had meanwhile been ripening in him burst forth; 'at length,' exclaimed he, 'the mysteries of anti-christ must be unveiled:' in the course of June, just as the bull of excommunication had been issued at Rome, he wrote his Book to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, which was as his friends justly observed the signal for a decisive attack." *

This was the only course left now that "Luther with his party (was) forcibly expelled from the Church over which the Pope had power. It was not that he separated himself from this Church, * * * but the Romish Church did then separate itself from the voice of Christian conscience, whose

* Ranke, pp. 216-217.

spokesman Luther had become for the German nation. *It thrust out the man who would not forsake it;* (Italics ours) it would not or could not endure any longer the testimony of evangelical truth. * * * Thrust out of Rome with his party, he had to turn his attention to the preparation and the procuring of a new church home." "*Nothing remained for him but to attempt to found a new church opposed to that of Rome*, (Italics ours) and to establish a system of doctrine consonant to the Holy Scriptures." *

Thus we see that Luther's aim was not to found a separate Church, but to reform the Roman Church and remain in it; and that he was pacific in spirit until forced to become otherwise.

What then becomes of Professor Hoskin's asserted "striking contrast" between "Pietism" etc., and the Reformation? On the contrary, we might claim a contrast in aim just the reverse of Professor Hoskins.' For, if Spener did not found a separate sect, it was not because he had no *aim* in that direction. Nor is it strictly true that he did not found a sect. For his "*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*," properly speaking, can be regarded as nothing short of this. And it has been pointed out repeatedly that in the university of Halle, "Pietism obtained' the recognition of a national Church and a theological representation."' †

With this, having already exceeded our limits, we close our consideration of the views of the Princeton Professor. To any one who has read his articles, it will be evident that more might be said. But from what has been presented, we think it will be evident to all fairminded seekers after truth that (1) the Lutheran Church is something more than "a new ecclesiastical organization in the Middle West, * * * due to immigration;" and (2) that "this eighteenth century revival of vital religion" does not "stand in striking contrast to the Reformation of the sixteenth" century with respect to (a) doctrine and practice; and (b) spirit and aim; but that, on the other hand, the revival of the eighteenth century was, in the main, an echo of the revival of the sixteenth century.

* Mosheim, *Ec. Hist.* (1861), p. 573.
† Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.* II., 100, 204, 207.

ARTICLE VIII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

Outlines of Biblical History and Literature. By Frank Knight Sanders, Ph.D., D.D., and Henry Thatcher Fowler, Ph.D. Pp. XIV. and 216, with appendix. Price $1.25 net.

These outlines offer a course of Biblical study claiming to be "the outgrowth of eighteen years of experiment in the effort to give an orderly view of the development and significance of the Bible. * * * They have been prepared with four classes especially in mind: the college student who has no professional interest in the subject * * * ; the graduate student specializing in Oriental history or literature who needs a comprehensive view of the whole sweep of civilization; the professional student of theology * * * ; and the general student of the Bible who finds an increasing joy in its mastery."

In perusing this work we find but little cause for joy, though much for dissent. Roughly stated, the book is too technical for the non-professional student, and too much on the spoon-meat order for the professional. It does, moreover, not serve the cause of the truely historical school, but is the *Laufbursche* of the "higher critics," or the radical school popularized. The many works and articles to which it refers, being in the English language only, (some translated from the German) and, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, largely radical at that, make the book as misleading to one class as superfluous to the other. It is quite superfluous in the hands of the specialist, who knows that the man of research can take but few steps without consulting the French and especially the German sources. To the non-professional it is misleading in as much as it keeps him ignorant of the traditional views (men like Edersheim are not even mentioned) and presses upon him the acceptance of historical or quite as often, unhistorical, constructions conceived in the aggressive dogmatism of the "higher critics."

With Prof. Hauck of Leipzig, we believe in the right and necessity of criticism, without territorial reservation. But we also hold, as does he, that criticism must be constructive (erbauend). And the name of Klostermann, in Old Testament scholarship, and that of Zahn, in the New, show that the field

of criticism is far from becoming the property of the radicals. As far as the religious side is concerned, the outlines fail completely in constructive criticism; the reader is given the impression that the Old Testament is more chaos than order.

The treatment given the Old Testament, 168 pages, is followed by one of forty-five on the New Testament. In the latter the radical spirit is less pronounced. The book closes with a select bibliography of ten pages and a collection of twenty-one maps.

JOHN O. EVJEN.

The British City the Beginnings of Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D. (8 1-4 x 5 1-2; pp. XVII. 370).

The failures and successes of British city government are here set forth with considerable vigor. The failures, which much overbalance the successes, are ascribed to "privilege," and particularly to the solicitude with which the interests of landed property are guarded in the hands of its owners. Such property when unimproved is untaxed and may be profitably held unused for its "unearned increment." Consequently, with large tracts of idle land, Great Britain is dependent for the necessaries of life upon other countries, has a vast insufficiently nourished population, and is in a state of physical deterioration. The blame for it all is put upon the conservatism of the House of Lords, the Commons, the Church, the Army and Navy, the press, the bar and the various agencies of public opinion. The hope for recovery is found only in progress towards a socialistic condition, in the municipal ownership of public utilities, in the single tax on land. A movement in this direction has begun in the cities, especially Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester. The enormous increase of local indebtedness under the new system is freely admitted by Mr. Howe, but seems in no respect to weaken his confidence in the soundness of his theories, even in view of the revulsion from municipal ownership as shown by the recent elections in Great Britain itself.

Much of what Mr. Howe says about the condition of the British city is no doubt correct, but his remedy would aggravate the disease. It is far easier to dream of ideal conditions than to deal wisely with the actual. Builders of Spanish castles seldom have a reputation as great architects. Socialistic mayors of American cities have not been notably successful as executives. In matters much simpler than the government of cities it is hard to find the man who can execute; more rarely still do those who have the ability use it for the

public welfare rather than their own profit. There is no reason yet to distrust the old principle that recognizes self-reliance rather than government as the source of a man's welfare. Generally speaking a man's interests are safest in his own hands. The men with large promises and projects may well be suspected; they are in danger of wrecking altogether what though imperfect nevertheless does pretty well and at all events allows the responsibility of failure rest with the individual concerned rather than society.

J. A. HIMES.

Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. Pp. XXXV and 301.

We have here another volume in the Student's Old Testament Series from the unwearied pen of Prof. Kent. It is the third volume that has reached us from the press. The contents of the work may be summarised as follows: Introduction, The Babylonian Background of Israel's Laws, The Origin and Growth of Israelitish Law, The Primitive Codes, The Deuteronomic Codes, Ezekiel and the Holiness Code, The Priestly Code. Then follow in detail Personal and Family Laws, Constitutional Laws, Criminal Laws, Humane Laws, &c. Upon the theory of the plurality of authorship in the Pentateuch, Dr. Kent assigns these Laws to different writers, then collates all the passages bearing upon any one Law, and thus affords the student an opportunity of seeing at a glance all that is written concerning any one subject. Explanatory notes are to be found on every page. The translation, which is somewhat freer than in the English versions, is nevertheless faithful to the original, and in many instances clears away obscurities. We can only repeat here what we have said in our notices of former volumes: The work exhibits profound and reverent scholarship, and will materially assist the student to a better understanding of the life and history of the chosen people. A copious appendix on related topics is found at the end of the volume.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

Biblical Dogmatics, An Exposition of the Principal Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures. By Milton S. Terry, DD., Professor of Christian Doctrine in Garrett Biblical Institute. 8 mo. Pp. XVIII, 608. Cloth. Price $3.50 net.

Dr. Terry's *Biblical Dogmatics*, is a ripe book, the fruit of

mature scholarship and a devout spirit. The aim and scope of the volume are intermediate between Biblical Theology on the one hand and Systematic Theology on the other. It goes beyond the limits of the former, which is an exegetical and historical discipline, in seeking a logical arrangement of the biblical doctrines into a systematic body of revealed truth. While adopting the method of Systematic Theology it stops short of utilizing the development of doctrine as contained in the creeds and in the discussions of theologians. It can easily be seen that such a study must yield rich results. Yet it must be borne in mind that the limits of the so-called Biblical Dogmatics also constitute its limitations. The volume before us however, useful, illustrates the need of Systematic Theology which is the synthesis of all theological learning.

The main divisions followed are denominated "Man," "Christ" and "Our Father." The author is well acquainted with the usual order followed in theological study; yet his judgment decides in favor of the above. Nevertheless, the arrangement strikes us as being somewhat unnatural and contrary to the chronology of the history of dogma, beginning with the doctrine of God as developed in the earliest creeds.

The discussion of various topics does not seem to be well proportioned. Of the six hundred pages only about three are devoted to a consideration of faith and an equal number to the Sacraments. The author finds no warrant, contrary to the accepted belief, for the doctrine of an Intermediate State. Neither does he find any authority for a general resurrection at "the last day." He says, "the heavenly body is given immediately after the dissolution of the earthly house, and is as truly an organism as is the earthly body." "The dead are not all raised simultaneously, but each in his own order and in his own time." It is needless to say that in these things he runs counter to nearly all exegetes and to the apparent meaning of Scripture.

The author's style is lucid. We commend also a "select bibliography," as well as the two excellent indexes. The volume is worthy of study.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century. A Critical History, by Henry C. Sheldon, Professor in Boston University. 8 mo. Pp. VIII, 399. Cloth. Price $2.00 net.

The author's aim to present "compact and accurate exposition" is well realized in this interesting and well-written volume. Moreover the work is sufficiently critical to justify the sub-title.

The book is divided into three parts: I. Philosophical Theories; II. Quasi-Scientific, Theological, and Ethical Theories; and III. Critical Theories concerning the Scriptures.

In the first part, starting with "Kantian Antecedents," Dr. Sheldon traces Radical Idealism through the mazes of the philosophics of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel. He finds that "Each of the prominent forms of this Idealism may be charged with rendering support to pantheism." Then follow luminous discussions of "Radical Sensationalism and Materialism," "Positivism," "Agnostic and Anti-theistic Evolutionism" and "Pessimism."

In the second part, the question of the Supernatural, the finality of Christianity, the divinity of Christ and utilitarian and naturalistic ethics are calmly but trenchantly set forth.

In the last part, we have a consideration of the theories of Strauss, Baur and Renan, and the more recent radical criticism of the Old Testament and of the New.

In a brief but careful summary the author expresses his firm conviction that in spite of a century of most extraordinary testing, the characteristic features of the Christian faith "have suffered no loss of prestige from the movements of thought." "The Christian believer, at the opening of the twentieth century, should exercise his prerogative to go forward with illumined countenance and joyful spirit. No real barrier has been placed in the way of his faith."

We heartily commend this volume to the clergy and to thoughtful laymen. Every pastor would do well to have a copy at hand to place in the hands of thoughtful doubters and of blatant objectors.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

WARTBURG PUBLISHING HOUSE, CHICAGO, ILL.

Explanation of Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism, together with Three Supplements. Prepared by J. M. Ren, Professor of Theology at Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa. Translated from the German. Pp. 167.

This book forms a valuable addition to our catechitical literature in the English language. We heartily commend it for use by pastors in preparing their catechetical instructions. It will prove suggestive and helpful. The book contains Luthers' Small Catechism and the Appendix on the keys, an explanation of the Catechism and three supplements (1) on the Bible, (2) on the Church Year, (3) on important events in Church History. The doctrine of the sacraments is presented for the

most part according to the conception and even in the phraseology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but we are spared the figment of child faith and the objectionable "oral manducation."

The author lays strong emphasis on the necessity of faith. In speaking of the benefits of baptism, he say: "But baptism confers all these gifts and benefits only on *all who believe*, that is, whose hearts have been opened to these gifts and benefits, and who lay hold on them"—in which he clearly recognizes the volitional element in faith. On page 127 the author comes perilously near teaching baptismal regeneration, and the precedence of regeneration to justification. We reject baptismal regeneration in any such sense as, *baptized, therefore regenerated*, and we are absolutely certain that the genuine Lutheran conception places justification before regeneration, as God's work for man must precede God's work in man. We also object to the author's identification of *Holy Chistian Church* with *the Communion of Saints* in the Creed. Historical research has shown beyond all contradiction that the *communio sanctorum* was not introduced into the Creed as explanatory or epexegetical of the preceding article, but as an independent conception. We also object to the view of our author that Sunday is founded on apostolic usage. The third commandment was not abolished by the Apostles or by the spirit of Christianity. It still abides in force, and it lays obligation on us not only to hear the preaching of the word on that day, but also to rest the body and to abstain from the ordinary work of our hands. Such was the teaching of the great doctors of our Church for at least two hundred years. Its vitiation has brought much evil upon the Churches.

Our author says, without qualification, as has been so often said of late years in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, that the Augsburg Confession "was written by Melanchthon." Recent discoveries have settled the question, raised by partisanism, that Melanchthon is the author of the Augsburg Confession in every legitimate sense of the word *author*, and have fully justified the inscription on his tomb-stone: *Autor Confessionis Augustanae.*

J. W. RICHARD.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Reason, History and Religion. By Rev. J. M. Reimensnyder, D.D. Pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, Milton, Pa. 12mo. Pp. 94, Cloth. Price 50 cents; paper 25 cents.

"Reason, History, and Religion," by Dr. J. M. Reimen-

snyder, is a popular presentation and vindication of the faith of the Church. Against the false assumptions of modern skepticism, which seeks to eliminate the supernatural, he defends the historicity and inspiration of the Bible, the belief in a personal God, and the antiquity and the divine ordination of the Sabbath, and of the Church.

The subject is handled in a forceful manner from the standpoint of a thoughtful and practical minister. The book ought to have a wide sale, especially among the laity. It is beautifully bound and well printed on good paper, an artistic product worthy of our Publication House.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Handbook for the Beginner's Home Study in the Word of God. By Carl Manthey-Zorn, Pastor of Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, Cleveland, O. Translated by H. M. Zorn and J. A. Rimbach. 8mo. Pp. 284. Cloth sides, leather back.

The make-up of the book is marked by the excellent workmanship characteristic of the Concordia Publishing House. The preface says, "This book was written that it might be placed in the hands of adults who need and desire, or are willing to accept, an instruction in the Christian doctrine." The method, therefore, is didactic rather than argumentative. The matter is practically biblical and expository. Besides presenting Bible facts and stories, it elucidates the Catechism. The book will be found useful in the hands of plain people seeking the way of life.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Poems for Pastime. Selected by C. Abbetmeyer.

Except for the insertion of the somewhat worn "Curfew Must Not Ring To-night," and the omission of any examples of Lowell's verse, this collection of poems shows good judgment. Many of them are the wisely chosen selections of school readers of fifteen or twenty years ago, and there are a few of more recent origin. Almost all are suitable for recitation, therefore the book is valuable to the teacher. They are poems which children, and especially American children, should read, or, better still, should hear before they are able to read for themselves. The selections from the German of Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, etc., are well made, and the translations are skillful. Useful explanatory notes are appended.

E. S.

AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN, ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

The Elements of the Christian Religion by Rev. Carl August Blomgren, Ph.D. Professor of Sacred Theology, Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois. 12mo. Pp. 102. Cloth. Price 75 cents.

This little hand-book contains an "outline" of Systematic Theology and is to be commended for presenting a great matter in a very brief compass. On the whole the work is well done, and will be found useful by way of suggestion. Theological students and ministers will find it a convenient guide along the main highways of Theology.

The brevity of the volume practically excludes discussion, and subjects it to the limitations incident to condensing. There are some inaccurate statements. For instance, it is said on page seven that the arguments deduced from natural reason to prove the existence of God "are not valid." The validity of the arguments it seems to us, is unquestionable, though their *conclusiveness* may be disputed.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Hyksos and Israelitie Cities. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. Hon. D. C. L., LL. D., etc. Edwards Professor of Egyptology, University College, London. With Chapters by J. Garrow Duncan, B.D. Pp. VII and 56. XL Plates. Office of School of Archaeology, University College, Gower St., W. C., London.

This work is an account of the excavations carried on by Prof. Petrie in Egypt, under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology. It is a report of the operations of the twelfth year, and is for the year 1906. It contains chapters on The Hyksos Camp, The Hyksos Cemetery, The Temple of Onias, Raamses and the Cemeteries of Goshen and Suwa.

About twenty miles north of Cairo is a mound of ruins, known as Tel-el-Yehudiyeh, The Mound of the Jew. This mound Prof. Petrie has been exploring, as well as that of Raamses, one of the two store cities built by the Israelites during their sojourn in Egypt. The Mound of the Jew was a fortified place occupied by the Hyksos, that mysterious people, which subsequently conquered Egypt, and ruled over it for 500 years. After various vicissitudes it finally became the abode of a colony of Jews, which, fleeing from the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, settled in northern Egypt about 154 B. C. Onias, their High Priest, erected here a temple, an

exact reproduction, on an inferior scale, of the temple at Jerusalem.

From these statements it can be inferred that this mound was an ideal spot for the excavator's spade, and that discoveries would be made here that would prove of intense interest and value. And such has been the case. The laying bare the foundation of the temple and the uncovering the walls of the city has been full of surprises for the archaeologist, while the excavations at Raamses bring to the Bible student additional and corroberating information concerning the story of the Exodus. The numerous plates at the end of the volume give the reader a complete and truthful picture of the various objects of value discovered during the course of the explorations.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN PUBLICATION BOARD, PITTSBURG, PA.

The Glory of the Reformation. A Program for the Reformation Festival and Children's day. Octavo, pp. 19.

Here is another proof of the enterprise of our Missouri friends. Why not have a children's festival of the Reformation? This program opens with *Ein' Feste Burg*, which is the common property of all Lutherans. Then follow responses, Scripture lesson, prayer, questions and answers about Luther and the Reformation, which in the main are excellent. But we utterly repudiate this: "Through whom did the devil furthermore try to hinder the spread of the truth?

"Through men like Calvin and Zwingli."

J. W. RICHARD.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON, MASS.

Among the articles in the September *Atlantic Monthly* are, Why American Marriages Fail, by Mrs. Anna A. Rogers; The Rules of the Game, by Edward Alsworth Ross, Professor of Sociology in Wisconsin University; Fenimore Cooper, by Brander Matthews who proves himself an appreciative critic; Elizabethan Psychology, by Professor Edward Dowden of the University of Dublin, best known in this country for his Shakespeare studies; and The Anglo-American School of Polite Unlearning. All these articles are of the high standard for which the *Atlantic* is noted.

Of special interest to readers of the QUARTERLY is Miss Elsie Singmaster's When Town and Country Meet. Miss Singmaster, who is a daughter of Dr. Singmaster, of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary, has gained an enviable reputation as a writer of dialect stories.

P. M. B.

INDEX TO VOL. XXXVII.

American Family, The 384.
Augsburg Confession, The Oldest Redaction of the, 44.
Augsburg Confession, The Melanchthon Editions, 455.
Babylonia, Glimpses of its Civilization and Culture, 377.
Berkey, Rev. H. E., Art. by, 572.
Bible, The, Christian Faith and, 508.
Bible, The, The Means of Grace, 151.
Bible, The, Question, 129.
Bible, Teaching the, 18.
Bierbower, Austin, Esq., Art. by, 559.
Book of Concord, Lutheran Germany and, 68, 178, 328.
Catechism, Shall we Supplement the, 225.
Cause of Sin, Of the, 455.
Christian Theology by Dr. Valentine, 116.
Christian Faith and the Bible, 508.
Conception, The Miraculous, 265.
Concerning Unseen Things, 528.
Conference, The International Lutheran, and the General Synod, 95.
Dietz, Rev. A. E., Art. by, 259.
Doctrine of Sin, The, 422.
Education, Higher, and the German Lutherans, 404.
Evjen, Dr. J. O. Art. by, 68, 178, 328.
Family, The American, 384.
Faulkner, Dr. J. A., Art. by, 273.
Focht, Dr. J. B., Art. by, 455.
Fox, Dr. L. A., Art. by, 508.
Free-Will, The Old Lutheran Doctrine of, 195, 305.
Garland, Dr. D. F., Art. by, 1.
General Synod, The, and the International Lutheran Conference, 95.
Gerhardt, Paul, in the Church Troubles of his Time, 357.
German, Pennsylvania, and Higher Education, 404.
Germany, Lutheran, and the Book of Concord, 68, 178, 328.
Germany, Sects in, 273.
God, Philosophical Conceptions of, 259.
Gotwald, Dr. F. G., Art. by, 404.
Grace, The Means of, 151.
Grimm, Dr. K. J., Art. by, 377.
Hanson, Rev. H. W. A., Art. by, 239.
Higher Criticism, Philosophical Influences in, 433.
Higher Education, Lutheran Pennsylvania Germans and, 404.
Hoskins, Prof., On the Lutheran Church and the Reformation, 572.
International Lutheran Conference and the General Synod, 95.
Kaehler, Martin, Present Day Theology, 129.
Kawerau, Prof., On Sects in Germany, 273.
Lambert, Rev. W. A., Art. by, 433.
Lutheran Church and the Reformation, Hoskins on, 572.
Lutheran Germany and the Book of Concord, 68, 178, 328.
Lutheran, The Old, Doctrine of Free-Will, 195, 305.
Lutherans, Pennsylvania German, and Higher Education, 404.
Man's Place in the Universe, 116.
Means of Grace, The, The Word of God, 151.

Melanchthon Editions of the Augsburg Confession, 481.
Neve, Dr. J. L., Art. by, 357.
Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free-Will, 195.
Oldest Redaction of the Augsburg Confession, 44.
Palestine, The Religion of, at the Time of the Israelitic Conquest, 239.
Pennsylvania German Lutherans and Higher Education, 404.
Philosophical Conceptions of God, 259.
Philosophical Influences in Higher Criticism, 433.
Present Day Theology, Martin Kaehler, 129.
Professor Hoskins on the Lutheran Church and the Reformation, 572.
Redaction, The Oldest, of Augsburg Confession, 44.
Reed, Prof. C. A. L., Art. by, 384.
Religion. The, of Palestine at the Time of the Israelitic Conquest, 239.
Richard, Dr. J. W., Art. by, 44, 95, 195, 305, 481.
Rutherford, Rev. W. L., Art. by, 422.
Sects in Germany, 273.
Sin, The Cause of, 445.
Sin, The Doctrine of, 422.
Singmaster, Dr. J. A., Art. by, 166.
Smith, Arthur H., Art. by, 116.
Space and Time, 544.
Stork, Theo. B., Esq., Art. by, 544.
Stump, Dr. Adam, Art. by, 225.
Super, Dr. Chas. W., Art. by, 528.
Teaching the Bible, 18.
Theology, Present Day, 129.
Thomas, Rev. J. B., Art. by. 265.
Time, Space and, 544.
Turkle, Dr. A. J., Art. by, 18.
Universalizing, 559.
Universe, Man's place in the, 116.
Unseen Things, 528.
Valentine, Dr., Christian Theology by, 151.
Valentine, Milton, D.D., Sketch of, 1.
Van Pelt, Dr. J. R., Art. by, 129.
Wenner, Dr. G. U., Art. by, 151.
Will, Free, The Old Lutheran Doctrine of, 195, 305.
Word of God, The, The Means of Grace, 151.

Hist. Library 9th & Richmond

TERMS—$2.50 a year, if paid in advance or within the year; otherwise, $3.

THE

26
89

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

JAS. W. RICHARD, D.D., LL.D. J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

FREDERICK G. GOTWALD, D.D.

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

PROF. S. A. ORT, D.D., LL.D. PROF. F. D. ALTMAN, D.D.

PROF. ALFRED HILLER, D.D. PROF. F. P. MANHART, D.D.

PROF. J. L. NEVE, D.D.

VOL. XXXVII.—NO. 1.

JANUARY, 1907.

GETTYSBURG:
WILLIAM B. HAMMOND, 142 CARLISLE STREET.
1907.

CONTENTS.

ARTICLES PAGE

I. Milton Valentine, ... 1
By D. F. Garland, D.D.

II. Teaching the Bible, ... 18
By Alonzo J. Turkle, D.D.

III. The Oldest Redaction of the Augsburg Confession, ... 44
By Professor J. W. Richard, D.D., LL.D.

IV. Lutheran Germany and the Book of Concord, 68
By Professor John O. Evjen, Ph.D.

V. The International Lutheran Conference and the General Synod, ... 95
By Professor J. W. Richard, D.D., LL.D.

VI. Man's Place in the Universe: A Review, . . . 116
By Arthur H. Smith, A.M.

VII. Present Day Theology: Martin Kaehler. The Bible Question, ... 129
By J. R. VanPelt, Ph.D.

VIII. Review of Recent Literature. 135

The Apostle's Creed in Modern Worship—The Philosophy of Religion—The Friendly Year, Chosen and Arranged From the Works of Henry VanDyke—The Special Message of the Modern Pulpit—Handbuch für den ersten Selbstuntericht in Gottes Wort, von Carl Monthly—Handbuch der deutsohen Nationalliteratur von ihren ersten Anfangen bis zur Gegenwart—The Abridged Treasury of Prayers—Atlantic Monthly—Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament—Country Sermons—The Monern Pulpit—An Introduction to Philosophy—The Warrior Spirit in the Republic of God—The Diviner Immanence.

50 YEARS' EXPERIENCE

PATENTS

TRADE MARKS
DESIGNS
COPYRIGHTS &C.

Anyone sending a sketch and description may quickly ascertain our opinion free whether an invention is probably patentable. Communications strictly confidential. Handbook on Patents sent free. Oldest agency for securing patents.

Patents taken through Munn & Co. receive *special notice*, without charge, in the

Scientific American.

A handsomely illustrated weekly. Largest circulation of any scientific journal. Terms, $3 a year; four months, $1. Sold by all newsdealers.

MUNN & Co. 361 Broadway, **New York**

Branch Office, 625 F St., Washington, D. C.